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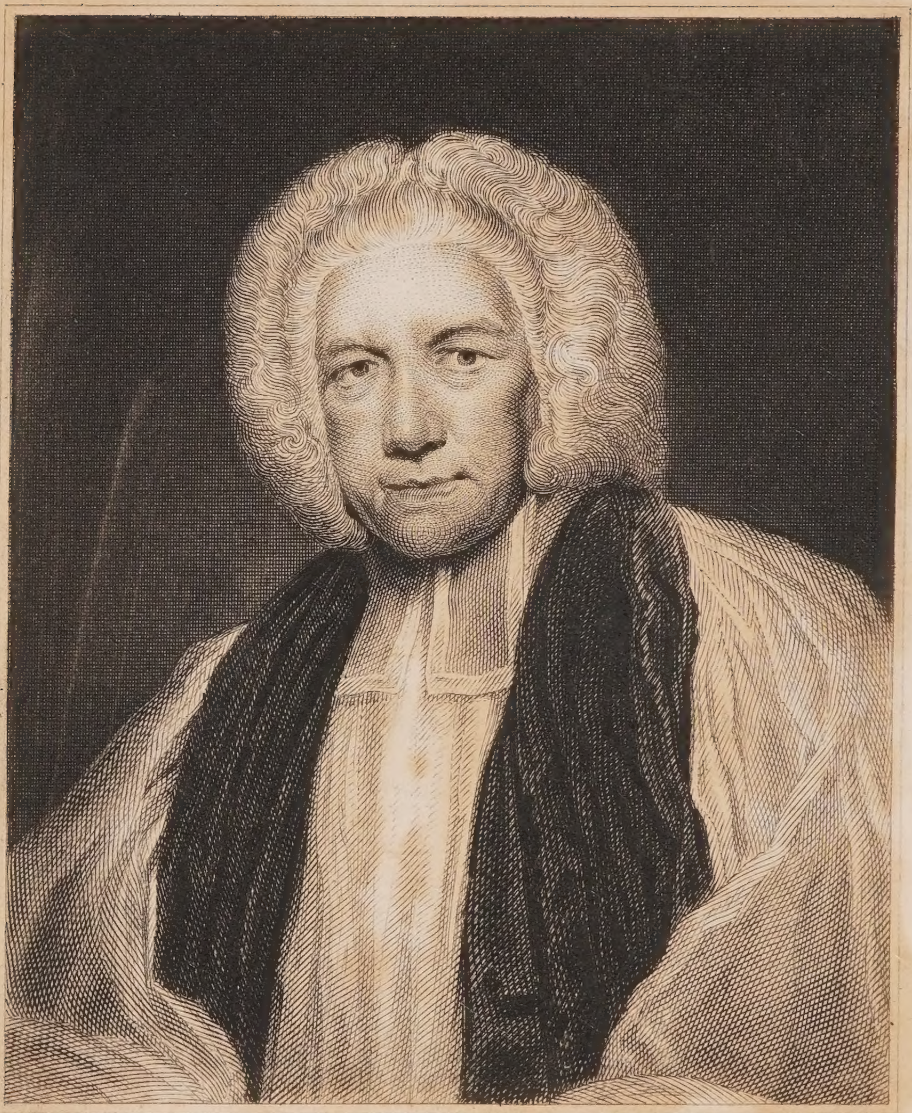

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DISSERTATIONS

ON

THE PROPHECIES,

WHICH

HAVE REMARKABLY BEEN FULFILLED,

AND AT

THIS TIME ARE FULFILLING IN THE WORLD.

By THOMAS NEWTON, D. D.

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REVISED BY THE

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THE great value of Bishop Newton's Dissertations on the Prophecies, both to the learned and to the general reader of Scripture, has induced the Publisher to spare no pains to render the present edition correct. For this purpose the text and notes have been closely revised, and the classical quotations and references compared with the original authorities. It is hoped, therefore, that this edition will be found worthy of public attention for its superior correctness, and as a valuable reprint of one of the most enlightened treatises on the subject of prophecy which our language can boast.

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SECUNDA pars (historiæ ecclesiasticæ) quæ est historia ad prophetias, ex duobus relativis constat, prophetia ipsa et ejus adimpletione. Quapropter tale esse debet hujus operis institutum, ut cum singulis ex Scripturis prophetiis eventuum veritas conjungatur; idque per omnes mundi ætates, tum ad confirmationem fidei, tum ad instituendam disciplinam quandam et peritiam in interpretatione prophetiarum, quæ adhuc restant complendæ. Attamen in hac re, admittenda est illa latitudo, quæ divinis vaticiniis propria est et familiaris; ut adimpletiones eorum non fiant et continenter et punctualiter: referunt enim auctoris sui naturam; "cui unus dies tanquam mille anni, et mille anni tanquam unus dies:" Atque licet plenitudo et fastigium complementi eorum, plerumque alicui certæ ætati vel etiam certo momento destinetur; attamen habent interim gradus nonnullos et scalas complementi, per diversas mundi ætates. Hoc opus desiderari statuo, verum tale est, ut magna cum sapientia, sobrietate, et reverentia tractandum sit, aut omnino dimittendum.

Bacon de Augmentis Scientiarum. l. 2. c. 11.

INTRODUCTION.

INTRODUCTION.

ONE of the strongest evidences for the truth of revealed religion is that series of prophecies which is preserved in the Old and New Testament; and a greater service perhaps could not be done to Christianity than to lay together the several predictions of Scripture with their completions, to shew how particularly things have been foretold, and how exactly fulfilled. A work of this kind was desired by the Lord Bacon in his [1] Advancement of Learning, and he entitleth it *The History of Prophecy*, and therein would have 'every prophecy of the Scripture be sorted with the event fulfilling the same throughout the ages of the world, both for the better confirmation of faith,' as he saith, 'and for the better illumination of the church, touching those parts of prophecies which are yet unfulfilled: allowing nevertheless that latitude which is agreeable and familiar unto divine prophecies, being of the nature of the Author, with whom a thousand years are but as one day, and therefore they are not fulfilled punctually at once, but have springing and germinant accomplishment throughout many ages, though the heighth or fulness of them may refer to some one age.'

Such a work would indeed be a wonderful confirmation of our faith, it being the prerogative of God alone, or of those who are commissioned by him, certainly to foretel future events; and the consequence is so plain and necessary, from the believing of prophecies to the believing of revelation, that an infidel hath no way of evading the conclusion but by denying the premises. But why should it be thought at all incredible for God upon special occasions to foretel future events? or how could a divine revelation (only supposing that there was a divine revelation) be better attested and confirmed than by prophecies? It is certain that God hath perfect and most exact knowledge of futurity, and foresees all things to come as well as comprehends every thing past or present. It is certain too that as he knoweth them perfectly himself, so he may reveal them to others in what degrees and proportions he pleaseth;

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[1] Book the 2d. in English.

and that he actually hath revealed them in several instances, no man can deny, every man must acknowledge, who compares the several prophecies of Scripture with the events fulfilling the same.

But so many ages have passed since the spirit of prophecy hath ceased in the world, that several persons are apt to imagine, that no such thing ever existed, and that what we call predictions are only histories written, after the events had happened, in a prophetic style and manner: which is easily said indeed, but hath never been proved, nor is there one tolerable argument to prove it. On the contrary, there are all the proofs and authorities, which can be had in cases of this nature, that the prophets prophesied in such and such ages, and the events happened afterwards in such and such ages: and you have as much reason to believe these, as you have to believe any ancient matters of fact whatever; and by the same rule that you deny these, you might as well deny the credibility of all ancient history.

But such is the temper and genius of infidels; "they understand neither what they say, nor whereof they affirm" (1 Tim. i. 7.); and so betray their own ignorance, rather than acknowledge the force of divine truth; and assert things without the least shadow or colour of proof, rather than admit the strongest proofs of divine revelation. It betrays ignorance indeed, altogether unworthy of persons of liberal education, not to know when such and such authors flourished, and such and such remarkable events happened; and it must be something worse than ignorance to assert things without the least shadow or colour of proof, contrary to all the marks and characters by which we judge of the truth and genuineness of ancient authors, contrary to the whole tenor of history both sacred and profane, which in this respect give wonderful light and assistance to each other: and yet these are the men, who would be thought to see farther and to know more than other people, and will believe nothing without evident proof and demonstration.

The facts, say they, were prior to the predictions, and the prophecies were written after the histories. But what if we should be able to prove the truth of prophecy, and consequently the truth of revelation, not by an induction of particulars long ago foretold and long ago fulfilled, the predictions whereof you may therefore suppose to have been written after the histories, but by instances of things which have confessedly many ages ago been foretold, and have in these latter ages been fulfilled, or are fulfilling at this very time; so that you cannot possibly pretend the prophecies to have been written after the events, but must acknowledge the events many ages after to correspond exactly with the predictions many ages before? This province we will now enter upon, this task we will undertake, and will not only produce instances of things foretold with the greatest clearness in ages preceding, and fulfilled with the greatest exactness in ages following, if there is any truth in history sacred or profane; but we will also (to cut up the objection entirely by the roots) insist chiefly upon such prophecies, as are known to have been written and published in books many ages ago, and yet are receiving their completion, in part at least, at this very day.

For this is one great excellency of the evidence drawn from prophecy for the truth of religion, that it is a *growing* evidence; and the more prophecies are fulfilled, the more testimonies there are and confirmations of the truth and certainty of divine revelation. And in this respect we have eminently the advantage over those, who lived even in the days of Moses and the prophets, of Christ and his apostles. They were happy indeed in hearing their discourses and seeing their miracles, and doubtless "many righteous men have desired to see those things which they saw and have not seen them, and to hear those things which they heard and have not heard them" (Matt. xiii. 17.): but yet I say we have this advantage over them, that several things which were then only foretold, are now fulfilled; and what were to them only matters of faith, are become matters of fact and certainty to us, upon whom the latter ages of the world are come. God in his goodness hath afforded to every age sufficient evidence of the truth. Miracles may be said to have been the great proofs of revelation to the first ages who saw them performed. Prophecies may be said to be the great proofs of revelation to the last ages who see them fulfilled. All pretence too for denying the prophecies of Scripture is by these means absolutely precluded; for how can it be pretended that the prophecies were written after the events, when it appears that the latest of these prophecies were written and published in books near 1700 years ago, and the events have, many of them, been accomplished several ages after the predictions, or perhaps are accomplishing in the world at this present time? You are therefore reduced to this necessity, that you must either renounce your senses, and deny what you read in your Bibles, together with what you may see and observe in the world: or else must acknowledge the truth of prophecy, and in consequence of that the truth of divine revelation.

Many of the principal prophecies of Scripture will by these means come under our consideration, and these may be best considered with a view to the series and order of time. The subject is curious as it is important, and will be very well worth *my* pains and *your* attention: and though it turn chiefly upon points of learning, yet I shall endeavour to render it as intelligible, and agreeable, and edifying as I can to all sorts of readers. It is hoped the work will prove the more generally acceptable, as it will not consist merely of abstract speculative divinity, but will be enlivened with a proper intermixture of history, and will include several of the most material transactions from the beginning of the world to this day.

NEWTON

ON THE

PROPHECIES.

I.—NOAH'S PROPHECY.

THE first prophecy that occurs in Scripture, is that part of the sentence pronounced upon the serpent, which is, as I may say, the first opening of Christianity, the first promise of our redemption. We read in Genesis (iii. 15.) "I will put enmity between thee and the woman, and between thy seed and her seed; it shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise his heel." If you understand this in the sense which is commonly put upon it by Christian interpreters, you have a remarkable prophecy and remarkably fulfilled. Taken in any other sense, it is not worthy of Moses, nor indeed of any sensible writer.

The history of the antediluvian times is very short and concise, and there are only a few prophecies relating to the deluge. As Noah was a preacher of righteousness to the old world, so he was a prophet to the new, and was enabled to predict the future condition of his posterity, which is a subject that upon many accounts requires a particular discussion.

It is an excellent character that is given of Noah, (Gen. v. 9.) "Noah was a just man, and perfect in his generations, and Noah walked with God." But the best of men are not without their infirmities; and Noah (Gen. ix. 20, 21.) having "planted a vineyard, and drank of the wine," became inebriated, not knowing perhaps the nature and strength of the liquor, or being through age incapable of bearing it: and Moses is so faithful an historian, that he records the failings and imperfections of the most venerable patriarchs, as well as their merits and virtues. Noah in this condition lay "uncovered within his tent and Ham the father of Canaan saw the nakedness of his father" (ver. 21, 22.); and instead of concealing his weakness, as a good-natured man or at least a dutiful son would have done, he cruelly exposed it "to his two brethren without" (ver. 22.). "But Shem and Japheth," more compassionate to the infirmities of their aged father, "took a garment and went backward" with such decency and respect, that "they saw not the nakedness of their father" at the same time that they covered it (ver. 23.). When "Noah awoke from his wine," he was informed of "what his younger son had done unto him" (ver. 24.). The [1]word in the original signifies his *little* son: and some [2]commentators therefore, on account of what follows, have imagined that Canaan joined with his father Ham in this mockery and insult upon Noah; and the [3]Jewish rabbins have a tradition, that Canaan was the first who saw Noah in this posture, and then went and called his father Ham, and concurred with him in ridiculing and exposing the old man. But this is a very arbitrary method of interpretation; no mention was made before of Canaan and of what he had done, but only of "Ham the father of Canaan;" and of him therefore must the phrase of *little son* or *youngest son* be naturally and necessarily understood.

In consequence of this different behaviour of his three sons, Noah as a patriarch was enlightened, and as the father of a family who is to reward or punish his children was empowered, to foretel the different fortunes of their families: for this prophecy relates not so much to themselves, as to their posterity, the people and nations descended from them. He was not prompted by wine or resentment; for neither the one nor the other could infuse the knowledge of futurity, or inspire him with the prescience of events, which happened hundreds, nay thousands of years afterwards. But God, willing to manifest his superintendence and government of the world, endued Noah with the spirit of prophecy, and enabled him in some measure to disclose the purposes of his providence towards the future race of mankind. At the same time it was some comfort and reward to Shem and Japheth, for their reverence and tenderness to their father, to hear of the *blessing* and *enlargement* of their posterity; and it was some mortification and punishment to Ham, for his mockery and cruelty to his father, to hear of the *malediction* and *servitude* of some of his children, and that as he was a wicked son himself, so a wicked race should spring from him.

This then was Noah's prophecy: and it was delivered, as[4] most of the ancient prophecies were delivered, in metre for the help of the memory. (Gen. ix. 25—27.)

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[1] קטן katan, *parvus*, *minor*, *minimus*.

[2] 'Hinc probabiliter colligitur eum fuisse paternæ iniquitatis socium.' Piscator apud Polum.

[3] Vid. Origen. in Genesim. p. 33. vol. 2. Edict. Benedict. 'Operose quæritur, cur Chami maledictionem in caput filii Chanaan contorserit. Respondet Theodoretus in Genes. quæst. 57. ab Hebræo quodam se didicisse primum Chanaan avi sui verenda animadvertisse, et patri ostentasse, tanquam de sene ridentem. Et vero tale quid legitur in Beresith Rabba sect. 37. qui liber scriptus fuit diu ante Theodoretum.' Bocharti Phaleg. l. 4 c. 37. col. 308.

[4] The reader may see this point proved at large in the very ingenious and learned Mr. Archdeacon Lowth's poetical Prælections (particularly Prælect. 18.) &c. a work that merits the attention of all who study the Hebrew language, and of the clergy especially.

"Cursed be Canaan;
A servant of servants shall he be unto his brethren.
Blessed be Jehovah the God of Shem;
And Canaan shall be their servant.
God shall enlarge Japheth,
And shall dwell in the tents of Shem,
And Canaan shall be their servant."

Canaan was the fourth son of Ham according to the order wherein they are mentioned in the ensuing chapter. And for what reason can you believe that Canaan was so particularly marked out for the curse? for his father Ham's transgression? But where would be the justice or equity to pass by Ham himself with the rest of his children, and to punish only Canaan for what Ham had committed? Such arbitrary proceedings are contrary to all our ideas of the divine perfections; and we may say in this case what was said in another, (Gen. xviii. 25.) "Shall not the Judge of all the earth do right?" The curse was so far from being pronounced upon Canaan for his father Ham's transgression, that we do not read that it was pronounced for his own, nor was executed till several hundred years after his death. The truth is, the curse is to be understood not so properly of Canaan, as of his descendants to the latest generations. It is thinking meanly of the ancient prophecies of Scripture, and having very imperfect, very unworthy conceptions of them, to limit their intention to particular persons. In this view the ancient prophets would be really what the Deists think them, little better than common fortune-tellers; and their prophecies would hardly be worth remembering or recording, especially in so concise and compendious a history as that of Moses. We must affix a larger meaning to them, and understand them not of single persons, but of whole nations; and thereby a nobler scene of things, and a more extensive prospect will be opened to us of the divine dispensations. The *curse* of *servitude* pronounced upon Canaan, and so likewise the promise of *blessing* and *enlargement* made to Shem and Japheth, are by no means to be confined to their own persons, but extend to their whole race; as afterwards the prophecies concerning Ishmael, and those concerning Esau and Jacob, and those relating to the twelve patriarchs, were not so properly verified in themselves as in their posterity, and thither we must look for their full and perfect completion. The curse therefore upon Canaan was properly a curse upon the Canaanites. God foreseeing the wickedness of this people (which began in their father Ham, and greatly increased in this branch of his family), commissioned Noah to pronounce a curse upon them, and to devote them to the servitude and misery, which their more common vices and iniquities would deserve. And this account was plainly written by Moses, for the encouragement of the Israelites, to support and animate them in their expedition against a people, who by their sins had forfeited the divine protection, and were destined to slavery from the days of Noah.

We see the purport and meaning of the prophecy, and now let us attend to the completion of it. "Cursed be Canaan;" and the Canaanites appear to have been an abominably wicked people. The sin and punishment of the inhabitants of Sodom and Gomorrah and the cities of the plain are too well known to be particularly specified: and for the other inhabitants of the land, which was promised to Abraham and his seed, God bore with them "till their iniquity was full" (Gen. xv. 16.). They were not only addicted to idolatry, which was then the case of the greater part of the world, but were guilty of the worst sort of idolatry; "for every abomination to the Lord, which he hateth, have they done unto their gods; for even their sons and their daughters they have burnt in the fire to their gods" (Deut. xii. 31.). Their religion was bad, and their morality (if possible) was worse; for corrupt religion and corrupt morals usually generate each other, and go hand in hand together. Read the 18th and the 20th chapters of Leviticus, and you will find that unlawful marriages and unlawful lusts, witchcraft, adultery, incest, sodomy, bestiality, and the like monstrous enormities were frequent and common among them. And was not a *curse* in the nature of things, as well as in the just judgment of God, deservedly entailed upon such a people and nation as this? It was not "for their own righteousness that the Lord brought the Israelites in to possess the land: but for the wickedness of these nations did the Lord drive them out" (Deut. ix. 4.): and he would have driven out the Israelites in like manner for the very same abominations. (Levit. xviii. 24, 25, 26, 28, 29.) "Defile not yourselves in any of these things; for in all these the nations are defiled which I cast out before you. And the land is defiled: therefore I do visit the iniquity thereof upon it, and the land itself vomiteth out her inhabitants. Ye shall therefore keep my statutes and my judgments, and shall not commit any of these abominations—That the land spue not you out also when ye defile it, as it spued out the nations that were before you. For whosoever shall commit any of these abominations, even the souls that commit them, shall be cut off from among their people."

But the curse particularly implies servitude and subjection. "Cursed be Canaan; a servant of servants shall he be unto his brethren." It is very well known that the word *brethren* in Hebrew comprehends more distant relations. The descendants therefore of Canaan were to be subject to the descendants of both Shem and Japheth: and the natural consequence of vice, in communities as well as in single persons, is slavery. The same thing is repeated again and again in the two following verses, "and Canaan shall be servant to them," or *their servant;* so that this is as it were the burden of the prophecy. Some [5] critics take the phrase of *servant of servants* strictly and literally, and say that the prediction was exactly fulfilled, when the Canaanites became servants to the Israelites, who had been servants to the Egyptians. But this is refining too much; the phrase of [6] *servant of servants* is of the same turn and cast as *holy of holies, king of kings, song of songs,* and the like expressions in Scripture; and imports that they should be the lowest and basest of servants.

We cannot be certain as to the time of the delivery of this prophecy; for the history of Moses is so concise, that it hath not gratified us in this particular. If the prophecy was delivered soon after the transactions, which immediately precede in the history (Gen. ix. 20.), Noah's "beginning to be a husbandman, and planting a vineyard," it was soon after the deluge, and then Canaan was prophesied of before he was born, as it was prophesied of Esau and Jacob (Gen. xxv. 23.) "the elder shall serve the younger," before the children "were born and had done either good or evil," as St. Paul saith (Rom. ix. 11.). If the prophecy was delivered a little before the transactions, which immediately follow in the history, it was a little before Noah's death, and he was enlightened in his last moments as Jacob was, to "foretell what should befall his posterity in the latter days" (Gen. xlix. 1.). However this matter be determined, it was several centuries after the delivery of this prophecy, when the Israelites, who were descendants of Shem, under the command of Joshua invaded the Canaanites, smote above thirty of their kings, took possession of their land, slew several of the inhabitants, made the Gibeonites and others servants and tributaries, and Solomon afterwards subdued the rest. (2 Chron. viii. 7—9.) "As for all the people that were left of the Hittites, and the Amorites, and the Perizzites, and the Hivites, and the Jebusites, which were not of Israel; but of their children who were left after them in the land, whom the children of Israel consumed not; them did Solomon make to pay tribute until this day. But of the children of Israel did Solomon make no servants for his work: but they were men of war, and chief of his captains, and captains of his chariots and horsemen." The Greeks and Romans too, who were descendants of Japheth, not only subdued Syria and Palestine, but also pursued and conquered such of the Canaanites as were any where remaining, as for instance the Tyrians and Carthaginians, the former of whom were ruined by Alexander and the Grecians, and the latter by Scipio and the Romans. 'This fate,' says [7] Mr. Mede, 'was it that made Hannibal, a child of Canaan, cry out with the amazement of his soul, 'Agnosco fortunam Carthaginis,' *I acknowledge the fortune of Carthage.*' And ever since the miserable remainder of this people have been slaves to a foreign yoke, first to the Saracens, who descended from Shem, and afterwards to the Turks, who descended from Japheth; and they groan under their dominion at this day.

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[5] 'Noa Chamum exsecratus prædixerat fore ut ejus posteri servi essent servorum: atque id impletum in Chananæis, tum cum subire coacti sunt Israelitarum jugum qui Ægyptiis diu servierant.' Bocharti Phaleg. l. 1. c. 1. col. 3, 4.

[6] 'S. Pompeius, studiis rudis, libertorum suorum libertus, *servorumque servus*; speciosis invidens ut pareret humillimis.' Velleius Paterc. ii. 73. Hic vero valet *postremus servorum*. Vid. Sallust. Fragm. Id. Velleeius, ii. 83. 'Infra servos cliens.'—From some MS. notes of Mr. Wasse's in the hands of Dr. Jortin.

Hitherto we have explained the prophecy according to the present copies of our Bible; but if we were to correct the text, as we should any ancient classic author in a like case, the whole perhaps might be made easier and plainer. *Ham the father of Canaan* is mentioned in the preceding part of the story; and how then came the person of a sudden to be changed into *Canaan?* The [8] Arabic version in these three verses hath *the father of Canaan* instead of *Canaan.* Some [9] copies of the Septuagint likewise have *Ham* instead of *Canaan*, as if Canaan was a corruption of the text. Vatablus and others[1] by *Canaan* understand *the father of Canaan*, which was expressed twice before. And if we regard the metre, this line "Cursed be Canaan," is much shorter than the rest,[2] as if something was

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[7] Mede's Works, b. 1. disc. 50. p. 284. Livy, l. 27. in fine.

[8] "Maledictus pater Canaan," &c. Arab.

[9] 'Les Septante dans quelques exemplaires au lieu de Canaan, lisent Cham, comme si le texte qui porte Canaan etoit corrompu.' Calmet on the text. So Ainsworth too.

[1] 'Quidam subaudiunt אבי *pater*, quod paulo ante bis expressum est, Maledictus Cham pater Chananæorum.' Vatab. in locum.

[2] My suspicion hath since been confirmed by the reverend and learned Mr. Green, fellow of Clare Hall in Cambridge; who is admirably well skilled in the Hebrew language and Hebrew metre, and hath given abundant proofs of his knowledge and judgment in these matters in his new translation and commentary on the song of Deborah, the prayer of Habakkuk, &c. He asserts, that according to Bishop Hare's metre, the words *ham abi* are necessary to fill up the verse. He proposes a farther emendation of the text, by the omission of one line, and the transposition of another, and would read the whole prophecy thus, according to the metre.

And Noah said,
Cursed be Ham the father of Canaan;
A servant of servants shall he be to his brethren.
And he said,
Blessed be Jehovah the God of Shem;
For he shall dwell in the tents of Shem.
God shall enlarge Japheth;
And Canaan shall be their servant.

If you will not allow this emendation to be right and certain, yet I think you must allow it to be probable and ingenious, to render the sense clearer and plainer, and to give to every part its just weight and proportion. Or the whole may, with only a transposition and without any omission, be represented thus;

deficient. May we not suppose therefore (without taking such liberties as Father Houbigant hath with the Hebrew text), that the copyist by mistake wrote only *Canaan* instead of *Ham the father of Canaan,* and that the whole passage was originally thus? *And Ham the father of Canaan saw the nakedness of his father, and told his two brethren without.—And Noah awoke from his wine, and knew what his younger son had done unto him. And he said, Cursed be* Ham the father of *Canaan; a servant of servants shall he be unto his brethren. And he said, Blessed be the Lord God of Shem; and* Ham the father of *Canaan shall be servant to them. God shall enlarge Japheth; and he shall dwell in the tents of Shem; and* Ham the father of *Canaan shall be servant to them.*

By this reading all the three sons of Noah are included in the prophecy, whereas otherwise Ham, who was the offender, is excluded, or is only punished in one of his children. Ham is characterized as *the father of Canaan* particularly, for the greater encouragement of the Israelites, who were going to invade the land of Canaan: and when it is said, *Cursed be Ham the father of Canaan; a servant of servants shall he be unto his brethren;* it is implied that his whole race was devoted to servitude, but particularly the Canaanites. Not that this was to take effect immediately, but was to be fulfilled in process of time, when they should forfeit their liberties by their wickedness. Ham at first subdued some of the posterity of Shem, as Canaan sometimes conquered Japheth; the Carthaginians, who were originally Canaanites, did particularly in Spain and Italy: but in time they were to be subdued, and to become servants to Shem and Japheth; and the change of their fortune from good to bad would render the curse still more visible. Egypt was *the land of Ham,* as it is often called in Scripture; and for many years it was a great and flourishing kingdom: but it was subdued by the Persians, who descended from Shem, and afterwards by the Grecians, who descended from Japheth; and from that time to this it hath constantly been in subjection to some or other of the posterity of Shem or Japheth. The whole continent of [3] Africa was peopled principally by the children of

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And Noah said,
Cursed be Ham the father of Canaan;
A servant of servants shall he be to his brethren.
And he said,
Blessed be the Lord God of Shem,
For he shall dwell in the tents of Shem;
And Ham the father of Canaan shall be their servant.
God shall enlarge Japheth,
And Ham the father of Canaan shall be their servant.

[3] 'Cham licet maledictus, non tamen fuit exclusus a terrenis benedictionibus—Quippe in mundi divisione, illi præter Ægyptum atque Africam universam Syriæ magna pars obtigit, &c.' Bocharti Phaleg. l. 4. c. 1. col. 203.

Ham: and for how many ages have the better parts of that country lain under the dominion of the Romans, and then of the Saracens, and now of the Turks? in what wickedness, ignorance, barbarity, slavery, misery, live most of the inhabitants? and of the poor negroes how many hundreds every year are sold and bought like beasts in the market, and are conveyed from one quarter of the world to do the work of beasts in another?

Nothing can be more complete than the execution of the sentence upon *Ham* as well as upon *Canaan:* and now let us consider the promises made to *Shem* and *Japheth.* "And he said (Gen. ix. 26.) Blessed be the Lord God of Shem; and Canaan shall be his servant:" or rather, *and Canaan shall be servant to them,* or *their servant,* that is to his brethren; for that, as we observed before, is the main part of the prophecy, and therefore is so frequently repeated. A learned[4] critic in the Hebrew language, who hath lately published some remarks on the printed Hebrew text, saith that 'if it should be thought preferable to refer the word *blessed* directly to *Shem,* as the word *cursed* is to *Canaan;* the words may be (and perhaps more pertinently) rendered—*Blessed of Jehovah, my God, be Shem!* See Gen. xxiv. 31.' Or if we choose (as most perhaps will choose) to follow our own as well as all the ancient versions, we may observe that the old patriarch doth not say *Blessed be Shem,* as he said, *Cursed be Canaan;* for men's evil springeth of themselves, but their good from God: and therefore in a strain of devotion breaking forth into thanksgiving to God as the author of all good to Shem Neither doth he say the same to Japheth; for God certainly may dispense his particular favours according to his good pleasure, and salvation was to be derived to mankind through Shem and his posterity. God prefers Shem to his elder brother Japheth, as Jacob was afterwards preferred to Esau, and David to his elder brothers, to shew that the order of grace is not always the same as the order of nature. The Lord being called *the God of Shem* particularly, it is plainly intimated that the Lord would be *his God* in a particular manner. And accordingly the church of God was among the posterity of Shem for several generations; and of "them (Rom. ix. 5.) as concerning the flesh Christ came."

But still Japheth was not dismissed without a promise. (Gen. ix. 47.) "God shall enlarge Japheth, and he shall dwell in the tents of Shem; and Canaan shall be servant to them," or *their servant.* "*God shall enlarge Japheth.*" Some render the word (it is so rendered in the margin of our Bibles) God shall *persuade* or *allure* Japheth, so that he shall come over to the true religion, "and dwell in the tents of Shem." But the[5] best critics in the language have remarked, besides other reasons, that they who translate the word by *persuade* or *allure*, did not consider, that when it is so taken, it is used in a bad sense, and governs an accusative case, and not a dative as in this place. "God shall enlarge Japheth," or *unto Japheth* is the best rendering; and in the original there is a manifest allusion to Japheth's name, such as is familiar to the Hebrew writers. As it was said of Noah (Gen. v. 29.) "This same shall comfort us," the name of *Noah* being thought to signify *comfort:* As it is said of Judah (Gen. xlix. 8.) "Thou art he whom thy brethren shall praise," and the name of *Judah* signifies *praise:* As it is said of Dan (ver. 16.) "Dan shall judge his people," and the name of *Dan* signifies *judging:* As it is said of Gad (ver. 19.) "A troop shall overcome him," and the name of *Gad* signifies a *troop* or company: So it is said here "God shall enlarge Japheth," and the name of *Japheth* signifies *enlargement.* Was Japheth then more *enlarged* than the rest? Yes he was both in territory and in children. The territories of Japheth's posterity were indeed very large, for[6] besides all Europe, great and extensive as it is, they possessed the lesser Asia, Media, part of Armenia, Iberia, Albania, and those vast regions towards the north, which anciently the Scythians inhabited, and now the Tartars inhabit; and it is not improbable that the New World was peopled by some of his northern descendants passing thither by the straits of Anian. The *enlargement* of Japheth may also denote a numerous progeny as well as ample territory: and if you consult the genealogies of the three brothers comprised in the following chapter, you will find that Japheth had *seven* sons, whereas Ham had only *four*, and Shem only *five:* and the northern hive (as Sir William Temple denominates it) was always remarkable for its fecundity, and hath been continually pouring forth swarms, and sending out colonies into the more southern parts, both in Europe and in Asia, both in former and in latter times.

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[4] See Kennicott's Dissertation, p. 561.

[5] Bocharti Phaleg. l. 3. c. 1. col. 149. Clericus in loc &c.

The following clause, "and he shall dwell in the tents of Shem," is capable of a double construction; for thereby may be meant either that *God* or that *Japheth shall dwell in the tents of Shem;* "in the tents of Shem," saith he, speaking according to the simplicity of those times, when men dwelt in tents and not in houses. They who prefer the former construction, seem to have the authority of the original text on their side; for there is no other noun to govern the verbs in the period, but *God;* there is no pronoun in the Hebrew, answering to the *he* which is inserted in our English translation: and the whole sentence would run thus, *God will enlarge Japheth, and will dwell in the tents of Shem:* and the Chaldee of [7] Onkelos also thus paraphraseth it, 'and will make his glory to dwell in the tabernacles of Shem.' They who prefer the latter construction, seem to have done it, that they might refer this 27th verse wholly to Japheth, as they refer the 26th wholly to Shem: but the other appears to me the more natural and easy construction. Taken in either sense, the prophecy hath been most punctually fulfilled. In the former sense it was fulfilled literally, when the *Shechinah* or divine presence rested on the ark, and dwelt in the tabernacle and temple of the Jews; and when "the Word who was with God and was God" (John i. 1.) *ἐσκήνωσεν*, pitched his tent, "and dwelt among us" (ver. 14.). In the latter sense it was fulfilled first, when the Greeks and Romans, who sprung originally from Japheth, subdued and possessed Judea and other countries of Asia belonging to Shem; and again spiritually, when they were proselyted to the true religion, and they who were not Israelites by birth, became Israelites by faith, and lived, as we and many others of Japheth's posterity do at this day, within the pale of the church of Christ.

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[6] '——iis omnino assentior, qui per hæc verba volunt Japhetho promitti, fore ut in terræ divisione amplissimam illi portionem habitandam Deus assignet. Quod Deum abunde præstitisse statim agnoscet quisquis, præter Europam quanta quanta est, ad Japhethi portionem pertinere cogitabit, Asiam minorem, et Mediam, et Armeniæ partem, et Iberiam, et Albaniam, et vastissimas illas regiones ad Boream, quas olim Scythæ, hodie Tartari obtinent. Ut de novo orbe taceam, in quem per fretum Anianis migrasse Scythas vero non est absimile.' Bocharti Phaleg. l. 3. c. 1. col. 149.

What think you now? Is not this a most extraordinary prophecy; a prophecy that was delivered near four thousand years ago, and yet hath been fulfilling through the several periods of time to this day! It is both wonderful and instructive. It is the history of the world as it were in epitome. And hence we are enabled to correct a mistake of one author, and expose the petulance of another.

1. The first is the learned and excellent Mr. Mede, an author always to be read with improvement, and to be corrected with reverence: but yet I conceive, that he hath carried matters too far in ascribing more to this prophecy than really belongs to it. For discoursing of the dispersions and habitations of the sons of Noah, he saith[8] that 'there hath never yet been a son of Ham, who hath shaken a sceptre over the head of Japheth: Shem hath subdued Japheth, and Japheth hath subdued Shem, but Ham never subdued either:' and this passage hath been cited by several [9] commentators to illustrate this prophecy. But this worthy person surely did not recollect, that Nimrod, the first monarch in the world, (Gen. x. 8.) was the son of Cush, who was the son of Ham. (ver. 6.) Misraim was another son of Ham; he was the father of the Egyptians, and the Egyptians

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[7] 'Et habitare faciet gloriam suam in tabernaculis Sem.'

[8] See Mede's Works, b. 1. disc. 49 and 50. p. 283. edit. 1672.

[9] Patrick, &c.

detained the Israelites in bondage several years. Shishak king of Egypt subdued Rehoboam king of Judah. (1 Kings xiv. 25.) Sesostris king of Egypt (the same probably as Shishak) conquered great part of Europe and of Asia, if there is any faith in ancient history. The Carthaginians too, who descended from the Canaanites, as we noted before, gained several victories over the Romans in Spain and Italy. It was a mistake therefore to say that Ham never subdued Shem or Japheth. It is enough if he hath generally and for much the greatest part of time been a servant to them, as he really hath been for two or three thousand years, and continues at present. This sufficiently verifies the prediction; and we should exceed the limits of truth, if we should extend it farther. We might also as well say (as some have said) that the complexion of the blacks was in consequence of Noah's curse. But though Ham hath in some instances and upon some occasions been superior, yet this is memorable enough, that of the four famous monarchies of the world, the Assyrian, Persian, Grecian, and Roman, the two former were of the descendants of Shem, as the two latter were of the sons of Japheth.

2. The other is the famous author of the Letters on the Study and Use of History, who hath strangely abused his talents in abusing this prophecy. For the true meaning and exact completion of it rightly considered, what room is there for ridicule? and how absurd and impertinent as well as gross and indecent are his reflections? 'The curse,' says he,[1] 'pronounced in it contradicts all our notions of order and of justice. One is tempted to think, that the patriarch was still drunk; and that no man in his senses could hold such language, or pass such a sentence.' But such will be the case, when men of more parts than judgment talk and write about things which they do not sufficiently understand; and especially in matters of religion, whereof they are by no means competent judges, having either never studied them at all, or studied them superficially and with prejudice. All that he hath written relating to these subjects betrays great weakness in a man of his capacity, weakness great as his malice; and we might have an easy victory over assertions without proofs, premises without conclusions, and conclusions without premises. But I love not controversy, and will only make two or three reflections just to give a specimen of the boasted learning and abilities of this writer.

His lordship seemeth to take a particular pleasure in railing at pedants, at the same time that he is himself one of the most pedantic of writers, if it be pedantry to make a vain ostentation of learning, and to quote authors without either reading or understanding them, or even knowing so much as who and what they are. 'The Codex Alexandrinus,' [2] saith he, 'we owe to George the monk.' We are indebted indeed to George the monk, more usually called Syncellus, for what is entitled *Vetus Chronicon* or an old chronicle. But the *Codex Alexandrinus* is quite another thing; it is, as all the learned know, the famous Greek MS. of the Old and New Testament, brought originally from Alexandria, and presented to Charles I. and now remaining in the King's library, of which it doth not appear that George the monk knew any thing, and it is evident that his lordship knew nothing. If he meant to say the *Chronicon Alexandrinum,* that is still another thing, and the work of another author.

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[1] Lord Bolingbroke's Works, vol. 2. Letter the 3d. p. 314. edit. quarto.

His lordship is of opinion,[3] that 'Virgil in those famous verses, Excudent alii, &c. might have justly ascribed to his countrymen the praise of writing history better than the Grecians.' But which are the Roman histories, that are to be preferred to the Grecian? Why, 'the remains, the precious remains,' says his lordship, 'of Sallust, of Livy, and of Tacitus.' But it happened that [4] Virgil died, before Livy had written his history, and before Tacitus was born. And is not this an excellent chronologer now to correct all ancient history and chronology sacred and profane?

His lordship is likewise pleased to say, [5] that 'Don Quixote believed, but even Sancho doubted:' and it may be asserted on the other side, that Sir Isaac Newton believed the prophecies, though his lordship did not, the principal reason of which may be found perhaps in the different life and morals of the one and the other. Nay the wisest politicians and historians have been believers, as well as the greatest philosophers. Raleigh and Clarendon believed; Bacon and Locke believed; and where then is the discredit to revelation, if Lord Bolingbroke was an infidel? "A scorner," as Solomon saith (Prov. xiv. 6.), "seeketh wisdom and findeth it not."

But there cannot be a stronger condemnation of his lordship's conduct, than his own words upon another occasion, in his famous Dissertation upon Parties. 'Some men there are, the pests of society I think them, who pretend a great regard to religion in general, but who take every opportunity of declaiming publicly against that system of religion, or at least against that church-establishment, which is received in Britain. Just so the men, of whom I have been speaking, affect a great regard to liberty in general; but they dislike so much the system of liberty established in Britain, that they are incessant in their endeavours to puzzle the plainest thing in the world, and to refine and distinguish away the life and strength of our constitution, in favour of the little, present, momentary turns, which they are retained to serve. What now would be the consequence, if all these endeavours should succeed? I am persuaded that the great philosophers, divines, lawyers, and politicians, who exert them, have not yet prepared and agreed upon the plans of a new religion, and of new constitutions in church and state. We should find ourselves therefore without any form of religion, or civil government. The first set of these missionaries would take off all the restraints of religion from the governed; and the latter set would remove, or render ineffectual, all the limitations and controls, which liberty hath prescribed to those that govern, and disjoint the whole frame of our constitution. Entire dissolution of manners, confusion, anarchy, or perhaps absolute monarchy, would follow, for it is possible, nay probable, that in such a state as this, and amidst such a rout of lawless savages, men would choose this government, absurd as it is, rather than have no government at all.'

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[2] Letter the 1st. p. 262. Ibid.

[3] Letter the 5th. p. 340, &c.

[4] Virgil died A. U. C. 735. Livy, according to Dodwell, finished his history in 745. Tacitus was consul in 850. See Fabricius.

[5] Letter the 4th. p. 130.

It is to be lamented that such a genius should be so employed: but the misapplication of those excellent talents with which God had entrusted him, was his reigning fault through every stage, through every scene of life. That which Lord Digby[6] said of the great Lord Strafford, may with more truth and justice be affirmed of him, that the malignity of his practices was hugely aggravated by those rare abilities of his, whereof God had given him the use, but the devil the application.

II.—THE PROPHECIES CONCERNING ISHMAEL.

ABRAHAM was the patriarch of greatest renown next after the times of Noah. He was favoured with several revelations; and from him two very extraordinary nations descended, the Ishmaelites and Israelites, concerning each of whom there are some remarkable prophecies. Ishmael, though the son of the bond-woman, and not properly the child of promise, was yet distinguished by some express predictions for the comfort and satisfaction of both his parents. In the 16th chapter of Genesis (ver. 6—12.) when Hagar "fled from the face of her mistress who had dealt hardly with her, the angel of the Lord found her in the wilderness, and said unto her, Return to thy mistress and submit thyself under her hands. And the angel of the Lord said unto her, I will multiply thy seed exceedingly, that it shall not be numbered for multitude. And the angel of the Lord said unto her, Behold thou art with child, and shalt bear a son, and shalt call his name Ishmael (that is, God shall hear) because the Lord hath heard thy affliction. And he will be a wild man; his hand will be against every man, and every man's hand against him; and he shall dwell in the presence of all his brethren." In the following chapter, when Isaac was promised to Abraham, God still reserved a blessing for Ishmael, "Behold I have blessed him, and will make him fruitful, and will multiply him exceedingly: twelve princes shall he beget, and I will make him a great nation" (ver. 20.). Afterwards when Hagar and Ishmael were sent forth into the wilderness, God said unto Abraham, (Gen. xxi. 13.) "And also of the son of the bond-woman will I make a nation, because he is thy seed." The same is repeated to Hagar (ver. 18.) "I will make him a great nation." And if we are curious to trace the course of events, we shall see how exactly these particulars have been fulfilled from the earliest down to the present times.

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[6] Rushworth, vol. 4. p. 225.

"I will multiply thy seed exceedingly, that it shall not be numbered for multitude:" and again, "Behold I have blessed him, and will make him fruitful, and will multiply him exceedingly." These passages evince that the prophecy doth not so properly relate to Ishmael, as to his posterity, which is here foretold to be very numerous. Ishmael married an Egyptian woman, as his mother was likewise an Egyptian, (Gen. xxi. 21.) and in a few years his family was increased so, that in the 37th chapter of Genesis we read of Ishmaelites trading into Egypt. Afterwards his seed was multiplied exceedingly in the Hagarenes, who probably were denominated from his mother Hagar; and in the Nabathæans, who had their name from his son Nebaioth: and in the Itureans, who were so called from his son Jetur or Itur; and in the Arabs, especially the Scenites, and the Saracens, who overran a great part of the world: and his descendants, the Arabs, are a very numerous people at this day.

"Twelve princes shall he beget." This circumstance is very particular, but it was punctually fulfilled; and Moses hath given us the names of these twelve princes. (Gen. xxv. 16.) "These are the sons of Ishmael, and these are their names, by their towns, and by their castles; twelve princes according to their nations:" by which we are to understand, not that they were so many distinct sovereign princes, but only heads of clans or tribes. Strabo frequently mentions the Arabian *phylarchs*, as he denominates them, or rulers of tribes: and Melo, quoted by Eusebius from Alexander Polyhistor,[1] a heathen historian, relates that 'Abraham of his Egyptian wife begat twelve sons (he should have said one son who begat twelve sons) who departing into Arabia divided the region between them, and were the first kings of the inhabitants; whence even to our days the Arabians have twelve kings of the same names as the first.' And ever since the people have been governed by phylarchs, and have lived in tribes; and still continue to do so, as[2] Thevenot and other modern travellers testify.

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[1] Ἐκ μὲν τῆς Αἰγυπτίας γεννῆσαι υἱοὺς ιβʹ, οὓς δὴ εἰς Ἀραβίαν ἀπαλλαγέντας διελέσθαι τὴν χώραν καὶ πρώτους βασιλεῦσαι τῶν ἐγχωρίων. ὅθεν ἕως καθ᾿ ἡμᾶς δώδεκα εἶναι βασιλεῖς Ἀράβων ὁμωνύμους ἐκείνοις. *Ex Ægyptia liberos duodecim genuisse, qui in Arabiam profecti eam inter se diviserint locique hominibus principes imperarint: ex quo factum sit, ut reges Arabum duodecim primis illis cognomines ad nostra usque tempora numerentur.* Euseb. Præpar. Evang. l. 9. c. 19.

"And I will make him a great nation." This is repeated twice or thrice; and it was accomplished, as soon as in the regular course of nature it could be accomplished. His seed in process of time grew into a great nation, and such they continued for several ages, and such they remain to this day. They might indeed emphatically be styled *a great nation,* when the Saracens had made those rapid and extensive conquests, and erected one of the largest empires that ever were in the world.

"And he will be a wild man." In the original it is a *wild ass-man,* and the learned[3] Bochart translates it 'tam ferus quam onager,' *as wild as a wild ass;* so that that should be eminently true of him, which in the book of Job (xl. 12.) is affirmed of mankind in general, "Man is born like a wild ass's colt." But what is the nature of the creature, to which Ishmael is so particularly compared? It cannot be described better than it is in the same book of Job, (xxxix. 5—8.) "Who hath sent out the wild ass free? or who hath loosed the bands of the wild ass? Whose house I have made the wilderness, and the barren land his dwellings. He scorneth the multitude of the city, neither regardeth he the crying of the driver. The range of the mountains is his pasture, and he searcheth after every green thing." Ishmael therefore and his posterity were to be wild, fierce, savage, ranging in the deserts, and not easily softened and tamed to society: and whoever hath read or known any thing of this people, knoweth this to be their true and genuine character. It is said of Ishmael (Gen. xxi. 20.), that "he dwelt in the wilderness, and became an archer:" and the same is no less true of his descendants than of himself. "He dwelt in the wilderness;" and his sons still inhabit the same wilderness, and many of them neither sow nor plant,[4] according to the best accounts ancient and modern. "And he became an archer;" and such were the Itureans, whose[5] bows and arrows are famous in all authors; such were the mighty men of Kedar in Isaiah's time (Isa. xxi. 17.); and such the Arabs have been from the beginning, and are at this time. It was late before they admitted the use of fire-arms among them;[6] the greater part of them still are strangers to them, and still continue skilful archers.

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[2] See Part 1. b. 2. c. 32. See likewise Harris's Voyages, vol. 2. b. 2. c. 9.

[3] Hierozoic. Pars prior. l. 3. c. 16. c. 878.

[4] Ammianus Marcellinus, l. 14. c. 4. Harris. vol. 2. b. 2. c. 9.

[5] 'Ityræos taxi torquentur in arcus.' Virgil. Georg. ii. 448. 'Itureis cursus fuit inde sagittis.' Lucan. vii. 230.

"His hand will be against every man, and every man's hand against him." The one is the natural, and almost necessary consequence of the other. Ishmael lived by prey and rapine in the wilderness; and his posterity have all along infested Arabia and the neighbouring countries with their robberies and incursions. They live in a state of continual war with the rest of the world, and are both robbers by land, and pirates by sea. As they have been such enemies to mankind, it is no wonder that mankind have been enemies to them again, that several attempts have been made to extirpate them; and even now as well as formerly travellers are forced to go with arms and in caravans or large companies, and to march and keep watch and guard like a little army, to defend themselves from the assaults of these freebooters, who run about in troops, and rob and plunder all whom they can by any means subdue. These robberies they also[7] justify 'by alleging the hard usage of their father Ishmael, who being turned out of doors by Abraham had the open plains and deserts given him by God for his patrimony, with permission to take whatever he could find there. And on this account they think they may, with a safe conscience, indemnify themselves, as well as they can, not only on the posterity of Isaac, but also on every body else; always supposing a sort of kindred between themselves and those they plunder. And in relating their adventures of this kind, they think it sufficient to change the expression, and instead of *I robbed a man of such or such a thing,* to say, *I gaiend it.*'

"And he shall dwell in the presence of all his brethren;" shall *tabernacle,* for many of the Arabs dwell in tents, and are therefore called *Scenites.* It appears that they dwelt in tents in the wilderness so long ago as in Isaiah and Jeremiah's time; (Is. xiii. 20. Jer. iii. 2.) and they do the same at this day. This is very extraordinary, that "his hand should be against every man, and every man's hand against him," and yet that he should be able to "dwell in the presence of all his brethren:" but extraordinary as it was, this also hath been fulfilled both in the person of Ishmael, and in his posterity. As for Ishmael himself, the sacred historian afterwards relates (Gen. xxv. 17, 18.) that "the years of the life of Ishmael were an hundred and thirty and seven years, and he died in the presence of all his brethren." As for his posterity, they dwelt likewise in the presence of all their brethren, Abraham's sons by Keturah, the Moabites and

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[6] Thevenot in Harris. vol. 2. b. 2. c. 9. § 1. p. 30, 31. where he also quotes Voyage dans la Palest. p. 220, &c.

[7] Sale's Prelim. Discourse to the Koran.

Ammonites descendants of Lot, the Israelites descendants of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and the Edomites descendants of Abraham, Isaac, and Esau. And they still subsist a distinct people, and inhabit the country of their progenitors, notwithstanding the perpetual enmity between them and the rest of mankind. It may be said perhaps that the country was not worth conquering, and its barrenness was its preservation: but this is a mistake, for by all accounts, though the greater part of it be sandy and barren deserts, yet here and there are interspersed beautiful spots and fruitful valleys. One part of the country was anciently known and distinguished by the name of *Arabia the happy*. And now the proper Arabia is by the oriental writers generally divided into five provinces. Of these the chief is the province of Yaman, which, as a [8]learned writer asserts upon good authorities, ‘has been famous from all antiquity for the happiness of its climate, its fertility and riches. The delightfulness and plenty of Yaman are owing to its mountains; for all that part which lies along the Red Sea, is a dry barren desert, in some places ten or twelve leagues over, but in return bounded by those mountains, which being well watered, enjoy an almost continual spring, and besides coffee, the peculiar produce of this country, yield great plenty and variety of fruits, and in particular excellent corn, grapes, and spices. The soil of the other provinces is much more barren than that of Yaman; the greater part of their territories being covered with dry sands, or rising into rocks, interspersed here and there with some fruitful spots, which receive their greatest advantages from their water and palm trees.’ But if the country was ever so bad, one would think it should be for the interest of the neighbouring princes and states at any hazard to root out such a pestilent race of robbers: and actually it hath several times been attempted, but never accomplished. They have from first to last maintained their independency, and notwithstanding the most powerful efforts for their destruction, still dwell in the presence of all their brethren, and in the presence of all their enemies.

We find that in the time of Moses, they were grown up into “twelve princes according to their nations” (Gen. xxv. 16.); “and they dwelt (saith Moses, ver. 18.) from Havilah unto Shur, that is before Egypt, as thou goest towards Assyria:” but yet we do not find that they were ever subject to either of their powerful neighbours, the Egyptians or Assyrians. The conquests of Sesostris, the great king of Egypt, are much magnified by Diodorus Siculus; and probably he might subdue some of the western provinces of Arabia bordering upon Egypt, but he was obliged, as [9]Diodorus informs us, to draw a line from Heliopolis to Pelusium, to secure Egypt from the incursions of the Arabs. They were therefore not subjects, but enemies to the Egyptians; as they were likewise to the Assyrians, for they assisted [1] Belesis and Arbaces in overturning that empire, assisted them not as fellow-rebels, but as an independent state with their auxiliary forces.

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[8] Sale's Prelim. Disc. ibid. p. 2, 3.

[9] Diod. Sic. l. i. c. 57. ed. Wesseling.

The next great conquerors of the east were Cyrus and the Persians; but neither he nor any of his successors ever reduced the whole body of the Arabs to subjection. They might conquer some of the exterior, but never reached the interior parts of the country: and Herodotus, the historian who lived nearest to those times, saith expressly, that [2] the Arabs were never reduced by the Persians to the condition of subjects, but were considered by them as friends, and opened to them a passage into Egypt, which without the assistance and permission of the Arabs would have been utterly impracticable; and in [3] another place he saith, that while Phœnicia, Palestine, Syria, and the neighbouring countries were taxed, the Arabian territories continued free from paying any tribute. They were then regarded as friends, but afterwards they assisted with their forces [4] Amyrtæus king of Egypt against Darius Nothus, and [5] Euagoras king of Cyprus against Artaxerxes Mnemon; so that they acted as friends or enemies to the Persians, just as they thought proper, and as it suited their humour or their interest.

Alexander the Great then overturned the Persian empire, and conquered Asia. The neighbouring princes sent their ambassadors to make their submissions. The Arabs[6] alone disdained to acknowledge the conqueror, and scorned to send any embassy, or to take any notice of him. This slight provoked him to such a degree, that he meditated an expedition against them; and the great preparations which he made for it, shewed that he thought them a very formidable enemy; but death intervened, and put an end to all that his ambition or resentment had formed against them. Thus they happily escaped the fury of his arms, and were never subdued by any of his successors. Antigonus, one of the greatest of his successors,[7] made two attempts upon them, one by his general Athenæus, and the other by his own son Demetrius, but both without success; the former was defeated, and the latter was glad to make peace with them, and leave them at their liberty. Neither would they suffer the people employed by Antigonus, to gather the bitumen on the lake Asphaltites, whereby he hoped greatly to increase his revenue. The Arabs fiercely attacked the workmen and the guards, and forced them to desist from their undertaking. So true is the assertion of [8]Diodorus, that ‘ neither the Assyrians formerly, nor the kings of the Medes and Persians, nor yet of the Macedonians, were able to subdue them ; nay though they led many and great forces against them, yet they could not accomplish their attempts.’ We find them afterwards sometimes at peace, and sometimes at war with the neighbouring states ; sometimes joining the Syrians, and sometimes the Egyptians ; sometimes assisting the Jews, and sometimes plundering them ; and in all respects acting like a free people, who neither feared nor courted any foreign power whatever.

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[1] Diod. Sic. l. ii. c. 24.

[2] Ἀράβιοι δὲ οὐδαμᾶ κατήκουσαν ἐπὶ δουλοσύνῃ Πέρσῃσι, ἀλλὰ ξεῖνοι ἐγένοντο, παρέντες Καμβύσεα ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον· ἀεκόντων γὰρ Ἀραβίων, οὐκ ἂν ἐσβάλοιεν Πέρσαι εἰς Αἴγυπτον. *Arabes nunquam a Persis in servitutem redacti sunt, sed hospites exstiterunt, quum Cambysi aditum in Ægyptum permisissent: quibus invitis haudquaquam fuissent ingressi Persæ Ægyptum.* Herod. l. iii. §. 88.

[3] Ibid. § 91. πλὴν μοίρης τῆς Ἀραβίων (ταῦτα γὰρ ἦν ἀτελέα)—*præter Arabum partem (hæc enim erat immunis).*

[4] Diodorus Siculus, l. 13. c. 46. Prideaux Connect. p. 1. b. 6. Anno 410.

[5] Diodorus Siculus, l. 15. c. 2. Prideaux Connect. p. 1. b. 7. an. 386.

[6] Strabo, l. 16. p. 1076. & 1132. Edit. Amstel. 1707. Arrian. l. 7. p. 300. Edit. Gronov.

[7] Diodorus Siculus, l. 19. c. 94.

The Romans then invaded the east, and subdued the countries adjoining, but were never able to reduce Arabia into the form of a Roman province. It is too common with historians to say that such or such a country was conquered, when perhaps only a part of it was so. It is thus that [9]Plutarch asserts that the Arabs submitted to Lucullus ; whereas the most that we can believe is, that he might subdue some particular tribes ; but he was recalled, and the command of the Roman army in Asia was given to Pompey. Pompey, though he triumphed over the three parts of the world, could not yet conquer Arabia. He [1] carried his arms into the country, obtained some victories, and compelled Aretas to submit ; but other affairs soon obliged him to retire, and by retiring he lost all the advantages which he had gained. His forces were no sooner withdrawn, than the Arabs made their incursions again into the Roman provinces. Ælius Gallus in the reign of Augustus[2] penetrated far into the country, but a strange distemper made terrible havoc in his army, and after two years spent in this unfortunate expedition, he was glad to escape with the small remainder of his forces. The emperor Trajan reduced some parts of Arabia, but he could never subdue it entirely ; and when he besieged the city of the Hagarenes, as [3]Dion says, his soldiers were repelled by lightnings, thunderings, hail, whirlwinds, and other prodigies, and were constantly so repelled, as often as they renewed their assaults. At the same time great swarms of flies infested his camp; so that he was forced at last to raise the siege, and retired with disgrace into his own dominions. About eighty years after the emperor Severus twice besieged the same city with a numerous army and a train of military engines; but he had no better success than Trajan. God,[4] says the heathen historian, preserved the city by the backwardness of the emperor at one time, and by that of his forces at another. He made some assaults, but was baffled and defeated, and returned with precipitation as great as his vexation for his disappointment. And if such great emperors and able warriors as Trajan and Severus could not succeed in their attempts, it is no wonder that the following emperors could prevail nothing. The Arabs continued their incursions and depredations, in Syria and other Roman provinces, with equal licence and impunity.

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[8] Οὔθ᾽ οἱ Ἀσσύριοι τὸ παλαιὸν, οὔθ᾽ οἱ Μήδων καὶ Περσῶν, ἔτι δὲ Μακεδόνων βασιλεῖς ἠδυνήθησαν αὐτοὺς καταδουλώσασθαι, πολλὰς μὲν καὶ μεγάλας δυνάμεις ἐπ᾽ αὐτοὺς ἀγαγόντες, οὐδέποτε δὲ τὰς ἐπιβολὰς συντελέσαντες. *nec Assyrii olim, nec Medi ac Persæ, imo nec Macedonum reges subigere illos potuere, qui licet magnis in eos copiis moverint, nunquam tamen incepta ad finem perduxere.* Diod. Sic. l. 2. c. 48.

[9] Plutarch. in Lucullo passim.

[1] Plutarch in Pompeio, § 41, 42.

[2] Strabo, l. 16. p. 1126. Dion. Cass. Hist. l. 53. § 29. ed. Reimar. calls him by mistake Ælius Largus.

[3] Ἐγένοντο δὲ βρονταὶ, καὶ ἴριδες ὑπεφαίνοντο. ἀστραπαί τε καὶ ζάλη, χάλαζα καὶ κεραυνοὶ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐνέπιπτον, ὁπότε προσβάλοιεν. καὶ ὁπότε οὖν δειπνοῖεν, μυῖαι τοῖς βρώμασι καὶ τοῖς πόμασι προσιζάνουσαι, δυσχερείας ἅπαντα ἐνεπίμπλων. καὶ Τραϊανὸς μὲν ἐκεῖθεν οὕτως ἀπῆλθε. *Ibi cœlum tonitru contremuit, irides visæ sunt, fulgura, procellæ, grando, fulmina in Romanos cadebant, quoties in illos impetum facerent : quotiesque cœnarent, muscæ tam esculentis quam potulentis insidentes, cuncta nausea quadam implebant. Itaque Trajanus inde proficiscitur.* Dionis Hist. l. 68. § 31.

Such was the state and condition of the Arabs to the time of their famous prophet Mohammed, who laid the foundations of a mighty empire: and then for several centuries they were better known among the European nations by the name of the *Sarraceni* or *Saracens*, the *Arraceni*[5] of Pliny, and the [6] *Hagarenes* of Holy Scripture. Their conquests were indeed amazingly rapid; they can be compared to nothing more properly than to a sudden flood or inundation. In a few years the Saracens overran more countries, and subdued more people than the Romans did in several centuries. They were then not only free and independent of the rest of the world, but were themselves masters of the most considerable parts of the earth. And so they continued for [7] about three centuries; and after their empire was dissolved, and they were reduced within the limits of their native country, they still maintained their liberty against the Tartars, Mamalucs, Turks, and all foreign enemies whatever. Whoever were the conquerors of Asia, they were still unconquered, still continued their incursions, and preyed upon all alike. The Turks have now for several centuries been lords of the adjacent countries; but they have been so little able to restrain the depredations of the Arabs,[8] that they have been obliged to pay them a sort of annual tribute for the safe passage and security of the pilgrims, who usually go in great companies to Mecca; so that the Turks have rather been dependent upon them, than they upon the Turks. And they still continue the same practices, and preserve the same superiority, if we may believe the concurrent testimony of modern travellers of all nations.

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[4] Καὶ οὕτω θεὸς ὁ ῥυσάμενος τὴν πόλιν, τοὺς μὲν στρατιώτας δυνηθέντας ἂν εἰς αὐτὴν εἰσελθεῖν, διὰ τοῦ Σεβήρου ἀνεκάλεσε, καὶ τὸν Σεβῆρον αὖ, βουληθέντα αὐτὴν μετὰ τοῦτο λαβεῖν, διὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐκώλυσεν. *Itaque Deus urbem liberavit, qui per Severum revocavit milites, quum possent in ipsam ingredi; et Severum cupientem eandem postea capere, per milites prohibuit.* Ibid. l. 75. § 12.

[5] Plin. Nat. Hist. l. vi. c. 32. ubi vide notam Harduini.

[6] '*Hagarenes*, the descendants of Ishmael. They are called also Ishmaelites and Saracens, &c.' Calmet's Dict.

[7] The Saracens began their conquests A. D. 622. and to reign at Damascus A. D. 637. Their empire was broken and divided A. D. 936. See Dr. Blair's Chronol. Tables. Tab. 33 and 39. and Sir Isaac Newton on the Apocalypse, c. 3. p. 304, 305.

[8] See Thevenot in Harris, vol. 2. b. 2. c. 9. and Demetrius Cantemir's Hist. of the Othman empire in Ahmed II. p. 393.

Two of our own nation have lately travelled into those parts, and have written and published their travels, both men of literature, both reverend divines, and writers of credit and character, Dr. Shaw and Bishop Pococke; and in several instances they confirm the account that we have given of this people. 'With regard to the manners and customs of the Bedoweens,' saith [9] Dr. Shaw, 'it is to be observed that they retain a great many of those we read of in sacred as well as profane history; being, if we except their religion, the same people they were two or three thousand years ago; without ever embracing any of those novelties in dress or behaviour, which have had so many periods and revolutions in the Moorish and Turkish cities.' And after giving some account of their hospitality, he proceeds thus; 'Yet the outward behaviour of the Arab frequently gives the lie to his inward temper and inclination. For he is naturally thievish and treacherous; and it sometimes happens that those very persons are overtaken and pillaged in the morning, who were entertained the night before, with all the instances of friendship and hospitality. Neither are they to be accused for plundering strangers only, and attacking almost every person whom they find unarmed and defenceless, but for those many implacable and hereditary animosities, which continually subsist among them, literally fulfilling to this day the prophecy, "that Ishmael should be a wild man; his hand should be against every man, and every man's hand against him."' Dr. Shaw himself [1] was robbed and plundered by a party of Arabs in his journey from Ramah to Jerusalem, though he was escorted by four bands of Turkish soldiers: and yet the Turks at the same time paid a stipulated sum to the Arabs, in order to secure a safe passage for their caravans: and there cannot surely be a stronger proof, not only of the independency of the Arabs, but even of their superiority, not only of their enjoying their liberty, but even of their abusing it to licentiousness. Bishop Pococke was the last who travelled into those parts; and he hath informed us, that the present inhabitants of Arabia resemble the ancient in several respects; that [2] they live under tents, and stay in one place as long as they have water and shrubs and trees for their camels to feed on, for there is no tillage nor grass in all this country; that all their riches consist in camels, a few goats, and sometimes sheep, so that they live in great poverty, having nothing but a few dates and a little goats milk, and bring all their corn eight or ten days' journey from Cairo; that they are in different nations or clans, each obeying the orders of its great chief, and every encampment those of its particular chief; and though seemingly divided, yet they are all united in a sort of league together; that they [3] love plunder, and the roving sort of life this disposition leads them to, have good horses, and manage them and their pikes with much address; those on foot use poles, with which they fence off the spear, with great art. So that authors both sacred and profane, Jewish and Arabian, Greek and Roman, Christian and Mahommedan, ancient and modern, all agree in the same account: and if any are desirous of seeing the matter deduced more at large, they may be referred to a dissertation upon the independency of the Arabs by the learned authors of the Universal History.

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[9] Shaw's Travels, p. 300, &c.

[1] Preface to his Travels, p. vii.

[2] Pococke's Description of the East, vol. 1. b. iii. c. 2.

An author, who hath lately published an account of Persia, having occasion to speak of the Arabians, [4] says, 'their expertness in the use of the lance and sabre, renders them fierce and intrepid. Their skill in horsemanship, and their capacity of bearing the heat of their burning plains, give them also a superiority over their enemies. Hence every petty chief in his own district considers himself as a sovereign prince, and as such exacts customs from all passengers. Their conduct in this respect has often occasioned their being considered in no better light than robbers, &c. They generally marry within their own tribe, &c. When they plunder caravans travelling through their territories, they consider it as reprisals on the Turks and Persians, who often make inroads into their country, and carry away their corn and their flocks.'

Who can fairly consider and lay all these particulars together, and not perceive the hand of God in this whole affair from the beginning to the end? The sacred historian saith, that these prophecies concerning Ishmael were delivered partly by the angel of the Lord, and partly by God himself: and indeed who but God, or one raised and commissioned by him, could describe so particularly the genius and manners, not only of a single person before he was born, but of a whole people from the first founder of the race to the present time? It was somewhat wonderful, and not to be foreseen by human sagacity or prudence, that a man's whole posterity should so nearly resemble him, and retain the same inclinations, the same habits, the same customs throughout all ages. The waters of the purest spring or fountain are soon changed and polluted in their course; and the farther still they flow, the more they are incorporated and lost in other waters. How have the modern Italians degenerated from the courage and virtues of the old Romans? How are the French and English polished and refined from the barbarism of the ancient Gauls and Britons? Men and manners change with times: but in all changes and revolutions the Arabs have still continued the same with little or no alteration. And yet it cannot be said of them, as of some barbarous nations, that they have had no commerce or intercourse with the rest of mankind; for by their conquests they overran a great part of the earth, and for some centuries were masters of most of the learning that was then in the world: but however they remained and still remain the same fierce savage intractable people, like their great ancestor in every thing, and different from most of the world besides. Ishmael was circumcised; and so are his posterity to this day: and as Ishmael was circumcised when he was thirteen years old, so were the Arabs at the same age according to Josephus.[5] He was born of Hagar, who was a concubine; and they still indulge themselves in the use of mercenary wives and concubines. He lived in tents in the wilderness, shifting from place to place; and so do his descendants, particularly those therefore called Scenites[6] formerly, and those called Bedoweens at this day. He was an archer in the wilderness; and so are they. He was to be the father of twelve princes or heads of tribes; and they live in clans or tribes at this day. He was a wild man, his hand against every man, and every man's hand against him: and they live in the same state of war, their hand against every man, and every man's hand against them.

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[3] B. iv. c. 4.

[4] Hanway's Travels, vol. 4. part 5. c. 29. p. 221, &c.

This, I say, is somewhat wonderful, that the same people should retain the same dispositions for so many ages; but it is still more wonderful, that with these dispositions, and this enmity to the whole world, they should still subsist in spite of the world an independent and free people. It cannot be pretended, that no probable attempts were ever made to conquer them; for the greatest conquerors in the world have almost all in their turns attempted it, and some of them have been very near effecting it. It cannot be pretended that the dryness or inaccessibleness of their country hath been their preservation; for their country hath been often penetrated, though never entirely subdued. I know that [7] Diodorus Siculus accounts for their preservation from the dryness of their country, that they have wells digged in proper places known only to themselves, and their enemies and invaders through ignorance of these places perish for want of water: but this account is far from being an adequate and just representation of the case; large armies have found the means of subsistence in their country; none of their powerful invaders ever desisted on this account; and therefore that they have not been conquered, we must impute to some other cause. When in all human probability they were upon the brink of ruin, then (as we have before seen at large) they were signally and providentially delivered. Alexander was preparing an expedition against them, when an inflammatory fever cut him off in the flower of his age. Pompey was in the career of his conquests, when urgent affairs called him elsewhere. Ælius Gallus had penetrated far into the country, when a fatal disease destroyed great numbers of his men, and obliged him to return. Trajan besieged their capital city, but was defeated by thunder and lightning, whirlwinds and other prodigies, and that as often as he renewed his assaults. Severus besieged the same city twice, and was twice repelled from before it; and the historian Dion, a man of rank and character, though an heathen, plainly ascribes the defeat of these two emperors to the interposition of a divine power. We who know the prophecies, may be more assured of the reality of a divine interposition: and indeed otherwise how could a single nation stand out against the enmity of the whole world for any length of time, and much more for near four thousand years together? The great empires round them have all in their turns fallen to ruin, while they have continued the same from the beginning, and are likely to continue the same to the end: and this in the natural course of human affairs was so highly improbable, if not altogether impossible, that as nothing but a divine prescience could have foreseen it, so nothing but a divine power could have accomplished it.

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[5] Antiq. l. 1. c. 12. § 2. Edit. Hudson. Vide etiam Pocockii Specimen. Hist. Arab. p. 319.

[6] 'Scenitæ—vagi—a tabernaculis [ἀϖὸ τῶν σϰηνῶν] cognominati.' Plin. l. 6. c. 28. § 32. Pocockii Specimen. Hist. Arab. p. 87.

[7] Diodorus Siculus, l. 2. c. 48. et l. 19. c. 94.

These are the only people besides the Jews, who have subsisted as a distinct people from the beginning; and in some respects they very much resemble each other. The Arabs as well as the Jews are descended from Abraham, and both boast of their descent from that father of the faithful. The Arabs as well as the Jews are circumcised, and both profess to have derived that ceremony from Abraham. The Arabs as well as the Jews had originally twelve patriarchs or heads of tribes, who were their princes or governors. The Arabs as well as the Jews marry among themselves and in their own tribes. The Arabs as well as the Jews are singular in several of their customs, and are standing monuments to all ages, of the exactness of the divine predictions, and of the veracity of Scripture-history. We may with more confidence believe the particulars related of Abraham and Ishmael, when we see them verified in their posterity at this day. This is having as it were ocular demonstration for our faith. This is proving by plain matter of fact, that "the Most High ruleth in the kingdoms of men," and that his truth, as well as his "mercy, endureth for ever."

III.—THE PROPHECIES CONCERNING JACOB AND ESAU.

AS it pleased God to disclose unto Abraham the state and condition of his posterity by Ishmael, who was the son of the bond-woman; it might be with reason expected, that something should be predicted concerning his posterity also by Isaac, who was the son of the free-woman. He was properly the child of promise, and the prophecies relating to him and his family are much more numerous than those relating to Ishmael: but we will select and enlarge upon such only, as have reference to these latter ages.

It was promised to Abraham before Ishmael or any son was born to him, (Gen. xii. 3.) "In thee shall all families of the earth be blessed." But after the birth of Ishmael and Isaac, the promise was limited to Isaac, (Gen. xxi. 12.) "for in Isaac shall thy seed be called." And accordingly to Isaac was the promise repeated, (Gen. xxiv. 4.) "In thy seed shall all nations of the earth be blessed." The Saviour of the world therefore was not to come of the family of Ishmael, but of the family of Isaac; which is an argument for the truth of the Christian religion in preference to the Mohammedan, drawn from an old prophecy and promise made two thousand years before Christ, and much more before Mohammed was born.

The land of Canaan was promised to Abraham and his seed four hundred years before they took possession of it (Gen. xv.). It was promised again to Isaac (Gen. xxvi. 3.): "Sojourn in this land, and I will be with thee, and will bless thee: for unto thee and unto thy seed I will give all these countries, and I will perform the oath which I sware unto Abraham thy father." Now it is very well known, that it was not till after the death of Moses, who wrote these things, that the Israelites got possession of the land under the command of Joshua. They remained in possession of it several ages in pursuance of these prophecies: and afterwards, when for their sins and iniquities they were to be removed from it, their removal also was foretold, both the carrying away of the ten tribes, and the captivity of the two remaining tribes for seventy years, and likewise their final captivity and dispersion into all nations, till in the fulness of time they shall be restored again to the land of their inheritance.

It was foretold to Abraham that his posterity should be multiplied exceedingly above that of others; (Gen. xii. 2.) "I will make of thee a great nation;" and (xxii. 17.) "in blessing I will bless thee, and in multiplying I will multiply thy seed as the stars of heaven, and as the sand which is upon the seashore." The same promise was continued to Isaac, (Gen xxvi. 4.) "I will make thy seed to multiply as the stars of heaven." And not to mention the vast increase of their other posterity, how soon did their descendants by Jacob grow up into a mighty nation? and how numerous were they formerly in the land of Canaan? how numerous were they in other parts of the world, according to the accounts of Philo and Josephus? and after the innumerable massacres and persecutions which they have undergone, how numerous are they still in their present dispersion among all nations? It is computed that there are as many Jews now, or more than ever there were, since they have been a nation. A learned[1] foreigner, who hath written a history of the Jews as a supplement and continuation of the history of Josephus, says that 'it is impossible to fix the number of persons this nation is at present composed of. But yet we have reason to believe, there are still near three millions of people, who profess this religion, and as their phrase is, *are witnesses of the unity of God in all the nations of the world.*' And who could foretel such a wonderful increase and propagation of a branch only of one man's family, but the same divine power that could effect it?

But Isaac had two sons, whose families did not grow up and incorporate into one people, but were separated into two different nations: and therefore, as it had been necessary before to specify whether Ishmael or Isaac was to be heir of the promises, so there was a necessity for the same distinction now between Esau and Jacob. Accordingly, when their mother had conceived, "the children struggled together within her" (Gen. xxv. 22.); and it was revealed unto her by the Lord (ver. 23.) "Two nations are in thy womb, and two manner of people shall be separated from thy bowels; and the one people shall be stronger than the other people, and the elder shall serve the younger." The same divine Spirit influenced and directed their father to give his final benediction to the same purpose: for thus he blessed Jacob, (Gen. xxvii. 28, 29.) "God give thee of the dew of heaven, and the fatness of the earth, and plenty of corn and wine. Let people serve thee, and nations bow down to thee; be lord over thy brethren, and let thy mother's sons bow down to thee; cursed be every one that curseth thee, and blessed be he that blesseth thee;" and thus he blessed Esau, (ver. 39, 40.) "Behold, thy dwelling shall be the fatness of the earth, and of the dew of heaven from above. And by thy sword shalt thou live, and shalt serve thy brother; and it shall come to pass when thou shalt have the dominion, that thou shalt break his yoke from off thy neck." But for greater clearness and certainty a more express revelation was afterwards made to Jacob; and the land of Canaan, a numerous progeny, and the blessing of all nations, were promised to him in particular, (Gen. xxviii. 13, 14.) "I am the Lord God of Abraham thy father, and the God of Isaac: the land whereon thou liest, to thee will I give it, and to thy seed. And thy seed shall be as the dust of the earth, and thou shalt spread abroad to the west, and to the east, and to the north, and to the south; and in thee, and in thy seed, shall all the families of the earth be blessed."

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[1] See Basnage's History of the Jews. Book 7. c. 33. § 15.

We have here a farther and more ample proof of what was asserted before, that these ancient prophecies were meant not so much of single persons, as of whole people and nations descended from them. For what is here predicted concerning Esau and Jacob was not verified in themselves, but in their posterity. Jacob was so far from bearing rule over Esau, that he was forced to fly his country for fear of Easu (Gen. xxvii.). He continued abroad several years: and when he returned to his native country, he sent a supplicatory message to his brother Esau, (Gen. xxxii. 5.) "that he might find grace in his sight." When he heard of Esau's coming to meet him with four hundred men, he "was greatly afraid and distressed" (ver. 7.), and cried unto the Lord (ver. 11.) "Deliver me I pray thee, from the hand of my brother, from the hand of Esau." He sent a magnificent present before him to appease his brother, calling Esau his "lord," and himself Esau's "servant" (ver. 18.). When he met him, he "bowed himself to the ground seven times, until he came near to his brother" (Gen. xxx. 3.). And after he had found a gracious reception, he acknowledged (ver. 10.) "I have seen thy face, as though I had seen the face of God, and thou wast pleased with me." Jacob then had no temporal superiority over Esau; and therefore we must look for the completion of the prophecy among their posterity. The prophecy itself refers us thither, and mentions plainly *two nations* and *two manner of people*, and comprehends these several particulars; that the families of Esau and Jacob should grow up into two different people and nations; that the family of the elder should be subject to that of the younger; that in situation and other temporal advantages they should be much alike; that the elder branch should delight more in war and violence, but yet should be subdued by the younger; that however there should be a time when the elder should have dominion, and shake off the yoke of the younger; but in all spiritual gifts and graces the younger should be greatly superior, and be the happy instrument of conveying the blessing to all nations.

I. The families of Esau and Jacob should grow up into two different people and nations. "Two nations are in thy womb, and two manner of people shall be separated from thy bowels." The Edomites were the offspring of Esau, as the Israelites were of Jacob; and who but the author and giver of life could foresee, that two children in the womb would multiply into two nations? Jacob had twelve sons, and their descendants all united and incorporated into one nation; and what an overruling providence then was it, that two nations should arise from the two sons only of Isaac? But they were not only to grow up into two nations, but into two very different nations, and *two manner of people* were to be *separated* from her bowels. And have not the Edomites and Israelites been all along two very different people in their manners and customs and religions, which made them to be perpetually at variance one with another? The children *struggled together* in the womb, which was an omen and token of their future disagreement: and when they were grown up to manhood, they manifested very different inclinations. Esau was "a cunning hunter," and delighted in the sports of the field: Jacob was more mild and gentle, "dwelling in tents," and minding his sheep and his cattle (Gen. xxv. 27.). Our English translation, agreeably to the Septuagint and the Vulgate,[2] hath it that Jacob was *a plain man;* but he appears from his whole conduct and behaviour to have been rather an *artful* than a *plain* man. The[3] word in the original signifies *perfect,* which is a general term; but being put in opposition to the *rough* and *rustic* manners of Esau, it must particularly import that Jacob was more *humane* and *gentle,* as[4] Philo the Jew understands it, and as Le Clerc translates it. Esau slighted his birth-right and those sacred privileges of which Jacob was desirous, and is therefore called (Heb. xii. 16.) the *profane* Esau: but Jacob was a man of better faith and religion. The like diversity ran through their posterity. The religion of the Jews is very well known; but whatever the Edomites were at first, in process of time they became idolators. Josephus[5] mentions an Idumean deity named Kozé: and Amaziah king of Judah, after he had overthrown the Edomites, (2 Chron. xxiv. 14.) "brought their gods, and set them up to be his gods, and bowed down himself before them, and burned incense unto them:" which was monstrously absurd, as the prophet remonstrates, (ver. 15.) "Why hast thou sought after the gods of the people, which could not deliver their own people out of thine hand?" Upon these religious differences and other accounts there was a continual grudge and enmity between the two nations. The king of Edom would not suffer the Israelites in their return out of Egypt, so much as to pass through his territories (Numb. xx.): and the history of the Edomites afterwards is little more than the history of their wars with the Jews.

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[2] *ἄπλαστος.* Sept. "simplex." Vulg.

[3] תם *Integer, perfectus.* "Integer," Syr. Samar. "Perfectus," Onk. "Perfectus virtutibus." Arab.

[4] Vide Cleric. in loc. *Jacobus vero mitis, &c.*

[5] —Κοζέ· θεὸν δὲ τοῦτον Ἰδουμαῖοι νομίζουσιν. *Coze; quem Deum existimant Idumæi.* Antiq. l. 15. c. 7. § 9.

II. The family of the elder should be subject to that of the younger. "And the one people shall be stronger than the other people, and the elder shall serve the younger," or as the words may be rendered, *the greater shall serve the lesser*. The family of Esau was the elder, and for some time the greater and more powerful of the two, there having been dukes and kings in Edom, "before there reigned any king over the children of Israel" (Gen. xxxvi. 31.). But David and his captains made an entire conquest of the Edomites, slew several thousands of them, (1 Kings xi. 16. and 1 Chron. xviii. 12.) and compelled the rest to become his tributaries and servants, and planted garrisons among them to secure their obedience. (2 Sam. viii. 14.) "And he put garrisons in Edom; throughout all Edom put he garrisons, and all they of Edom became David's servants." In this state of servitude they continued about[6] an hundred and fifty years, without a king of their own, being governed by viceroys or deputies appointed by the kings of Judah. In the reign of Jehoshaphat king of Judah it is said, that "there was then no king in Edom; a deputy was king" (1 Kings xxii. 47.). But in the days of Jehoram his son, they revolted, and recovered their liberties, "and made a king over themselves" (2 Kings viii. 20.). But afterwards Amaziah king of Judah "slew of Edom in the valley of salt ten thousand, and took Selah by war, and called the name of it Joktheel, unto this day," says the sacred historian (2 Kings xiv. 7.). "And other ten thousand left alive, did the children of Judah carry away captive, and brought them unto the top of the rock," whereon Selah was built, "and cast them down from the top of the rock, that they were broken all in pieces" (2 Chron. xxv. 12.). His son Azariah or Uzziah likewise took from them Elah, that commodious haven on the Red Sea, and fortified it anew, "and restored it to Judah" (2 Kings xiv. 22. 2 Chron. xxvi. 2.). Judas Maccabæus attacked and defeated them several times, "killed no fewer than twenty thousand" at one time, and "more than twenty thousand" at another, and took their chief city "Hebron, and the towns thereof, and pulled down the fortress of it, and burnt the towers thereof round about" (2 Macc. x. 17. 23. 1 Macc. v. 65.). At last his nephew,[7] Hyrcanus the son of Simon, took other of their cities, and reduced them to the necessity of embracing the Jewish religion, or of leaving their country and seeking new habitations elsewhere, whereupon they submitted to be circumcised, and became proselytes to the Jewish religion, and ever after were incorporated into the Jewish church and nation.

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[6] From about the year of the world 2960, before Christ 1044, to about the year of the world 3115, before Christ 889. See Usher's Annals.

[7] Joseph. Antiq. l. 13. c. 9. § 1.

III. In situation and other temporal advantages they should be much alike. For it was said to Jacob, " God give thee of the dew of heaven, and of the fatness of the earth, and plenty of corn and wine :" and much the same is said to Esau, " Behold thy dwelling shall be of the fatness of the earth, and of the dew of heaven from above." In this manner the latter clause is translated in[8] Jerome's and the old versions; but some modern commentators ([9] Castalio, Le Clerc, &c.) render it otherwise, that his dwelling should be *far from the fatness of the earth, and from the dew of heaven* · and they say that Idumea, the country of the Edomites, was a dry, barren, and desert country. But it is not probable, that any good author should use the[1] very same words with the very same prepositions in one sense, and within a few lines after in a quite contrary sense. Besides Esau solicited for a blessing ; and the author of the epistle to the Hebrews saith (xi. 20.) that " Isaac blessed Jacob and Esau ;" whereas had he consigned Esau to such a barren and wretched country, it would have been a curse rather than a blessing. The spiritual blessing indeed, or the promise of the blessed seed could be given only to one ; but temporal good things might be communicated and imparted to both. Mount Seir and the adjacent country was at first the possession of the Edomites ; they afterwards extended themselves farther into Arabia ; as they did afterwards into the southern parts of Judea. But wherever they were situated, we find in fact that the Edomites in temporal advantages were little inferior to the Israelites. Esau had *cattle*, and *beasts*, and *substance* in abundance, and he went to dwell in Seir of his own accord, and he would hardly have removed thither with so many cattle, had it been such a barren and desolate country, as some would represent it (Gen. xxxiv. 6, 7, 8.). The Edomites had dukes and kings reigning over them, while the Israelites were slaves in Egypt. In their return out of Egypt when the Israelites desired leave to pass through the territories of Edom, it appears that the country abounded with fruitful fields and vineyards ; " Let us pass, I pray thee, through thy country ; we will not pass through the fields, or through the vineyards, neither will we drink of the water of the wells" (Numb. xx. 17.). And the prophecy of Malachi (i. 2.), which is commonly alleged as a proof of the barrenness of the country, is rather an argument to the contrary: " And I hated Esau, and laid his mountains and his heritage waste, for the dragons of the wilderness:" for this implies that the country was fruitful before, and that its present unfruitfulness was rather an effect of war and devastation, than any natural defect and failure in the soil. If the country is barren and unfruitful now, so neither is Judea what it was formerly. The face of any country is much changed in a long course of years: and it is totally a different thing, when a country is regularly cultivated by inhabitants living under a settled government, than when tyranny prevails, and the land is left desolate. It is also frequently seen that God, as the Psalmist saith, (cvii. 34.) " turneth a fruitful land into barrenness for the wickedness of them that dwell therein."

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[8] " In pinguedine terræ, et in rore cæli desuper."

[9] " A terræ pinguitudine aberit." Cast. ' A pinguedine quidem terræ remota erit sedes tua, neque rore cæli fecundabitur. —Nec sane Idumæa fecunda aut pingui solo, aut tempestivis pluviis rigata fuit.' Clericus in locum.

[1] Ver. 28. מטל השמים ומשמני הארץ
terræ pinguedinibus de et, cæli rore de.
Ver. 39. משמני הארץ ומטל השמים מעל
desuper cæli rore de et, terræ pinguedinibus de.

IV. The elder branch should delight more in war and violence, but yet should be subdued by the younger. " And by thy sword shalt thou live, and shalt serve thy brother." Esau himself might be said to live much by the sword, for he " was a cunning hunter, a man of the field" (Gen. xxv. 27.). He and his children gat possession of Mount Seir by force and violence, by destroying and expelling from thence the Horites, the former inhabitants. (Deut. ii. 22.) We have no account, and therefore cannot pretend to say, by what means they spread themselves farther among the Arabians; but it [2] appears, that upon a sedition and separation several of the Edomites came, and seized upon the south-west parts of Judea during the Babylonish captivity, and settled there ever afterwards. Both before and after this they were almost continually at war with the Jews; upon every occasion they were ready to join with their enemies; and when Nebuchadnezzar besieged Jerusalem, they encouraged him utterly to destroy the city, saying " Raze it, raze it, even to the foundation thereof" (Psal. cxxxvii. 7.). Even long after they were subdued by the Jews, they still retained the same martial spirit, for [3] Josephus in his time giveth them the character of ‘a turbulent and disorderly nation, always erect to commotions and rejoicing in changes, at the least adulation of those who beseech them beginning war, and hastening to battles as it were to a feast.’ Agreeably to this character, a little before the last siege of Jerusalem, they came at the entreaty of the zealots to assist them against the priests and people, and there together with the zealots committed unheard of cruelties, and barbarously murdered Ananus the high-priest, from whose death Josephus dateth the destruction of the city.

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[2] Strabo. l. 16. p. 1103. Prideaux Connect. part 1. b. 1. Ann. 740.

[3] Ἅτε θορυβῶδες καὶ ἄτακτον ἔθνος, ἀεί τε μετέωρον πρὸς τὰ κινήματα, καὶ μεταβολαῖς χαῖρον, πρὸς ὀλίγην δὴ κολακείαν τῶν δεομένων τὰ ὅπλα κινοῦν, καὶ καθάπερ εἰς ἑορτὴν εἰς τὰς παρατάξεις ἐπειγόμενον. *utpote gentem tumultuosam et ordinis impatientem, ad motus intentam semper et mutationibus gaudentem, ad modicam vero eorum qui supplicant adulationem arma moventem, et ad prælia quasi ad festum properantem.* De Bell. Jud. l. 4. c. 4. § 1. See too the following chapter.

V. However there was to be a time when the elder should have dominion, and shake off the yoke of the younger. "And it shall come to pass when thou shalt have dominion, that thou shalt break his yoke from off thy neck." The word which we translate *have dominion* is capable of various interpretations. Some render it in the sense of *laying down* or *shaking off*, as the [4] Septuagint and the Vulgar Latin, *And it shall come to pass that thou shalt shake off, and shalt loose his yoke from off thy neck.* Some again render it in the sense of *mourning* or *repenting*, as the [5] Syriac, *But if thou shalt repent, his yoke shall pass from off thy neck.* But the most common rendering and most approved is, *when thou shalt have dominion;* and it is not said or meant, that they should have dominion over the seed of Jacob, but simply have dominion, as they had when they appointed a king of their own. The [6] Jerusalem Targum thus paraphraseth the whole, 'And it shall be when the sons of Jacob attend to the law, and observe the precepts, they shall impose the yoke of servitude upon thy neck; but when they shall turn themselves away from studying the law, and neglect the precepts, behold then thou shalt shake off the yoke of servitude from thy neck.' David imposed the yoke, and at that time the Jewish people observed the law. But the yoke was very galling to the Edomites from the first: and toward the latter end of Solomon's reign, Hadad the Edomite of the blood royal, who had been carried into Egypt in his childhood, returned into his own country, and raised some disturbances, (1 Kings xi.) but was not able to recover his throne, [7] his subjects being overawed by the garrisons which David had placed among them. But in the reign of Jehoram the son of Jehoshaphat king of Judah, "the Edomites revolted from under the dominion of Judah, and made themselves a king." Jehoram made some attempts to subdue them again, but could not prevail. "So the Edomites revolted from under the hand of Judah unto this day," saith the author of the books of Chronicles (2 Chron. xxi. 8. 10.): and hereby this part of the prophecy was fulfilled about nine hundred years after it was delivered.

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[4] Ἔσται δὲ ἡνίκα ἐὰν καθέλης καὶ ἐκλύσης τὸν ζυγὸν αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ τραχήλου σου. Sept. "tempusque veniet cum excutias et solvas jugum ejus de cervicibus tuis." Vulg.

[5] "At si pœnitentiam egeris, præteribit jugum ejus a collo tuo." Syr.

[6] 'Et erit cum operam dabunt filii Jacob legi, et servabunt mandata, imponent jugum servitutis super collum tuum: quando autem averterint se filii Jacob, ut non studeant legi, nec servaverint mandata, ecce tunc abrumpes jugum servitutis eorum a collo tuo.' Targ. Hieros.

[7] Joseph. Antiq. l. 8. c. 7. § 6.

VI. But in all spiritual gifts and graces the younger should be greatly superior, and be the happy instrument of conveying the blessing to all nations. "In thee and in thy seed shall all the families of the earth be blessed:" and hitherto are to be referred in their full force those expressions, "Let people serve thee, and nations bow down to thee;" "Cursed be every one that curseth thee, and blessed be he that blesseth thee." The same promise was made to Abraham in the name of God, "I will bless them that bless thee, and curse him that curseth thee" (Gen. xii. 3.): and it is here repeated to Jacob, and is thus paraphrased in the [8] Jerusalem Targum, 'He who curseth thee, shall be cursed, as Balaam the son of Beor; and he who blesseth thee, shall be blessed, as Moses the prophet, the lawgiver of Israel.' It appears that Jacob was a man of more religion, and believed the divine promises more than Esau. The posterity of Jacob likewise preserved the true religion and the worship of one God, while the Edomites were sunk in idolatry. And of the seed of Jacob was born at last the Saviour of the world. This was the peculiar privilege and advantage of Jacob, to be the happy instrument of conveying these spiritual blessings to all nations. This was his greatest superiority over Esau; and in this sense St. Paul understands and applies the prophecy, "the elder shall serve the younger" (Rom. ix. 12.). The Christ, the Saviour of the world, was to be born of some one family: and Jacob's was preferred to Esau's out of the good pleasure of almighty God, who is certainly the best judge of fitness and expedience, and hath an undoubted right to dispense his favours as he shall see proper; "for he saith to Moses (as the apostle proceeds to argue, ver. 15.), I will have mercy on whom I will have mercy, and I will have compassion on whom I will have compassion." And when the Gentiles were converted to Christianity, the prophecy was fulfilled literally, "Let people serve thee, and nations bow down to thee;" and will more amply be fulfilled, when "the fulness of the Gentiles shall come in, and all Israel shall be saved."

We have traced the accomplishment of the prophecy from the beginning; and we find that the nation of the Edomites hath at several times been conquered by and made tributary to the Jews, but never the nation of the Jews to the Edomites, and the Jews have been the more considerable people, more known in the world, and more famous in history. We know indeed little more of the history of the Edomites, than as it is connected with that of the Jews: and where is the name or the nation now? They were swallowed up and lost, partly among

[8] 'Quisquis maledixerat tibi Jacob fili mi, erat maledictus, sicut Balaam filius Beor: quisquis autem benedixerit tibi, erit benedictus, sicut Moses propheta, legislator Israelitarum.' Targ. Hieros.

the Nabathæan Arabs, and partly among the Jews; and the very name was [9] abolished and disused about the end of the first century after Christ. Thus were they rewarded for insulting and oppressing their brethren the Jews, and hereby other prophecies were fulfilled of Jeremiah (xlix. 7. &c.), of Ezekiel (xxv. 12. &c.), of Joel (iii. 19.), Amos (i. 11. &c.), and Obadiah. And at this day we see the Jews subsisting as a distinct people, while Edom is no more. For agreeably to the words of Obadiah (ver. 10.) "For thy violence against thy brother Jacob, shame shall cover thee, and thou shalt be cut off for ever:" and again (ver. 18.) "there shall not be any remaining of the house of Esau, for the Lord hath spoken it."

IV.—JACOB'S PROPHECIES CONCERNING HIS SONS, PARTICULARLY JUDAH.

It is an opinion of great antiquity, that the nearer men approach to their dissolution, their souls grow more divine, and discern more of futurity. We find this opinion as early as Homer,[1] for he represents the dying Patroclus foretelling the fate of Hector, and the dying Hector denouncing no less certainly the death of Achilles. Socrates, in his Apology to the Athenians, a little before his death [2] asserts the same opinion. 'But now,' saith he, 'I am desirous to prophesy to you who have condemned me, what will happen hereafter. For now I am arrived at that state, in which men prophesy most, when they are about to die.' His scholar [3] Xenophon introduces the dying Cyrus declaring in like manner, 'that the soul of man at the hour of death appears most divine, and then foresees something of future events.' Diodorus Siculus [4] allegeth great authorities upon this subject; Pythagoras the Samian, and some others of the ancient naturalists, have demonstrated that the souls of men are immortal, and in consequence of this opinion that they also foreknow future events, at the same time that they are making their separation from the body in death.' Sextus Empiricus [5] confirms it likewise by the authority of Aristotle; 'the soul, saith Aristotle, foresees and foretels future events, when it is going to be separated from the body by death.' We might produce more testimonies to this purpose from Cicero, and Eustathius upon Homer, and from other authors, if there was occasion; but these are sufficient to shew the great antiquity of this opinion.[6] And it is possible, that old experience [7] may in some cases attain to something like prophecy and divination. In some instances also God may have been pleased to comfort and enlighten departing souls with a prescience of future events. But what I conceive might principally give rise to this opinion, was the tradition of some of the patriarchs being divinely inspired in their last moments to foretel the state and condition of the people descended from them; as Jacob upon his death-bed summoned his sons together that he might inform them of what should befall them in *the latter days* or *the last days;* by which phrase some commentators understand the times of the Messiah, or the last great period of the world; and Mr. Whiston particularly [8]asserts, that it is generally, if not always, a characteristic and κριτηριον of prophecies not to be fulfilled till the coming of the Messiah; and accordingly he supposes that these prophecies of Jacob more properly belong to the second coming of the Messiah, at the restoration of the twelve tribes hereafter. But the phrase of *the latter days* or *last days* in the Old Testament signifies any time that is yet to come, though sometimes it may relate to the times of the Messiah in particular, as it comprehends all future time in general: and hence it is used in prophecies that respect different times and periods. "I will advertise thee (saith Balaam to Balak, Numb. xxiv. 14.), what this people shall do to thy people in the latter days:" but what the Israelites did to the Moabites, was dong long before the times of the Messiah. "I know (saith Moses, Deut. xxxi 29), that after my death ye will utterly corrupt yourselves, and turn aside from the way which I have commanded you, and evil will befall you in the latter days:" where the *latter days* are much the same as the *time after the death of* Moses. "There is a God in heaven (saith Daniel, ii. 28.), that revealeth secrets, and maketh known to the king Nebuchadnezzar, what shall be in the latter days:" but several particulars are there foretold of the four great monarchies of the earth, which were fulfilled before the coming of the Messiah. And in like manner these prophecies of Jacob were, many or most of them, accomplished under the Mosaic economy, several ages before the birth of our Saviour.

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[9] See Prideaux Connect. part 1. b. 5. Anno 129.

[1] Hom. Iliad xvi. 852. et Iliad. xxii. 358.

[2] Τὸ δὲ δὴ μετὰ τοῦτο ἐπιθυμῶ ὑμῖν χρησμῳδῆσαι, ὦ καταψηφισάμενοί μου· καὶ γάρ εἰμι ἤδη ἐνταῦθα ἐν ᾧ μάλιστ' ἄνθρωποι χρησμῳδοῦσιν, ὅταν μέλλωσιν ἀποθανεῖσθαι. *Jam vero, O vos, qui me condemnastis, cupio vobis earum rerum, quæ vobis sunt eventuræ, casus quasi oraculo prædicere: in illum enim temporis statum jam perveni, in quo homines divinandi facultate maxime pollent, quando nimirum mortituri sunt.* Platonis Apolog. Socr. §. 30. vol. 1. p. 39. Edit. Serran.

[3] Ἡ δὲ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ψυχὴ τότε δήπου θειοτάτη καταφαίνεται, καὶ τότε τι τῶν μελλόντων προορᾷ. *ac hominis animus tum scilicet maxime divinus perspicitur, et tum futurorum aliquid prospicit.* Xenoph. Cyrop. l. 8. c. 7. § 21.

[4] Πυθαγόρας ὁ Σάμιος καί τινες ἕτεροι τῶν παλαιῶν φυσικῶν ἀπεφήναντο τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὑπάρχειν ἀθανάτους ἀκολούθως δὲ τῷ δόγματι τούτῳ καὶ προγιγνώσκειν αὐτὰς τὰ μέλλοντα, καθ' ὃν ἂν καιρὸν ἐν τῇ τελευτῇ τὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος χωρισμὸν ποιῶνται. *Pythagoras Samius, et quidam physicorum veterum alii, immortales esse hominum animas confirmarunt; et quod hujus sententiæ consectarium est, prænoscere futura, cum, imminente vitæ exitu, jamjam a corpore segregantur.* Lib. 18. c. 1.

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[5] Ἡ ψυχὴ, φησὶν Ἀριστοτέλης, προμαντεύεται καὶ προαγορεύει τὰ μέλλοντα—ἐν τῷ κατὰ θάνατον χωρίζεσθαι τῶν σωμάτων. Adv. Mathem. p. 312.

[6] Shakspeare alludes to this notion in Henry IV. First Part.

——'O, I could prophesy,
But that the earthy and cold hand of death
Lies on my tongue.'

The same notion is also happily expressed in a most excellent Latin poem, *De Animi Immortalitate,* which is deserving of a place among classic authors, in richness of poetry equals Lucretius, and in clearness and strength of argument exceeds him.

'Namque ubi torpescunt artus jam morte propinqua,
Acrior est acies tum mentis, et entheus ardor;
Tempore non alio facundia suavior, atque
Fatidicæ jam tum voces morientis ab ore.'

[7] Alluding to these lines of Milton,

'Till old experience do attain
To something like prophetic strain.'

[8] Boyle's Lectures, vol. 2. p. 311.

Jacob, as we have seen, received a double blessing, temporal and spiritual, the promise of the land of Canaan, and the promise of the seed in which all the nations of the earth should be blessed; which promises were first made to Abraham, and then repeated to Isaac, and then confirmed to Jacob; and Jacob a little before his death bequeaths the same to his children. The temporal blessing or inheritance of the land of Canaan might be shared and divided among all his sons, but the blessed seed could descend only from one: and Jacob accordingly assigns to each a portion in the promised land, but limits the descent of the blessed seed to the tribe of Judah, and at the same time sketches out the characters and fortunes of all the tribes.

He adopts the two sons of Joseph, Manasseh and Ephraim, for his own, but foretels that the younger should be the greater of the two: (Gen. xlviii. 19.) and hath not the prediction been fully justified by the event? The tribe of Ephraim grew to be so numerous and powerful, that it is sometimes put for all the ten tribes of Israel.——Of Reuben it is said, (Gen. xlix. 4.) "Unstable as water, thou shalt not excel;" and what is recorded great or excellent of the tribe of Reuben? In number (Numb. i.) and power they were inferior to several other tribes. —Of Simeon and Levi it is said, (ver. 7.) "I will divide them in Jacob, and scatter them in Israel:" and was not this eminently fulfilled in the tribe of Levi, who had no portion or inheritance of their own, but were dispersed among the other tribes? Neither had the tribe of Simeon any inheritance properly of their own, but only a portion in the midst of the tribe of Judah; (Josh. xix. 1—9.) from whence several of them afterwards went in quest of new habitations, (1 Chron. iv. 39, &c.) and so were divided from the rest of their brethren. A constant tradition too[9] hath prevailed among the Jews (which is also confirmed by the Jerusalem Targum) that the tribe of Simeon were so straitened in their situation and circumstances, that great numbers were necessitated to seek a subsistence among the other tribes, by teaching and instructing their children.—Of Zebulun it is said, (ver. 13.) "He shall dwell at the haven of the sea, and shall be for an haven of ships:" and accordingly the tribe of Zebulun extended from the sea of Galilee to the Mediterranean (Josh. xix. 10, &c.), where they had commodious havens for shipping. And how could Jacob have foretold the situation of any tribe, which was determined 200 years afterwards by casting of lots, unless he had been directed by that divine Spirit, who disposeth of all events?—Of Benjamin it is said (ver. 27.), "He shall ravin as a wolf:" and was not that a fierce and warlike tribe, as appears in several instances, and particularly in the case of the Levite's wife (Judg. xx.), when they alone waged war against all the other tribes, and overcame them in two battles?

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[9] 'Tradunt quoque Hebræi, scribas, pædotribas, pædagogos, et doctores puerorum fere omnes ex tribu Schimeon fuisse, qui, ut haberent unde viverent, sparsim et oppidatim pueros informare cogebantur. Cui sententiæ adstipulatur et Thargum Hieros. &c.' Fagius.

In this manner he characterizes these and the other tribes, and foretels their temporal condition, and that of Judah as well as the rest: "Binding his foal unto the vine, and his ass's colt unto the choice vine, he washed his garments in wine, and his clothes in the blood of grapes. His eyes shall be red with wine, and his teeth white with milk" (ver. 11, 12.): and not to mention the valley of Eshcol and other fruitful places, the mountains about Jerusalem, by the accounts of the best travellers, were particularly fitted for the cultivation of the vine, and for the feeding of cattle. 'The blessing,' says Dr. Shaw,[1] 'that was given to Judah, was not of the same kind, with the blessing of Asher or of Issachar that "his bread should be fat," or "his land should be pleasant," but that "his eyes should be red with wine, and his teeth should be white with milk."' He farther observes that 'the mountains of the country abound with shrubs and a delicate short grass, both which the cattle are more fond of, than of such plants as are common to fallow grounds and meadows. Neither was this method of grazing peculiar to this country; inasmuch as it is still practised all over Mount Libanus, the Castravan mountains and Barbary; in all which places the higher grounds are set apart for this use, and the plains and valleys for tillage. For besides the good management and economy, there is this farther advantage, that the milk of cattle fed in this manner is far more rich and delicious, as their flesh is more sweet and nourishing.—It may be presumed likewise, that the vine was not neglected, in a soil and exposition so proper for it to thrive in.' He mentions particularly, 'the many tokens which are to be met with, of the ancient vineyards about Jerusalem and Hebron,' and 'the great quantity of grapes and raisins, which are from thence brought daily to the markets of Jerusalem, and sent yearly to Egypt.'

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[1] Shaw's Travels, p. 366, 367.

But Jacob bequeaths to Judah particularly the spiritual blessing, and delivers it in much the same form of words that it was delivered to him. Isaac had said to Jacob, (Gen. xxvii. 29.) "Let people serve thee, and nations bow down to thee; be lord over thy brethren, and let thy mother's sons bow down to thee:" and here Jacob saith to Judah, (ver. 8.) "Thou art he whom thy brethren shall praise; thy hand shall be in the neck of thy enemies; thy father's children shall bow down before thee." And for greater certainty it is added (ver. 10.) "The sceptre shall not depart from Judah, nor a lawgiver from between his feet, until Shiloh come, and unto him shall the gathering of the people be." I will not trouble the reader or myself with a detail of the various interpretations which have been put upon this passage, but will only offer that which appears to me the plainest, easiest, and best; I will first explain the words and meaning of the prophecy, and then shew the full and exact completion of it. They who are curious to know the various interpretations of the learned, may find an account of them in [2] Huetius and [3] Le Clerc: but no one hath treated the subject in a more masterly manner than the present [4] Lord Bishop of London; and we shall principally tread in his footsteps, as we cannot follow a better guide.

I. "The sceptre shall not depart from Judah." The word שבט *shebet*, which we translate a *sceptre*, signifies a *rod* or *staff* of any kind; and particularly the rod or staff which [5] belonged to each tribe as an ensign of their authority; and thence it is transferred to signify a *tribe*, as being united under one rod or staff of government, or a ruler of a tribe; and in this sense it is used twice in this very chapter, (ver. 16.) "Dan shall judge his people as one of the tribes" or rulers "of Israel;" and again (ver. 28.) "All these are the twelve tribes" or rulers "of Israel." It hath the same signification in 2 Sam. vii. 7. "In all the places wherein I have walked with all the children of Israel, spake I a word with any of the tribes" or rulers "of Israel (in the parallel place of Chronicles, 1 Chron. xvii. 6. it is *judges of Israel)* whom I commanded to feed my people Israel, saying, Why build ye not me an house of cedar?" The word doth indeed sometimes signify a *sceptre*, but that is apt to convey an idea of kingly authority, which was not the thing intended here: and the Seventy[6] translate it ἄρχων a *ruler*, which answers better to a *lawgiver* in the following clause. It could not with any sort of propriety be said, that "the sceptre should not depart from Judah," when Judah had no sceptre, nor was to have any for many generations afterwards: but Judah had a rod or staff of a tribe, for he was then constituted a tribe as well as the rest of his brethren. The very same expression occurs in Zechariah, (x. 11.) "and the sceptre of Egypt shall depart away," which implies that Egypt had a sceptre, and that that sceptre should be taken away: but no grammar or language could justify the saying that *Judah's sceptre should depart* or be taken away, before Judah was in possession of any sceptre. Would it not therefore be better, to substitute the word *staff* or *ruler* instead of *sceptre*, unless were strain the meaning of a sceptre to a rod or staff of a tribe, which is all that is here intended? *The* staff or ruler *shall not depart from Judah*. *The* tribeship *shall not depart from Judah*. Such authority as Judah had then, was to remain with his posterity. It is not said or meant, that he should not cease from being a king or having a kingdom, for he was then no king, and had no kingdom; but only that he should not cease from being a tribe or body politic, having rulers and governors of his own, till a certain period here foretold.

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[2] Demonstratio Evangelica, Prop. 9. c. 4.

[3] Comment. in locum.

[4] See the 3d Dissertation in Bishop Sherlock's Discourses of the Use and Intent of Prophecy.

[5] Bishop Sherlock hath cited to this purpose Menochius de Repub. Heb. l. 1. c. 4. 'Traductum vero nomen est ad significandum tribum—quod unaquæque tribus suam peculiarem virgam haberet, nomine suo inscriptam, quam tribuum principes —manu gestare consueverant.—Cum Dominus Aaronem his verbis alloquitur, *sed et fratres tuos de tribu Levi, et sceptrum patris tui sume tecum*, intellige sceptrum ipsum, et totam tribum quæ sceptre significabatur, et regebatur.'

"Nor a lawgiver from between his feet." The sense of the word *sceptre* will help us to fix and determine the meaning of the other word מחקק *mechokek*, which we translate a *lawgiver*. For if they are not synonymous, they are not very different. Such as the government is, such must be the lawgiver. The government was only of a single tribe, and the lawgiver could be of no more. Nor had the tribe of Judah at any time a legislative authority over all the other tribes, no, not even in the reigns of David and Solomon. When David appointed the officers for the service of the temple (1 Chron. xxv. 1. Ezra viii. 20.); and when Solomon was appointed king, and Zadok priest (1 Chron. xxix. 22.); these things were done with the consent and approbation of the princes and rulers of Israel. Indeed the whole nation had but one law, and one lawgiver in the strict sense of the word. The king himself was not properly a lawgiver; he was only to have "a copy of the law," to "read therein," and to "turn not aside from the commandment, to the right hand or to the left" (Deut. xvii. 18, &c.). Moses was truly, as he is styled, "*the lawgiver*" (Numb. xxi. 18. Deut. xxxiii. 21.): and when the word is applied to any other person or persons, as Judah is twice called by the Psalmist (Psal. lx. 7. cviii. 8.) "my lawgiver," it is used in a lower signification. For it signifies not only a lawgiver, but a judge: not only one who maketh laws, but likewise one who exerciseth jurisdiction: and in the [7] Greek it is translated ἡγούμενος a *leader* or *president*, in the [8] Chaldee a *scribe*, in the [9] Syriac an *expositor*, and in our English Bible it is elsewhere translated a *governor*, as in Judges (v. 14.) "Out of Machir came down governors, and out of Zebulun they that handle the pen of the writer." The *lawgiver* therefore is to be taken in a restrained sense as well as the *sceptre*: and perhaps it cannot be translated better than *judge*: *Nor a* judge *from between his feet.* Whether we understand, that *a judge from between his feet shall not depart from Judah,* or *a judge shall not depart from between his feet,* I conceive the meaning to be much the same, that there should not be wanting a judge of the race and posterity of Judah, according to the Hebrew phrase of children's coming *from between the feet.* They who expound it of *sitting at the feet of Judah,* seem not to have considered that this was the place of scholars, and not of judges and doctors of the law. As Dan (ver. 16.) was to "judge his people as one of the tribes, or *rulers,* of Israel;" so was *Judah,* and with this particular prerogative, that *the* staff or ruler *should not depart from Judah, nor a* judge *from between his feet,* until the time here foretold, which we are now to examine and ascertain.

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[6] Οὐκ ἔκλειψε ἄρχων ἐξ Ἰουδά. Sept.

"Until Shiloh come," that is, until the coming of the Messiah, as almost all interpreters, both ancient and modern, agree. For howsoever they may explain the word, and whencesoever they may derive it, the Messiah is the person plainly intended.—The Vulgar Latin[1] translates it 'Qui mittendus est,' *He who is to be sent;* and to favour this version that passage in St. John's Gospel (ix. 7.) is usually cited, "Go wash in the pool of Siloam, which is by interpretation sent:" and who was ever sent with such power and authority from God as the Messiah, who frequently speaketh of himself in the gospel under the denomination of *him whom the Father hath sent?*—The Seventy[2] translate it τὰ ἀποκείμενα αὐτῷ, *the things reserved for him,* or according to other copies ᾧ ἀπόκειται, *he for whom it is reserved:* and what was the great treasure reserved for Judah, or who was the person for whom all things were reserved, but the Messiah, whom we have declaring in the gospel, (Matt. xi. 27.) "All things are delivered unto me of my Father," and again (xxviii. 18.) "All power is given unto me in heaven and in earth?"—The Syriac translates it to the same purpose 'is cujus illud est,' *he whose it is,* I suppose meaning the kingdom; and the Arabic

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[7] Καὶ ἡγούμενος ἐκ τῶν μήρων αὐτοῦ. Sept.

[8] 'Neque scriba a filiis filiorum ejus.' Chald.

[9] 'Et expositor de inter pedes ejus.' Syr.

[1] As if St. Jerome had read שילוח *Shiloach* instead of שילה *Shiloh,* and hath derived it from שלח *Shalach, misit,* the mistake being easy of ח *ch* for ה *h.*

[2] Deriving it from ש *sh quod* or *quæ,* and לו *lo ei.*

'cujus ipse est,' *whose he is*, I suppose meaning Judah: and whose was Judah, or whose was the kingdom so properly as the Messiah's, who is so many times predicted under the character of *the king of Israel?*—Junius and Tremellius with others[3] translate it 'filius ejus,' *his son:* and who could be this son of Judah by way of eminence, but the Messiah, "the seed in which all the nations of the earth shall be blessed?"—In the Samaritan text and version it is 'pacificus,' *the peace-maker;* and[4] this perhaps is the best explication of the word: and to whom can this or any the like title be so justly applied as to the Messiah, who is emphatically styled (Is. ix. 6.) "the prince of peace," and at whose birth was sung that heavenly anthem, (Luke ii. 14.) "Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good will towards men?"

These are the principal interpretations, and whichever of these you prefer, the person understood must be the Messiah. But the learned Mr. Le Clerc would explain the text in such a manner as utterly to exclude the Messiah: and he was a very able commentator, the best perhaps upon the Pentateuch; but like other learned men, he was sometimes apt to indulge strange unaccountable fancies. Of this kind, I conceive, is his interpretation of this prophecy; for he[5] says that *Shiloh* signifies 'finis ejus aut cessatio,' *his end or ceasing*, and that it may be referred to the *lawgiver*, or to the *sceptre*, or even to Judah himself. But if it be referred to the *lawgiver*, or to the *sceptre*, what is it but an unmeaning tautology? *There shall be a lawgiver as long as there shall be a lawgiver, There shall not be an end of the sceptre till the end of the sceptre come?* If it be referred to Judah or the tribe of Judah, the thing is by no means true; for the tribe of Judah subsisted, long after they had lost the kingdom, and were deprived of all royal authority. Not many readers, I imagine, will concur with this learned commentator. The generality of interpreters, Jewish as well as Christian, have by *Shiloh* always understood the Messiah. The Targum of Onkelos is commonly[6] supposed to have been made before our Saviour's time, and he[7] thus expresseth the sense of the passage, 'There shall not be taken away one having the principality from the house of Judah, nor a scribe from his children's children, till Messias come whose is the kingdom.' And with him agree the other Targums or Chaldee paraphrases, and the authors of the Talmud, and other ancient and modern Jews, whom the reader may see cited in Buxtorf upon the word. So that, I think, no doubt can remain, that by the *coming of Shiloh,* is meant the *coming of the Messiah.*

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[3] As if it was derived from שיל *Shil, profluvium sanguinis*, or שליה *Shilejah, secundina*, that wherein the infant is wrapped, and thence by a metonomy the infant itself.

[4] I look upon the word שילה *Shiloh* to be derived from the verb שלה *Shalah, tranquillus, pacificus fuit*, in the same manner as קטור *kitor, fumus* is formed from קטר *katar, suffumigavit:* and there are other words of that formation.

[5] He says that שילה *Shiloh* is the same as שילו *Shilo*, and שיל *Shil* may be derived from שול *Shul*, and *Shul* is the same as שלה *Shalah*, which in Chaldee signifies *cessare, desinere*—'*finis* aut *cessatio* verti poterit. Hoc posito, *finis ejus* poterit ad *legislatorem* aut ad *sceptrum* referri, aut etiam ad ipsum Judam.' Comment. in locum.

[6] See Prideaux. Connect. Part. 2. B. 8. Anno 37.

[7] 'Non auferetur habens principatum a domo Judæ, neque scriba a filiis filiorum ejus, *usque in seculum*; donec veniat Messias, cujus est regnum.'

" And unto him shall the gathering of the people be," or *obedience of the people,* as it is otherwise translated. These words are capable of three different constructions; and each so probable, that it is not easy to say which was certainly intended by the author. For, 1. they may relate to *Judah,* who is the main subject of the prophecy, and of the discourse preceding and following; and by the *people* we may understand the people of Israel: and then the meaning will be, that the other tribes should be gathered to the tribe of Judah; which sense is approved by Le Clerc and some late commentators. Or, 2. they may relate to *Shiloh,* who is the person mentioned immediately before; and by the *people* we may understand the Gentiles: and then the meaning will be, that the Gentiles should be gathered or become obedient to the Messiah; which sense is consonant to other texts of Scripture, and is confirmed by the authority of most ancient interpreters; only [8] some of them render it, *and he shall be the expectation of the nation.* Or, 3. they may still relate to *Shiloh,* and yet not be considered as a distinct clause, but be joined in construction with the preceding words, *until Shiloh come,* the word *until* being common to both parts; and then the sentence will run thus, *until Shiloh come and to him the gathering* or *obedience of the people,* that is, until the Messiah come, and until the people or nations be gathered to his obedience; which sense is preferred by the most learned [9] Mr. Mede and some others. And each of these interpretations may very well be justified by the event.

II. Having thus explained the words and meaning of the prophecy, I now proceed to shew the full and exact completion of it. The twelve sons of Jacob are here constituted twelve tribes or heads of tribes, (ver. 28.) " All these are the twelve tribes of Israel; and this it is that their father spake unto them, and blessed them; every one according to his blessing he blessed them." To Judah particularly it was promised, that " the sceptre or *rod of the tribe,* should not depart from him, nor a lawgiver, or *judge,* from between his feet;" his tribe should continue a distinct tribe with rulers and judges and governors of its own, until the coming of the Messiah. The people of Israel after this settlement of their government were reckoned by their tribes, but never before. It appears that they were reckoned by their tribes and according to their families, while they sojourned in Egypt: and the tribe of Judah made as considerable a figure as any of them. In number it was superior to the others (Numb. i. and xxvi.): it had the first rank in the armies of Israel (Numb. ii.): it marched first against the Canaanites (Judg. i.): and upon all occasions manifested such courage as fully answered the character given of it, (ver. 9.) "Judah is a lion's whelp; from the prey, my son, thou art gone up: he stooped down, he couched as a lion, and as an old lion, who shall rouse him up?" If the first king of Israel was of the tribe of Benjamin, the second was of the tribe of Judah; and from that time to the Babylonish captivity Judah had not only the sceptre of a tribe, but likewise the sceptre of a kingdom. When it was promised to Judah particularly that the sceptre should not depart from him, it was implied that it should depart from the other tribes: and accordingly the tribe of Benjamin became a sort of appendage to the kingdom of Judah; and the other ten tribes were after a time carried away captive into Assyria, from whence they never returned. The Jews also were carried captive to Babylon, but returned after seventy years: and during their captivity they were far from being treated as slaves, as it appears from the prophet's advice to them; (Jerem. xxix. 5, &c.) "Build ye houses, and dwell in them; and plant gardens, and eat the fruit of them, &c and many of them were so well fixed and settled at Babylon, and lived there in such ease and affluence, that they refused to return to their native country. In their captivity they were still allowed to live as a distinct people, appointed feasts and fasts for themselves, and had rulers and governors of their own, as we may collect from several places in Ezra and Nehemiah. When Cyrus had issued his proclamation for the rebuilding of the temple, "then rose up the chief of the fathers," saith Ezra (i. 5.); so that they had chiefs and rulers among them. Cyrus ordered the vessels of the temple to be delivered to "the prince of Judah" (Ezra i. 8.); so that they had then a prince of Judah. And these princes and rulers, who are often mentioned, managed their return and settlement afterwards. It is true that after the Babylonish captivity they were not so free a people as before, living under the dominion of the Persians, Greeks, and Romans; but still they lived as a distinct people under their own laws. The authority of their rulers and elders subsisted under these foreign masters, as it had even while they were in Egypt. It subsisted under the Asmonean princes, as it had under the government of the Judges, and Samuel and

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[8] " Et ipse erit expectatio gentium." Vulg. following the Sept. *καὶ αὐτὸς προσδοκία ἐθνῶν.* who probably derived the word from קוה *expectavit.*

[9] See Mede's Discourse viii. et Gothofr. Valandi Dissert. cui titulus: *Prætor e medio civium Jud. ante Messiæ imperium universale non abscessurus.* Sylloge Dissertat. v. i. Mann's Crit. Note in locum.

Saul; for in the books of Maccabees there is frequent mention of *the rulers and elders and council of the Jews,* and of public acts and memorials in their name. It subsisted even in our Saviour's time, for in the Gospels we read often of *the chief priests and the scribes and the elders of the people.* Their power indeed in capital causes, especially such as related to the state, was abridged in some measure; they might judge, but not execute without the consent of the Roman governor, as I think we must infer from this passage, (John xviii. 31.) "Then said Pilate unto them, Take ye him, and judge him according to your law: the Jews therefore said unto him, It is not lawful for us to put any man to death." The sceptre was then departing, and in about forty years afterwards it totally departed. Their city was taken, their temple was destroyed, and they themselves were either slain with the sword, or sold for slaves. And from that time to this they have never formed one body or society, but have been dispersed among all nations; their tribes and genealogies have been all confounded, and they have lived without a ruler, without a lawgiver, and without supreme authority and government in any part of the earth. And this a captivity not for seventy years, but for seventeen hnndred. 'Nor will they ever be able, (as the learned [1] prelate expresseth it) after all their pretences, to shew any signs or marks of the *sceptre* among them, till they discover the unknown country, *where never mankind dwelt,* and where the apocryphal Esdras has placed their brethren of the ten tribes.' (2 Esd. xiii. 41.)

We have seen the exact completion of the former part of the prophecy, and now let us attend to that of the latter part, "And unto him shall the gathering of the people be." If we understand this of Judah, that the other tribes should be gathered to that tribe, it was in some measure fulfilled by the people's going up so frequently as they did to Jerusalem, which was in the tribe of Judah, in order to obtain justice in difficult cases, and to worship God in his holy temple. "Whither the tribes go up (saith the Psalmist, cxxii. 4, 5.), the tribes of the Lord; unto the testimony of Israel, to give thanks unto the name of the Lord. For there are set thrones of judgment; the thrones of the house of David." Upon the division of the kingdoms of Israel and Judah, the tribe of Benjamin, and the priests and Levites, and several out of all the other tribes, (2 Chron. xi. 13, 16.) went over to Judah, and were so blended and incorporated together, that they are more than once spoken of under the notion of "one tribe" (1 Kings xi. 13. 32. 36.): and it is said expressly (1 Kings xii. 20.) "there was none that followed the house of David, but the tribe of Judah only;" all the rest were swallowed up in that tribe, and considered as parts and members of it. In like manner, when the Israelites were carried away captive into Assyria, it is said (2 Kings xvii. 18.) "there was none left but the tribe of Judah only:" and yet we know that the tribe of Benjamin, and many of the other tribes remained too, but they are reckoned as one and the same tribe as Judah. Nay at this very time there was a remnant of Israel, that escaped from the Assyrians, and went and adhered to Judah: for we find afterwards, that in the reign of Josiah there were some "of Manasseh and Ephraim and of the remnant of Israel," who contributed money to the repairing of the temple, as well as "Judah and Benjamin" (2 Chron. xxxiv. 9.): and at the solemn celebration of the passover some "of Israel were present as well as all Judah and the inhabitants of Jerusalem." When the people returned from the Babylonish captivity, then again several of the tribes of Israel associated themselves, and returned with Judah and Benjamin; "and in Jerusalem dwelt of the children of Judah, and of the children of Benjamin, and of the children of Ephraim and Manasseh" (1 Chron. ix. 3.). At so many different times, and upon such different occasions, the other tribes were gathered to this tribe, insomuch that Judah became the general name of the whole nation; and after the Babylonish captivity they were no longer called the *people of Israel*, but the *people of Judah* or *Jews*.

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[1] **Bishop Sherlock's Dissertat. 3d. p. 351. Edit. 5.**

Again; if we understand this of Shiloh or the Messiah, that the people or Gentiles should be gathered to his obedience, it is no more than is foretold in many other prophecies of Scripture; and it began to be fulfilled in Cornelius the centurion, whose conversion (Acts x.) was as I may say the first-fruits of the Gentiles, and the harvest afterwards was very plenteous. In a few years the gospel was disseminated, and "took root downward, and bore fruit upward" in the most considerable parts of the world then known: and in Constantine's time, when the empire became Christian, it might with some propriety be said, "the kingdoms of this world are become the kingdoms of our Lord, and of his Christ, and he shall reign for ever and ever." (Rev. xi. 15.) We ourselves were of the Gentiles, but are now *gathered* unto Christ.

Lastly, if we join this in construction with the words preceding "until Shiloh come," two events are specified as forerunners of the sceptre's departing from Judah, the coming of the Messiah, and the gathering of the Gentiles to him; and these together point out with greater exactness the precise time of the sceptre's departure. Now it is certain that before the destruction of Jerusalem, and the dissolution of the Jewish commonwealth by the Romans, the Messiah was not only come, but great numbers likewise of the Gentiles were converted to him. The very same thing was predicted by our Saviour himself (Matt. xxiv. 14.) "This gospel of the kingdom shall be preached in all the world, for a witness unto all nations, and then shall the end come," the destruction of Jerusalem, and end of the Jewish constitution. The Jews were not to be cut off, till the Gentiles were graffed into the church. And in fact we find that the apostles and their companions preached the gospel in all the parts of the world then known. "Their sound (as St. Paul applies the saying, Rom. x. 18.) went into all the earth, and their words unto the ends of the world." And *then the end came,* then an end was put to the Jewish polity in church and state. The government of the tribe of Judah had subsisted in some form or other from the death of Jacob to the last destruction of Jerusalem: but then it was utterly broken and ruined; then the sceptre departed, and hath been departed ever since. And now even the distinction of tribes is in great measure lost among them; they are all called Jews, but the tribe of Judah is so far from bearing rule, that they know not for certain which is the tribe of Judah; and all the world is witness, that they exercise dominion no where, but every where live in subjection.

Before we conclude it may not be improper to add a just observation of the learned prelate before cited. As the tribe of Benjamin annexed itself to the tribe of Judah as its head, so it ran the same fortune with it; they went together into captivity, they returned home together, and were both in being when Shiloh came. This also was foretold by Jacob, (ver. 27.) "Benjamin shall ravin as a wolf; in the morning he shall devour the prey, and at night he shall divide the spoil." The *morning* and *night* here can be nothing else but the [2] morning and night of the Jewish state; for this state is the subject of all Jacob's prophecy from one end to the other; and consequently it is here foretold of Benjamin, that he should continue to the very last times of the Jewish state. This interpretation is confirmed by Moses's prophecy, for the prophecy of Moses is in truth an exposition of Jacob's prophecy. "Benjamin (saith Moses, Deut. xxxiii. 12.) shall dwell in safety; the Lord shall cover him all the day long." What is this *all the day long?* The same certainly as the *morning and night.* Does not this import a promise of a longer continuance to Benjamin, than to the other tribes? And was it not most exactly fulfilled?

To conclude. This prophecy and the completion of it will furnish us with an invincible argument, not only that the Messiah is come, but also that Jesus Christ is the person. For the sceptre was not to depart from Judah, until the Messiah should come: but the sceptre hath long been departed, and consequently the Messiah hath been long come. The sceptre departed at the final destruction of Jerusalem, and hath been departed seventeen centuries; and consequently the Messiah came a little before that period: and if the Messiah came a little before that period, prejudice itself cannot long make any doubt concerning the person. All considerate men must say as Simon Peter said to Jesus, (John vi. 68, 69.) "Lord, to whom shall we go? thou hast the words of eternal life. And we believe and are sure that thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God."

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[2] Thus some Jewish interpreters referred to by Bochart, understood the expression: 'Mane, id est, primis Israelitici regni temporibus—Sub vesperam, id est, post captivitatis Babylonicæ tempora.' Hierozoic. pars prior, l. 3. c. 10. col. 828.

V.—BALAAM'S PROPHECIES.

WONDERFUL as the gift of prophecy was, it was not always confined to the chosen seed, nor yet always imparted to the best of men. God might sometimes, to convince the world of his superintendence and government of the world, disclose the purposes of his providence to heathen nations. He revealed himself to Abimelech (Gen. xx.), to Pharaoh (Gen. xli.), and to Nebuchadnezzar (Dan. ii.): and we have no reason to deny all the marvellous stories which are related of divination among the heathens; the possibility and credibility of which is argued on both sides by Cicero in his two books of Divination, his brother Quintus asserting it in the first book, and himself labouring to disprove it in the second; but I think all unprejudiced readers must agree, that the arguments for it are stronger and better than those urged against it. Neither was there any necessity, that the prophets should always be good men. Unworthy persons may sometimes be possessed of spiritual gifts as well as of natural. Aaron and Miriam, who were inspired upon some occasions, yet upon others mutinied against Moses, and rebelled against God. Jonah for his disobedience to God was thrown into the sea. In the 13th chapter of the first book of Kings we read of two prophets, the one a liar and afterwards inspired, the other inspired and afterwards disobedient to the word of the Lord. Yea our Saviour himself hath assured us, (Matt. vii. 22, 23.) that in the last day many will say unto him, "Lord, Lord, have we not prophesied in thy name? and in thy name have cast out devils? and in thy name done many wonderful works? and *yet* will he profess unto them, I never knew you; depart from me ye that work iniquity."

Balaam was a remarkable instance of both kinds, both of a prophet who was an heathen, and of a prophet who was an immoral man. He came from "Aram," or "Mesopotamia, out of the mountains of the east" (Numb. xxiii. 7. Deut. xxiii. 4.):

and the east was infamous for soothsayers and diviners (Is. ii. 6.). However he was a worshipper of the true God, (as were also Melchizedek, and Job, and others of the heathen nations) and this appears by his applying to God, (Numb. xxii. 8.) "I will bring you word again, as the Lord shall speak unto me;" and by his calling *the Lord his God,* (ver. 18.) "I cannot go beyond the word of the Lord my God to do less or more." But his worship was mixed and debased with superstition as appears by his building "seven altars," and sacrificing on each altar (Numb. xxiii. 1, 2.), and by his going "to seek for enchantments," whatever they were (Numb. xxiv. 1.). He appears too to have had some pious thoughts and resolutions, by declaring "I cannot go beyond the word of the Lord my God to do less or more;" and by so earnestly wishing "Let me die the death of the righteous, and let my last end be like his" (xxiii. 10.). But his heart was unsound, was mercenary, was corrupt; he "loved the wages of unrighteousness" (2 Pet. ii. 15.), and "ran greedily after rewards" (Jude ii.): his inclinations were contrary to his duty; he was ordered to stay, but yet he wished to go; he was commanded to bless, but yet he longed to curse; and when he found that he was overruled, and could do the people no hurt as a prophet, he still contrived to do it as a politician, and "taught Balak to cast a stumbling-block before the children of Israel, to eat things sacrificed unto idols, and to commit fornication" (Rev. ii. 14.). So that he was indeed a strange mixture of a man; but so is every man more or less. There are inconsistencies and contradictions in every character, though not so great perhaps and notorious as in Balaam. If he is called a *soothsayer* in one part of Scripture (Josh. xiii. 22.) in another part he is called a *prophet* (2 Pet. ii. 16.): and his name must have been in high credit and estimation, that the king of Moab and the elders of Midian should think it worth their while to send two honourable embassies to him at a considerable distance, to engage him to come and curse the people of Israel. It was a superstitious ceremony in use among the heathens to devote their enemies to destruction at the beginning of their wars, as if the gods would enter into their passions, and were as unjust and partial as themselves. The Romans had public officers to perform the ceremony, and [1] Macrobius hath preserved the form of these execrations. Now Balaam being a prophet of great note and eminence, it was believed that he was more intimate than others with the heavenly powers, and consequently that his imprecations would be more effectual; for as Balak said unto him, (Numb. xxii. 6.) "I wot that he whom thou blessest is blessed, and he whom thou cursest is cursed."

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[1] Saturnal. l. 3. c. 9.

But the strangest incident of all is the part of Balaam's ass. This usually is made the grand objection to the truth of the story. The speaking ass from that time to this hath been the standing jest of every infidel brother. Philo the Jew, seemeth to have been ashamed of this part of the story: for in the first book of his life of Moses, wherein he hath given an account of Balaam, he hath purposely omitted this particular of the ass's speaking, I suppose not to give offence to the Gentiles; but he needed not to have been so cautious of offending them, for similar stories were current among them. The learned[2] Bochart hath collected several instances, the ass of Bacchus, the ram of Phrixus, the horse of Achilles, and the like, not only from the poets and mythologists, but also from the gravest historians, such as Livy and Plutarch, who frequently affirm that oxen have spoken. The proper use of citing such authorities is not to prove, that those instances and this of Balaam are upon an equal footing, and equally true; but only to prove, that the Gentiles believed such things to be true, and to lie within the power of their gods, and consequently could not object to the truth of scripture-history on this account. Maimonides and others have conceived, that the matter was transacted in a vision: and it must be confessed that many things in the writings of the prophets are spoken of as real transactions, which were only visionary; and these visions made as strong impressions upon the minds of the prophets as realities. But it appears rather more probable from the whole tenor of the narration, that this was no visionary, but a real transaction. The words of St. Peter shew, that it is to be understood, as he himself understood it, literally: (2 Pet. ii. 14, 15, 16.) "Cursed children: which have forsaken the right way, and are gone astray, following the way of Balaam the son of Bosor, who loved the wages of unrighteousness; but was rebuked for his iniquity; the dumb ass speaking with man's voice, forbade the madness of the prophet." The ass was enabled to utter such and such sounds, probably, as parrots do, without understanding them: and say what you will of the construction of the ass's mouth, of the formation of the tongue and jaws being unfit for speaking, yet an adequate cause is assigned for this wonderful effect, for it is said expressly, "that the Lord opened the mouth of the ass;" and no one who believes a God, can doubt of his having power to do this, and much more. If the whole transaction was visionary, no reason can be given why it was said particularly that "the Lord opened the mouth of the ass." But it is thought strange that Balaam should express no surprise upon this extraordinary occasion: but perhaps he had been accustomed to prodigies with his enchantments; or perhaps believing the eastern doctrine of the transmigration of human souls into the bodies of brutes, he might think such a humanized brute not incapable of speaking: or perhaps he might not regard, or attend to the wonder, through excess of rage and *madness*, as the word is in St. Peter; or perhaps (which is the most probable of all) he might be greatly disturbed and astonished, as [3]Josephus affirms he was, and yet Moses in his short history might omit this circumstance. The miracle was by no means needless or superfluous; it was very proper to convince Balaam, that the mouth and tongue were under God's direction, and that the same divine power which caused the dumb ass to speak contrary to its nature, could make him in like manner utter blessings contrary to his inclination. And accordingly he was overruled to bless the people, though he came prepared and disposed to curse them, which according to [4]Bochart was the greater miracle of the two, for the ass was merely passive, but Balaam resisted the good motions of God. We may be the more certain that he was influenced to speak contrary to his inclination, because after he had done prophesying, though he had been ordered in anger to depart and "flee to his place" (Numb. xxiv. 10, 11.); yet he had the meanness to stay, and gave that wicked counsel, whereby the people were enticed "to commit whoredom with the daughters of Moab," and "twenty and four thousand died in the plague." (Numb. xxv. 1. 9.)

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[2] Hierozoic. Pars prior. l. 2. c. 14.

This miracle then was a proper sign to Balaam, and had a proper effect; and we may the more easily believe it, when we find Balaam afterwards inspired with such knowledge of futurity. It was not more above the natural capacity of the ass to speak, than it was above the natural capacity of Balaam to foretel so many distant events. The prophecies render the miracle more credible; and we shall have less reason to doubt of the one, when we see the accomplishment of the others. His predictions are indeed wonderful, whether we consider the matter or the style; as if the same divine Spirit that inspired his thoughts, had also raised his language. They are called *parables* in the sacred text: "he took up his parable and said." The same word is used after the same manner in the book of Job (xxvii. 1. xxix. 1.) "Moreover Job continued his parable and said." It is commonly translated *parable* or *proverb*. Le Clerc translates it 'figuratam orationem:' and thereby is meant a weighty and solemn speech delivered in figurative and majestic language. Such, remarkably such [5] are the prophecies or parables of Balaam. You cannot peruse them without being struck with the beauty of them. You will perceive uncommon force and energy, if you read them only in our English translation. We shall select only such parts as are more immediately relative to the design of these discourses.

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[3] Antiq. Jud. l. 4 c. 6. § 2. *ταραττομένου δ' αὐτοῦ διὰ τὴν τῆς ὄνου φωνὴν ἀνθρωπίνην οὖσαν; κ. τ. λ. Dum vero ille voce humana asinæ attonitus turbatusque, &c.*

[4] 'Rabba in Numeros, § 20. Deum asserit os asinæ ideo aperuisse, 'ut Balaamum doceret, os, et linguam penes se esse, adeoque os ipsius Balaami, si quæreret Israeli maledicere.' Et vero id docuit eventus, cum Balaam iis ipsis invitus benedixit, quibus maledicturus tanto apparatu venerat, non minore oraculo, aut etiam majore, quam cum asina locuta est. Asina enim erat merè patiens, sed Balaam moventi Deo pro virili obsistebat, ut Saül, cum prophetam egit.' Hierozoic. Pars prior. l. 2. c. 14.

After he had offered his first sacrifice, (Numb. xxiii.) he went to seek the Lord, and at his return he declared among other things, "Lo, the people shall dwell alone, and shall not be reckoned among the nations" (ver. 9.). And how could Balaam upon a distant view only of a people, whom he had never seen or known before, have discovered the genius and manners not only of the people then living, but of their posterity to the latest generations? What renders it more extraordinary is the singularity of the character, that they should differ from all the people in the world, and should dwell by themselves among the nations, without mixing and incorporating with any. The time too when this was affirmed increases the wonder, it being before the people were well known in the world, before their religion and government were established, and even before they had obtained a settlement any where. But yet that the character was fully verified in the event, not only all history testifies, but we have even ocular demonstration at this day. The Jews, in their religion and laws, their rites and ceremonies, their manners and customs, were so totally different from all other nations, that they had little intercourse or communion with them. An [6] eminent author hath shewn, that there was a general intercommunity amongst the gods of Paganism; but no such thing was allowed between the God of Israel and the gods of the nations. There was to be no fellowship between God and Belial, though there might be between Belial and Dagon. And hence the Jews were branded for their inhumanity and unsociableness; and they as generally hated, as they were hated by the rest of mankind. Other nations, the conquerors and the conquered, have often associated and united as one body under the same laws; but the Jews in their captivities have commonly been more bigoted to their own religion, and more tenacious of their own rites and customs, than at other times. And even now, while they are dispersed among all nations, they yet live distinct and separate from all, trading only with others, but eating, marrying, and conversing chiefly among themselves. We see therefore how exactly and wonderfully Balaam characterised the whole race from the first to the last, when he said, "Lo, the people shall dwell alone, and shall not be reckoned among the nations." In the conclusion too when he poured forth that passionate wish, "Let me die the death of the righteous, and let my last end be like his" (ver. 10.), he had in all probability some forebodings of his own coming to an untimely end, as he really did afterwards, being slain with the five kings of Midian by the sword of Israel (Numb. xxxi. 8.).

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[5] See to this purpose Mr. Lowth's poetical Prælections, particularly Præl. 4. p. 41. Præl. 18. p. 173. and his ingenious version of part of Balaam's prophecies into Latin verse, Præl. 20. p. 206. The learned reader will not be displeased to see it here.

'Tuis, Jacobe, quantus est castris decor!
Tuisque signis, Israel!
Ut rigua vallis fertilem pandens sinum;
Horti ut scatentes rivulis;
Sacris Edenæ costi ut in sylvis virent,
Cedrique propter flumina.
Illi uda multo rore stillant germina,
Fætusque alunt juges aquæ.
Sancti usque fines promovebit imperi
Rex usque victor hostium.
Illum subacto duxit ab Nilo Deus,
Novis superbum viribus,
Qualis remotis liber in jugis oryx
Fert celsa cœlo cornua.
Vorabit hostes; ossa franget; irritas
Lacerabit hastas dentibus.
Ut Leo, recumbit; ut leæna, decubat;
Quis audeat lacessere?
Quæ quisque tibi precabitur, ferat bona!
Mala quæ precabitur, luat!'

[6] See the Divine Legation of Moses. b. 2. § 6. and b. 5. § 2.

After the second sacrifice he said among other things, (Numb. xxii. 24.) "Behold the people shall rise up as a great lion, and lift up himself as a young lion: he shall not lie down until he eat of the prey, and drink of the blood of the slain:" and again to the same purpose after the third sacrifice, (xxiv. 8, 9.) "He shall eat up the nations his enemies, and shall break their bones, and pierce them through with his arrows: He couched, he lay down as a lion, and as a great lion; who shall stir him up? Blessed is he that blesseth thee, and cursed is he that curseth thee." Which passages are a manifest prophecy of the victories which the Israelites should gain over their enemies, and particularly the Canaanites, and of their secure possession and quiet enjoyment of the land afterwards, and particularly in the reigns of David and Solomon. It is remarkable too, that God hath here put into the mouth of Balaam much the same things which Jacob had before predicted of Judah, (Gen. xlix. 9.) "Judah is a lion's whelp; from the prey, my son, thou art gone up: he stooped down, he couched as a lion, and as an old lion; who shall rouse him up?" and Isaac had predicted of Jacob, (Gen. xxvii. 29.) "Cursed be every one that curseth thee, and blessed be he that blesseth thee:" there is such analogy and harmony between the prophecies of Scripture.

At the same time Balaam declared, (ver. 7.) "His king shall be higher than Agag, and his kingdom shall be exalted." Some copies have *Gog* instead of *Agag*, which reading is embraced by the [7] authors of the Universal History, who say that 'as the Samaritan, Septuagint, Syriac, and Arabic read *Gog* instead of *Agag*, and *Gog* doth generally signify the Scythians and northern nations, several interpreters have preferred this latter reading to the first, and not without good grounds.' But it is a mistake to say, that the Syriac and Arabic read *Gog:* It is found only in the [8] Samaritan and the Septuagint, and in Symmachus according to Grotius: the [9] Syriac and Arabic have *Agag* as well as the Targum of Onkelos and the Vulgate, though this latter with a different sense and construction of the words. Neither have we any account that *Gog* was a famous king at that time, and much less that the king of Israel was ever exalted above him; and indeed the Scythians and northern nations lay too remote to be the proper subject of a comparison. The reading of the Hebrew copies, *his king shall be higher than Agag,* is without doubt the true reading: and we must either suppose that *Agag* was prophesied of by name particularly, as Cyrus and Josiah were several years before they were born: or we must say with [1] Moses Gerundensis, a learned Rabbi quoted by Munster, that Agag was the general name of the kings of Amalek, which appears very probable, it being the custom of those times and of those countries to give one certain name to all their kings, as *Pharaoh* was the general name for the kings of Egypt, and *Abimelech* for the kings of the Philistines. Amalek too was a neighbouring country, and therefore is fitly introduced upon the present occasion: and it was likewise at that time a great and flourishing kingdom, for (in ver. 20.) it is styled "the first of the nations;" and therefore for the king of Israel to be exalted above the king of Amalek was really a wonderful exaltation. But wonderful as it was, it was accomplished by Saul, who "smote the Amalekites from Havilah until thou comest to Shur, that is over against Egypt: and he took Agag the king of the Amalekites alive, and utterly destroyed all the people with the edge of the sword" (1 Sam. xv. 7, 8.). The first king of Israel subdued Agag the king of the Amalekites, so that it might truly and properly be said, "his king shall be higher than Agag, and his kingdom shall be exalted," as it was afterwards greatly by David and Solomon.

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[7] See Univers. Hist b. 1. c. 7. § 2. vol. I. p. 531 Fol. Edit. note Y.

His latter prophecies Balaam ushers in with a remarkable preface, "Balaam the son of Beor hath said, and the man whose eyes are open, hath said; He hath said, which heard the words of God, which saw the vision of the Almighty, falling into a trance, but having his eyes open" (Numb. xxiv. 3, 4, and 15, 16.). Which hath occasioned much perplexity and confusion, but the words rightly rendered will admit of an easy interpretation. *Balaam the son of Beor hath said, and the man whose eyes are open hath said:* It should be *the man whose eye was shut:* for the word שתם *shatam* is used only here and in Lamentations (iii. 8.), and there it signifies *to shut;* and the word סתם *satam* which is very near of kin to it, I think, hath always that signification. St. Jerome translates it 'cujus obturatus est oculus:' and in the margin of our Bibles it is rendered *who had his eyes shut*, but with this addition *but now open.* It plainly alludes to Balaam's not seeing the angel of the Lord, at the same time that the ass saw him. "He hath said, which heard the words of God, which saw the vision of the Almighty;" for in this story we read several times, that "God came unto Balaam and said unto him;" and possibly he might allude to former revelations. "Falling into a trance, but having his eyes open;" in the original there is no mention of *a trance;* the passage should be rendered, *falling and his eyes were opened,* alluding to what happened in the way, to Balaam's falling with his falling ass, and then having his eyes opened: "And when the ass saw the angel of the Lord, she fell down under Balaam—Then the Lord opened the eyes of Balaam, and he saw the angel of the Lord standing in the way, and his sword drawn in his hand; and he bowed down his head, and fell flat on his face" (xxii. 27, &c.). A contrast is intended between having his eyes *shut* and having his eyes *opened;* the one answers to the other. The design of this preface was to excite attention: and so Balaam proceeds to "advertise Balak what this people should do to his people in the latter days" by which phrase is meant the time to come, be it more or less remote.

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[8] "Extolleturque præ Gog rex ejus." Samar. Καὶ ὑψωθήσεται ἡ Γὼγ βασιλεία. Sept. ὑψωθήσεται ὑπὲρ Γὼγ βασιλεὺς αὐτοῦ. Symm. apud Grot.

[9] "Extolletur præ Agag rege, et exaltabitur regnum." Syr. "Exaltabitur plus quam Agag rex ejus, et extolletur regnum ejus." Arab. "Roborabitur magis quam Agag rex ejus, et elevabitur regnum illius." Onk. "Tolletur propter Agag rex ejus, et auferetur regnum illius." Vulg.

[1] 'Et secundum Mosen Gerundensem, quilibet rex Amalekitarum fuit vocatus *Agag*, transitque primi regis nomen in omnes posteros solium regni occupantes; sicut a Cæsare primo omnes Romanorum reges *Cæsares* appellantur.' Munsterus.

He begins with what more immediately concerns the Moabites, the people to whom he is speaking, (ver. 17.) "I shall see him, but not now, I shall behold him, but not nigh;" or rather, *I see him, but not now; I behold him, but not nigh;* the future tense in Hebrew being often used for the present. He saw with the eyes of prophecy, and prophets are emphatically styled *seers.* "There shall come a star out of Jacob, and a sceptre shall rise out of Israel." The *star* and the *sceptre* are probably metaphors borrowed from the ancient hieroglyphics, which much influenced the language of the East: and they evidently denote some eminent and illustrious king or ruler, whom he particularises in the following words. "And shall smite the corners of Moab," or *the princes of Moab*, according to other versions. This was executed by David, for "he smote Moab, and measured them with a line, casting them down to the ground: even with two lines measured he, to put to death;

and with one full line to keep alive:" that is, he destroyed two thirds, and saved one third alive: "And so the Moabites became David's servants, and brought gifts" (2 Sam. viii. 2.).

"And destroy all the children of Sheth" (ver. 17.). If by *Sheth* was meant the son of Adam, then *all the children of Sheth* are all mankind, the posterity of Cain and Adam's other sons having all perished in the deluge, and the line only of Sheth having been preserved in Noah and his family: but it is very harsh to say that any king of Israel would *destroy* all mankind, and therefore the [2] Syriac and Chaldee soften it, that he shall *subdue* all the sons of Sheth, and *rule over* all the sons of men. The word occurs only in this place, and in Isaiah (xxii. 5.) where it is used in the sense of *breaking down* or *destroying*; and as particular places, Moab and Edom, are mentioned both before and after; so it is reasonable to conclude that not all mankind in general, but some particular persons were intended by the expression of *the sons of Sheth*. The [3] Jerusalem Targum translates it *the sons of the east*, the Moabites lying east of Judea. Rabbi Nathan [4] says that *Sheth* is the name of a city in the border of Moab. Grotius[5] imagines *Sheth* to be the name of some famous king among the Moabites. Our Poole, who is a judicious and useful commentator, says that *Sheth* 'seems to be the name of some then eminent, though now unknown, place or prince in Moab, where there were many princes, as appears from Numb. xxiii. 6. Amos ii. 3.: there being innumerable instances of such places or persons sometimes famous, but now utterly lost as to all monuments and remembrances of them.' Vitringa in his commentary upon Isaiah,[6] conceives that the Idumeans were intended, the word *Sheth* signifying *a foundation*, or *fortified place*, because they trusted greatly in their castles and fortifications. But the Idumeans are mentioned afterwards; and it is probable that as two hemistichs relate to them, two also relate to the Moabites; and the reason of the appellation assigned by Vitringa is as proper to the Moabites as to the Idumeans. It is common in the style of the Hebrews, and especially in the poetic parts of Scripture, and we may observe it particularly in these prophecies of Balaam, that the same thing in effect is repeated in other words, and the latter member of each period is exegetical of the former, as in the passage before us; *I see him, but not now; I behold him, but not nigh:* and then again, "There shall come a star out of Jacob, and a sceptre shall rise out of Israel:" and again afterwards, "And Edom shall be a possession, Seir also shall be a possession for his enemies." There is great reason therefore to think, that the same manner of speaking was continued here, and consequently that *Sheth* must be the name of some eminent place or person among the Moabites; "and shall smite the princes of Moab, and destroy all the sons of Sheth."

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[2] "Et subjugavit omnes filios Seth." Syr. "Et dominabitur omnium filiorum hominum." Chald.

[3] 'Hinc Jerosolim. Paraphrastes *filios orientis* vertit. Moabitæ enim erant ad ortum Judeæ.' Le Clerc.

[4] 'R. Nathan dicit *Seth* nomen urbis esse in termino Moab. Vide Liram.' Drusius.

[5] 'Nihil vero propius quam *Seth* nominatum fuisse regem aliquem eximium inter Moabitas.' Grot.

[6] 'Non desisto ab hac sententia, vocem קרקר *karkar* in verbis Bileami certo significare *destructionem*, *eversionem*, *vastationem*; etsi hæream in phrasi בני שת *filiorum Seth*, per quos secundum circumstantias loci intelligi puto Idumæos, voce שת appellative sumpta pro *fundamento*, sive *loco munito*, quod illi maxime arcibus ac munimentis suis fiderent.' Vitring. in Jesaim, c. 22. ver. 5. p. 641. vol. i.

"And Edom shall be a possession" (ver. 18.). This was also fulfilled by David; for "he put garrisons in Edom; throughout all Edom put he garrisons, and all they of Edom became David's servants" (2 Sam. viii. 14.). David himself in two of his psalms hath mentioned together his conquest of Moab and Edom, as they are also joined together in this prophecy; "Moab is my wash-pot, over Edom will I cast out my shoe" (Psal. lx. 8. cviii. 9.). "Seir also shall be a possession for his enemies," that is, for the Israelites. *Seir* is the name of the mountains of Edom, so that even their mountains and fastnesses could not defend the Idumeans from David and his captains. "And Israel shall do valiantly," as they did particularly under the command of David, several of whose victories are recorded in this same 8th chapter of the 2d book of Samuel, together with his conquest of Moab and of Edom. (ver. 19.) "Out of Jacob shall come he that shall have dominion, and shall destroy him that remaineth of the city;" not only defeat them in the field, but destroy them even in their strongest cities, or perhaps some particular city was intended, as we may infer from Psal. lx. 9. cviii. 10. "Who will bring me into the strong city? who will lead me into Edom?" And we read particularly that Joab, David's general, "smote every male in Edom: for six months did Joab remain there with all Israel, until he had cut off every male in Edom" (1 Kings xi. 15, 16.).

We see how exactly this prophecy hath been fulfilled in the person and actions of David: but most Jewish as well as Christian writers apply it, primarily perhaps to David, but ultimately to the Messiah, as the person chiefly intended, in whom it was to receive its full and entire completion. Onkelos, who is the most ancient and valuable of the Chaldee paraphrasts, interprets it of the Messiah. 'When a prince, [7] says he, shall arise of the house of Jacob, and Christ shall be anointed of the house of Israel, he shall both slay the princes of Moab, and rule over all the sons of men:' and with him agree the other Targums or paraphrases. Maimonides, who is one of the most learned and famous of the Jewish doctors, understands it partly of David, and partly of the Messiah: and with him agree other rabbies, whom you may find cited by the critics and commentators to this purpose. It appears to have been generally understood by the Jews, as a prophecy of the Messiah, because the false Christ, who appeared in the reign of the Roman emperor Adrian, [8]assumed the title of *Barchochebas*, or *the son of the star*, in allusion to this prophecy, and in order to have it believed that he was the star whom Balaam had seen afar off. The Christian fathers, I think, are unanimous in applying this prophecy to our Saviour, and to the star which appeared at his nativity. Origen in particular saith, that [9] in the law there are many typical and enigmatical references to the Messiah: but he produceth this as one of the plainest and clearest of prophecies: and both [1] Origen and Eusebius affirm, that it was in consequence of Balaam's prophecies, which were known and believed in the east, that the Magi, upon the appearance of a new star, came to Jerusalem to worship him who was born king of the Jews. The stream of modern divines and commentators runneth the same way, that is, they apply the prophecy principally to our Saviour, and by *Moab* and *Edom* understand the enemies and persecutors of the church. And it must be acknowledged in favour of this opinion, that many prophecies of Scripture have a double meaning, literal and mystical, respect two events, and receive a twofold completion. David too was in several things a type and figure of the Messiah. If by *destroying all the children of Sheth* be meant *ruling over all mankind*, this was never fulfilled in David. A star did really appear at our Saviour's nativity, and in Scripture he is styled the "*day-star*" (2 Pet. i. 19.), "the morning-star" (Rev. ii. 28.), "the bright and morning-star" (xxii. 16.), perhaps in allusion to this very prophecy. Dr. Warburton, who improves every subject that he handles, assigns a farther reason. Speaking of the two sorts of metaphor in the ancient use of it, the popular and common, and the hidden and mysterious; he [2] says that 'the prophetic writings are full of this kind of metaphor. To instance only in the famous prediction of Balaam—" there shall come a star out of Jacob, and a sceptre shall rise out of Israel." This prophecy may possibly in some sense relate to David, but without doubt it belongs principally to Christ. Here the metaphor of a *sceptre* was common and popular to denote a ruler, like David; but the *star*, though like the other, it signified in the prophetic writings a temporal prince or ruler, yet had a secret and hidden meaning likewise. A star in the Egyptian hieroglyphics denoted [3] God: (and how much hieroglyphic writing influenced the eastern languages we shall see presently.) Thus God, in the prophet Amos, reproving the Israelites for their idolatry on their first coming out of Egypt, says, "Have ye offered unto me sacrifices and offerings in the wilderness forty years, O house of Israel? But ye have borne the tabernacle of your Moloch and Chiun your images, the star of your God which ye made to yourselves" (Amos v. 25, 26.). *The star of your God* is here a noble figurative expression to signify *the image of your God;* for a *star* being employed in the hieroglyphics to signify *God*, it is used here with great elegance to signify the material image of a God; the words *the star of your God* being only a repetition (so usual in the Hebrew tongue) of the preceding—*Chiun, your images;* and not (as some critics suppose) the same with *your God star*, 'sidus Deum vestrum.' Hence we conclude that the metaphor here used by Balaam of a *star* was of that abstruse mysterious kind, and so to be understood; and consequently that it related only to *Christ*, the eternal Son of God.' Thus far this excellent writer. But though for these reasons the Messiah might be remotely intended, yet we cannot allow that he was intended solely, because David might be called a *star* by Balaam, as well as other rulers or governors are by Daniel (viii. 10.), and by St. John (Rev. i. 20.): and we must insist upon it, that the primary intention, the literal meaning of the prophecy respects the person and actions of David; and for this reason particularly, because Balaam is here advertising Balak, "What this people should do to his people in the latter days," that is, what the Israelites should do to the Moabites hereafter.

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[7] 'Cum consurget rex de domo Jacob, et ungetur Christus de domo Israel; et occidet principes Moab, et dominabitur omnium filiorum hominum.' Onk.

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[8] See Basnage's Hist. of the Jews, b. 6. c. 9. § 12.

[9] τυπικῶς μὲν οὖν καὶ αἰνιγματωδῶς ἀναφερόμενα εἰς τὸν Χριστὸν τῶν ἀναγεγραμμένων ἐν τῷ νόμῳ πλείστῳ ὅσα ἐστὶ εὑρεῖν. γυμνότερα δὲ καὶ σαφέστερα ἐγὼ οὐχ ὁρῶ ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος ἄλλα τινὰ παρὰ ταῦτα. *Quamobrem quam plurima invenire licet scripta in lege tum typice, tum obscure, quæ referantur ad Christum. Apertiora vero alia, et manifestiora præter hæc, ego in præsentia non video.*

[1] Orig. contr. Cels. l. 1. § 60. In Numeros Hom. 13. § 7. Eusebii Demonstrat. Evangel. l. 9. § 1.

[2] See the Divine Legation, &c. book sect. 4.

From the Moabites he turned his eyes more to the south and west, and "*looked*" on their neighbours, the Amalekites; and "took up his parable, and said (ver. 20.), Amalek was the first of the nations, but his latter end shall be that he perish for ever." "Amalek was the first of the nations," the first and most powerful of the neighbouring nations, or the first that warred against Israel, as it is in the margin of our Bibles. The latter interpretation is proposed by [4] Onkelos and other Jews, I suppose because they would not allow the Amalekites to be a more ancient nation than themselves: but most good critics prefer the former interpretation as more easy and natural, and for a very good reason, because the Amalekites appear to have been a very ancient nation. They are reckoned among the most ancient nations thereabouts (1 Sam. xxvii. 8.),—"the Geshurites, and the Gezrites, and the Amalekites; for these nations were of old the inhabitants of the land, as thou goest to Shur, even unto the land of Egypt." They are mentioned as early as in the wars of Chedorlaomer (Gen. xiv. 7.): so that they must have been a nation before the times of Abraham and Lot, and consequently much older than the Moabites, or Edomites, or any of the nations descended from those patriarchs. And this is a demonstrative argument, that the Amalekites did not descend from Amalek, the son of Eliphaz and grandson of Esau, as many have supposed only for the similitude of names (Gen. xxxvi. 12.); but sprung from some other stock, and probably, as the Arabian writers affirm, from Amalek or Amlek, the son of Ham and grandson of Noah. *Amlak* et *Amlik*, fils de Cham, fils de Noé—C'est celuy que les Hebreux appellent Amalec pere des Amalecites: so saith Herbelot; but it is to be wished that this valuable and useful author had cited his authorities. According to the [5] Arabian historians too, they were a great and powerful nation, subdued Egypt, and held it in subjection several years. They must certainly have been more powerful, or at least more courageous, than the neighbouring nations, because they ventured to attack the Israelites, of whom the other nations were afraid. But though they were the first, the most ancient and powerful of the neighbouring nations; yet "their latter end shall be that they perish for ever." Here Balaam unwittingly confirms what God had before denounced by Moses, (Exod. xvii. 14.) "And the Lord said unto Moses, Write this for a memorial in a book, and rehearse it in the ears of Joshua, for I will (or rather, *that I will*) utterly put out the remembrance of Amalek from under heaven." Balaam had before declared, that the king of Israel should prevail over the king of Amalek; but here the menace is carried farther, and Amalek is consigned to utter destruction. This sentence was in great measure executed by Saul, who "smote the Amalekites, and utterly destroyed all the people with the edge of the sword" (1 Sam. xv. 7, 8.). When they had recovered a little, "David and his men went up and invaded them; and David smote the land, and left neither man nor woman alive, and took away the sheep and the oxen, and the asses, and the camels, and the apparel" (1 Sam. xxvii. 8, 9.). David made a farther slaughter and conquest of them at Ziklag (1 Sam. xxx.): and at last "the sons of Simeon, in the days of Hezekiah king of Judah, smote the rest of the Amalekites that were escaped, and dwelt in their habitations" (1 Chron. iv. 41, 42, 43.). And where is the name or the nation of Amalek subsisting at this day? What history, what tradition concerning them is remaining any where? They are but just enough known and remembered to shew, that what God had threatened he hath punctually fulfilled; "I will utterly put out the remembrance of Amalek from under heaven," and "his latter end shall be that he perish for ever."

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[3] Ἀστὴρ ϖαρ' Αἰγυϖτίοις γραφόμενος ϑεὸν σημαίνει. Horapol. Hierog. lib. 2. cap. 1.

[4] 'Principium bellorum Israel fuit Amalech.' Onk.

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[5] See Univers. Hist. b. 1. c. 3. p. 281. Folio Edit. vol. 1.

Then "he looked on the Kenites: and took up his parable, and said (ver. 21, 22.), Strong is thy dwelling place, and thou puttest thy nest in a rock. Nevertheless the Kenite shall be wasted, until Asshur shall carry thee away captive." Commentators are perplexed, and much at a loss to say with any certainty who these Kenites were. There are Kenites mentioned (Gen. xv. 19.) among the Canaanitish nations, whose land was promised unto Abraham; and Le Clerc[6] imagines that those Kenites were the people here intended: but the Canaanitish nations are not the subject of Balaam's prophecies; and the Canaanitish nations were to be rooted out, but these Kenites were to continue as long as the Israelites themselves, and to be carried captive with them by the Assyrians; and in the opinion of Bochart,[7] those Kenites as well as the Kenizzites became extinct in the interval of time which passed between Abraham and Moses, being not mentioned by Joshua in the division of the land, nor reckoned among the nations conquered by him. The most probable account of these Kenites I conceive to be this. Jethro, the father-in-law of Moses, is called in one place "the priest of Midian" (Exod. iii. 1.), and in another "the Kenites" (Judg. i. 16.). We may infer therefore that the Midianites and the Kenites were the same, or at least that the Kenites were some of the tribes of Midian. The Midianites are said to be confederates with the Moabites in the beginning of the story, and the elders of Midian as well as the elders of Moab invited Balaam to come and curse Israel; and one would naturally expect some notice to be taken of them or their tribes in the course of these prophecies. Now of the Kenites, it appears that part followed Israel (Judg. i. 16.): but the greater part, we may presume, remained among the Midianites and Amalekites. We read in 1 Sam. (xv. 6.) that there were Kenites dwelling among the Amalekites, and so the Kenites are fitly mentioned here next after the Amalekites. Their situation is said to be strong and secure among the mountains, "Strong is thy dwelling place, and thou puttest thy nest in a rock;" wherein is an allusion to the name, the same word in Hebrew signifying a *nest* and a *Kenite*. "Nevertheless the Kenite shall be wasted, until Asshur carry thee away captive." The Amalekites were to be utterly destroyed, but the Kenites were to be carried captive. And accordingly when Saul was sent by divine commission to destroy the Amalekites, he ordered the Kenites to depart from among them (1 Sam. xv. 6.). "And Saul said unto the Kenites, Go, depart, get you down from among the Amalekites, lest I destroy you with them: for ye shewed kindness to all the children of Israel when they came up out of Egypt;" for the kindness which some of them shewed to Israel, their posterity was saved. "So the Kenites departed from among the Amalekites." This sheweth that they were *wasted*, and reduced to a low and weak condition; and as the kings of Assyria carried captive not only the Jews, but also the Syrians (2 Kings xvi. 9.), and several other nations (2 Kings xix. 12, 13.), it is most highly probable that the Kenites shared the same fate with their neighbours, and were carried away by the same torrent; and especially as we find some Kenites mentioned among the Jews after their return from captivity (1 Chron. ii. 55.).

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[6] 'Hic Antiquiores illi Kenæi intelligendi.' Le Clerc in locum.

[7] 'Horum ego nomen deletum fuisse putaverim in eo temporis intervallo, quod inter Abrahami et Mosis ævum intercessit. Id certe necesse est, in obscuro latuisse tempore Josuæ, qui nec in divisione terræ, nec in censu gentium a se devictarum illorum meminit uspiam.' Phaleg l. 4. c. 36. col. 397.

The next verse (ver. 23.), "And he took up his parable, and said, Alas, who shall live when God doeth this!" is by several commentators referred to what precedes, but it relates rather to what follows. "And he took up his parable, and said:" this preface is used, when he enters upon some new subject. "Alas, who shall live when God doeth this!" this exclamation implies, that he is now prophesying of very distant and very calamitous times. "And ships (or rather *For ships*, as the particle ו often signifies, and this instance among others is cited by Noldius[8]), shall come from the coast of Chittim, and shall afflict Asshur, and shall afflict Eber, and he also shall perish for ever" (ver. 24.).

Chittim was one of the sons of Javan, who was one of the sons of Japheth, by whose posterity "the isles of the Gentiles (Gen. x. 5.) were divided" and peopled, that is Europe, and the countries to which the Asiatics passed by sea, for such the Hebrews called *islands*. *Chittim* is used for the descendants of Chittim, as *Asshur* is put for the descendants of Asshur, that is the Assyrians: but what people were the descendants of *Chittim*, or what country was meant by *the coasts of Chittim*, it is not so easy to determine. The critics and commentators are generally divided into two opinions, the one asserting that Macedonia, and the other that Italy was the country here intended: and each opinion is recommended and authorised by some of the first and greatest names in learning; as, not to mention any others, Grotius and Le Clerc[9] contend for the former, Bochart and Vitringa[1] are strenuous for the latter. But there is no reason why we may not adopt both opinions; and especially as it is very well known and agreed on all hands, that colonies came from Greece to Italy; and as Josephus[2] saith, that all islands and most maritime places are called *Chethim* by the Hebrews; and as manifest traces of the name are to be found in both countries, the ancient name of Macedonia having been *Macettia*,[3] and the Latins having before been called *Cetii*. What appears most probable is, that the sons of Chittim settled first in Asia Minor, where were a people called *Cetëi*, and a river called *Cetium*, according to Homer and Strabo.[4] From Asia they might pass over into the island Cyprus, which Josephus[5] saith was possessed by *Chethim*, and called *Chethima;* and where was also the city *Cittium*, famous for being the birth-place of Zeno, the founder of the sect of the Stoics, who was therefore called the *Cittiean*. And from thence they might send forth colonies into Greece and Italy, This plainly appears, that wherever the *land of Chittim* or the *isles of Chittim* are mentioned in Scripture, there are evidently meant some countries or islands in the Mediterranean.

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[8] Noldii Part ו 37.

[9] Grotius in locum et Clericus in locum, et in Genes. x. 4.

[1] Bocharti Phaleg. l. 3. c. 5. et Vitringa in Iesaiam. xxiii. 1.

Isaiah, prophesying of the destruction of Tyre by Nebuchadnezzar, saith (xxiii. 1.) "Howl, ye ships of Tarshish," that is, the ships trading from Tyre to Tarsessus in Spain; "for Tyre is laid waste: from the land of Chittim it is revealed to them;" the news is brought first to the countries and islands in the Mediterranean, and from thence it is conveyed to Spain; and afterwards (ver. 12.) "Arise, pass over to Chittim, there also shalt thou have no rest;" the inhabitants might fly from Tyre, and pass over to the countries and islands in the Mediterranean, but even there they should find no secure place of refuge; God's judgments should still pursue them. Jeremiah expostulating with the Jews concerning their causeless revolt, saith (ii. 10.) "Pass over to the isles of Chittim, and see," that is the isles in the Mediterranean which lay westward of Judea; "and send unto Kedar," which was in Arabia and lay eastward of Judea; "and consider diligently, and see if there be such a thing;" go search east and west, and see if you can find any such instance of apostacy as this of the Jews. Ezekiel describing the luxury of the Tyrians even in their shipping, saith (xxvii. 6.) according to the [6]true reading and interpretation of the words, "they made their benches of ivory inlaid on box, brought out of the isles of Chittim," that is out of the isles of the Mediterranean, and most probably from Corsica, which was famous above all places for box, as Bochart hath proved by the testimonies of Pliny, Theophrastus, and Diodorus. Daniel, foretelling the exploits of Antiochus Epiphanes, saith (xi. 29, 30.) that he should "come towards the south," that is invade Egypt, "but the ships of Chittim shall come against him, therefore he shall be grieved and return:" the *ships of Chittim* can be none other than the ships of the Romans, whose [7] ambassadors coming from Italy to Greece, and from thence to Alexandria, obliged Antiochus, to his great grief and disappointment, to depart from Egypt without accomplishing his designs. The author of the first book of Maccabees, speaking of Alexander son of Philip the Macedonian, saith (i. 1.) that he "came out of the land of Chettiim:" and afterwards (viii. 5.) Perseus, the last king of Macedon, he calleth "king of the Cittims." By these instances it appears, that *the land of Chittim* was a general name for the countries and islands in the Mediterranean: and therefore when Balaam said that "ships should come from the coast of Chittim," he might mean either Greece, or Italy, or both, the particular names of those countries being at that time perhaps unknown in the east: and the passage may be the better understood of both, because it was equally true of both, and Greece and Italy were alike the scourges of Asia.

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[2] καὶ ἀϖ αὐτῆς νῆσοί τε πᾶσαι, καὶ τὰ πλείω τῶν παρὰ θάλασσαν, χεθὶμ ὑϖὸ Ἑβραίων ὀνομάζεται *Et ab ea* [Chethima] *insulæ omnes, et pleraque loca maritima, ab Hebræis Chethim dicuntur*. Antiq. l. i. c. 6.

[3] Vide Bochartum ibid.

[4] Homer. Odyss. xi. 520. et Scholiast. ibid. Strabo Geograph. l. 13. p. 915, 916.

[5] Χέθιμος δὲ Χεθιμὰ τήν νῆσον ἔσχεν: Κύπρος αὕτη νῦν καλεῖται. *Chethimus autem Chethimam insulam occupavit: ipsa vero nunc Cyprus vocatur.* Joseph. Antiq. l. 1. c. 6.

[6] Bochart ibid. et Hierozoic. pars prior. l. 2. c. 24.

"And shall afflict Asshur," (Numb. xxiv. 24.) *Asshur*, as we noted before, signifies properly the descendants of Asshur, the Assyrians: but [8] their name was of as large extent as their empire, and the Syrians and Assyrians are often confounded together, and mentioned as one and the same people. Now it is so well known as to require no particular proof, that the Grecians under the command of Alexander the Great subdued all those countries. The Romans afterwards extended their empire into the same regions; and as [9] Dion informs us, Assyria properly so called was conquered by the emperor Trajan.

"And shall afflict Eber," (ibid.) Two interpretations are proposed of the word *Eber*, either the posterity of a man so called, or the people who dwelt on the other side of the Euphrates. If by *Eber* we understand the posterity of Eber, as by *Asshur* the posterity of Asshur, which appears a very natural construction; then Balaam, who was commissioned to bless Israel at first, prophesied evil concerning them at last, though under another name: but men and manners usually degenerate in a long course of time; and as the virtues of the progenitors might entitle them to a blessing, so the vices of the descendants might render them obnoxious to a curse. However we may avoid this seeming inconsistence, if we follow the other interpretation, and by *Eber* understand the people who dwelt on the other side of the river Euphrates, which sense is given by Onkelos[1], and is approved by several of the ancients, as well as by many of the most able commentators among the moderns, and is particularly enforced by a learned [2]professor of eminent skill in the oriental languages. The two members of the period would then better connect together, and the sense of the latter would be somewhat exegetical of the former; "and shall afflict Ashur and shall afflict Eber," shall afflict the Assyians and other neighbouring nations bordering upon the river Euphrates. And this interpretation I would readily embrace, if I could see any instance of a parallel expression. *Beyond the river*, meaning Euphrates, is indeed a phrase that sometimes occurs in Scripture, and the concordance will supply us with instances: but where doth *beyond* alone ever bear that signification? I know Gen. x. 21. is usually cited for this purpose; but that text is as much controverted as this, and the question is the same there as here, whether *Eber* be the proper name of a man, or only a preposition signifying *beyond*, and *beyond* signifying the people beyond the river Euphrates; or in other words, whether the passage should be translated *the father of all the children of Eber*, or *the father of all the children of the people on the other side of the river Euphrates*. Isaiah's manner of speaking of the same people is "by them beyond the river, by the king of Assyria" (vii. 20.): and one would expect the like here, *shall afflict Asshur, and shall afflict them beyond the river*. But which ever of these interpretations we prefer, the prophecy was alike fulfilled. If we understand it of the people bordering upon the Euphrates, they as well as the Assyrians were subdued both by the Grecians and Romans. If we understand it of the posterity of Eber, the Hebrews were afflicted, though not much by Alexander himself, yet by his successors the Seleucidæ, and particularly by Antiochus Epiphanes, who spoiled Jerusalem, defiled the temple, and slew all those who adhered to the law of Moses. (1 Mac. i.) They were worse afflicted by the Romans, who not only subdued and oppressed them, and made their country a province of the empire, but at last took away their place and nation, and sold and dispersed them over the face of the earth.

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[7] Vide Livii l. 45. c. 10, 11, 12. Polyb. Legat. xcii. l. 29. c. 11.

[8] 'Tam late patuit hoc nomen quam late patuit imperium.—multi veterum Syros et Assyrios pro iisdem habent.' Bochart. Phaleg. l. 2. c. 3. col. 72.

[9] Dionis Hist. Rom. l. 68. § 26.

"And he also shall perish for ever" (Numb. xxiv. 24.), that is Chittim, who is the main subject of this part of the prophecy, and whose ships were to afflict Asshur and to afflict Eber: but this notwithstanding, *he also shall be even to perdition*, he also shall be destroyed as well as Amalek, for in the original the words are the same concerning both. *He* in the singular number cannot well refer to both *Asshur* and *Eber*. *He* must naturally signify Chittim the principal agent: and if by *Chittim* be meant the Grecians, the Grecian empire was entirely subverted by the Roman; if the Romans, the Roman empire was in its turn broken into pieces by the incursion of the northern nations. The name only of the Roman empire and Cæsarean majesty is subsisting at this day, and is transferred to another country and another people.

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[1] 'Et subjicient trans flumen Euphratem.' Onk.

[2] Hyde Hist. Relig. Vet. Pers. c. 2. p. 52—57.

It appears then that Balaam was a prophet divinely inspired, or he could never have foretold so many distant events, some of which are fulfilling in the world at this time: and what a singular honour was it to the people of Israel, that a prophet called from another country, and at the same time a wicked man, should be obliged to bear testimony to their righteousness and holiness? The commendations of an enemy, among enemies, are commendations indeed. And Moses did justice to himself as well as to his nation in recording these transactions. They are not only a material part of his history, but are likewise a strong confirmation of the truth of his religion. Balaam's bearing witness to Moses is somewhat like Judas's attesting the innocence of Jesus.

VI.—MOSES'S PROPHECY OF A PROPHET LIKE UNTO HIMSELF.

MOSES is a valuable writer, as upon many accounts, so particularly upon this, that he hath not only preserved and transmitted to posterity several ancient prophecies, but hath likewise shewn himself a prophet, and inserted several predictions of his own. Among these none is more memorable, than that of another prophet to be raised like unto himself. He was now about to leave his people, and comforts them with the promise of another prophet. Deut. xviii. 15. "The Lord thy God will raise up unto thee a prophet from the midst of thee, of thy brethren, like unto me; unto him ye shall hearken." The same is repeated at ver. 18. in the name of God, "I will raise them up a prophet from among their brethren, like unto thee, and will put my words in his mouth, and he shall speak unto them all that I shall command him." It is farther added at ver. 19. "And it shall come to pass that whosoever will not hearken unto my words which he shall speak in my name, I will require it of him." Plain as this prophecy is, it hath strangely been perverted and misapplied: but I conceive nothing will be wanting to the right understanding both of the prophecy and the completion, if we can shew first what prophet was here particularly intended, if we shew secondly that this prophet resembled Moses in more respects than any other person ever did, and if we shew thirdly that the people have been and still are severely punished for their infidelity and disobedience to this prophet.

I. We will endeavour to shew what prophet was here particularly intended. Some have been of opinion, [1] that Joshua was the person; because he is said in Ecclesiasticus (xlvi. 1.) to have been "successor of Moses in prophecies:" and as the people were commanded to hearken unto this prophet, "unto him ye shall hearken;" so they said unto Joshua (i. 17.) "According as we hearkened unto Moses in all things, so will we hearken unto thee." Some again have imagined, [2] that Jeremiah was the person; because he frequently applies (say they) the words of Moses; and Abarbinel in his preface to his commentary upon Jeremiah reckons up fourteen particulars wherein they resemble each other, and observes that Jeremiah prophesied forty years, as Moses also did. Others, and those many more in number, [3] understand this neither of Joshua, nor of Jeremiah, nor of any single person, but of a succession of prophets to be raised up like unto Moses; because (say they) the people being here forbidden to follow after *enchanters* and *diviners,* as other nations did, nothing would have secured them effectually from following after them, but having true prophets of their own, whom they might consult upon occasion; and the latter are opposed to the former. But still the propounders and favourers of these different opinions, I think, agree generally in this, that though Joshua, or Jeremiah, or a succession of prophets was primarily intended, yet the main end and ultimate scope of the prophecy was the Messiah: and indeed there appear some very good reasons for understanding it of him principally, if not of him solely, besides the preference of a literal to a typical interpretation.

There is a passage in the conclusion of this book of Deuteronomy, which plainly refers to this prophecy, and entirely refutes the notion of Joshua being the prophet like unto Moses. "And Joshua the son of Nun was full of the spirit of wisdom; for Moses had laid his hands upon him: and the children of Israel hearkened unto him, and did as the Lord commanded Moses. And there arose not a prophet since in Israel like unto Moses, whom the Lord knew face to face: In all the signs and the wonders which the Lord sent him to do, &c." (xxxiv. 9—11.) We cannot be certain at what time, or by what hand this addition was made to the sacred volume: but it must have been made after the death of Moses; and consequently Joshua was not a prophet like unto Moses in the opinion of the Jewish church, both of those who made and of those who received this addition as canonical Scripture. "There arose not a prophet since in Israel;" the manner of expression plainly implies, that this addition must have been made at some considerable distance of time after the death of Moses; and consequently the Jewish church had no conception of a perpetual succession of prophets to be raised up like unto Moses: and if this addition was made, as it is commonly believed to have been made, by Ezra after the Babylonish captivity, then it is evident that neither Jeremiah nor any of the ancient prophets was esteemed like unto Moses. Consider what are the peculiar marks and characters, wherein it is said that none other prophet had ever resembled Moses. "There arose not a prophet since in Israel like unto Moses, whom the Lord knew face to face, in all the signs and the wonders which the Lord sent him to do." And which of the prophets ever conversed so frequently and familiarly with God, *face to face?* which of them ever wrought so many and so great miracles? Nobody was ever equal or comparable to Moses in these respects, but Jesus the Messiah.

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[1] See Munster, Drusius, Fagius, Calmet, &c.

[2] See Munster, Fagius, Patrick, Calmet, &c.

[3] See Fagius, Poole, Le Clerc, Calmet, &c.

God's declaration too, upon occasion of Miriam's and Aaron's sedition, plainly evinces that there was to be no prophet in the Jewish church, and much less a succession of prophets, like unto Moses. Miriam and Aaron grew jealous of Moses, and mutinied against him, saying, "Hath the Lord indeed spoken only by Moses? hath he not spoken also by us?" (Numb. xii. 2.) The controversy was of such importance, that God himself interposed; and what was his determination of the case? "If there be a prophet among you, I the Lord will make myself known unto him in a vision, and will speak unto him in a dream. My servant Moses is not so, who is faithful in all mine house. With him will I speak mouth to mouth, even apparently, and not in dark speeches; and the similitude of the Lord shall he behold: wherefore then were ye not afraid to speak against my servant Moses?" (ver. 6, 7, 8.) We see here that a great difference was made between Moses and other prophets, and also wherein that difference lay. God revealed himself unto other prophets in *dreams* and *visions*, but with Moses he conversed more openly, *mouth to mouth*, or, as it is said elsewhere, *face to face:* and Moses *saw the similitude of the Lord.* These were singular privileges and prerogatives, which eminently distinguished Moses from all the other prophets of the Jewish dispensation: and yet there was a prophet to be raised up like unto Moses: but who ever resembled Moses in these superior advantages, but Jesus the Messiah?

It is likewise no inconsiderable argument, that the letter of the text favours our interpretation. The word is in the singular number, "The Lord thy God will raise up unto thee a prophet;" and why then should we understand it of a succession of prophets? why should we depart from the literal construction without any apparent necessity for it? Other nations hearkened unto enchanters and diviners, but the Lord would not suffer them so to do; he had given them a better guide already, and would raise up unto them another prophet superior to all the enchanters and diviners in the world: unto him they should hearken.

Moreover it is implied, that this prophet should be a lawgiver. "A prophet like unto thee;" not simply a prophet, but a prophet like unto Moses, that is a second lawgiver, as [4] Eusebius explains it. The reason too that is assigned for sending this prophet, will evince that he was to be vested with this character. The people had requested, that the divine laws might not be delivered to them in so terrible and awful a manner, as they had been in Horeb. God approved their request, and promised therefore, that he would raise up unto them a prophet like unto Moses, a lawgiver who should speak unto them his commands in a familiar and gentle way. This prophet therefore was to be a lawgiver: but none of the Jewish prophets were lawgivers, in all the intermediate time between Moses and Christ.

If we farther appeal unto fact, we shall find that there never was any prophet, and much less a succession of prophets, whom the Jews esteemed like unto Moses. The highest degree of inspiration they term the [5] Mosaical, and enumerate several particulars, wherein that hath the pre-eminence and advantage above all others. There was indeed, in consequence of this prophecy, a general expectation of some extraordinary prophet to arise, which prevailed particularly about the time of our Saviour. The Jews then, as well as [6] since, understood and applied this prophecy to the Messiah, the only prophet whom they will ever allow to be as great or greater than Moses. When our Saviour had fed five thousand men, by a miracle like that of Moses, who fed the Israelites in the wilderness, then those men said, "This is of a truth that prophet that should come into the world" (John vi. 14). St. Peter and St. Stephen directly apply the prophecy to him: (Acts iii. 22, 23. vii. 37.)

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[4] Euseb. Demons. Evang. l. 1. c. 3. l. 9. c. 11.

[5] See Smith's Discourse of Prophecy. c. 2. and 11., wherein it is shewn from Maimonides, that Moses's inspiration excelled all others in four particulars. 1. All other prophets prophesied in a dream or vision, but Moses waking and standing. 2. All other prophets prophesied by the help or ministry of an angel, but Moses prophesied without the ministry of an angel. 3. All other prophets were afraid, and troubled, and fainted, but Moses was not so, for the Scripture saith that *God spake to him as a man speaketh to his friend.* 4. None of the prophets did prophesy at what time they would, save Moses.

[6] See authorities cited in Bishop Chandler's Defence of Christianity. c. 6. § 2. p. 307. edit. 3d.

and they may very well be justified for so doing; for he fully answers all the marks and characters which are here given of the prophet like unto Moses. He had immediate communication with the Deity, and God spake to him *face to face,* as he did to Moses. He performed *signs and wonders* as great or greater than those of Moses. He was a *lawgiver* as well as Moses. "I will raise them up a prophet," saith God; and the people glorified God, saying, "That a great prophet is risen up among us" (Luke vii. 16.). "I will put my words in his mouth," saith God, in Hebrew *will give my words;* and our Saviour saith, "I have given unto them the words which thou gavest me" (John xvii. 8.). "He shall speak unto them all that I shall command him," saith God; and our Saviour saith, "I have not spoken of myself; but the Father which sent me, he gave me a commandment, what I should say, and what I should speak. And I know that his commandment is life everlasting: whatsoever I speak therefore, even as the Father said unto me, so I speak" (John xii. 49, 50.).

II. We shall be more and more confirmed in this opinion, when we consider the great and striking likeness between Moses and Jesus Christ, and that the latter resembled the former in more respects than any other person ever did. Notice hath been taken already of some instances, wherein they resemble each other, of God speaking to both *face to face,* of both performing *signs and wonders,* of both being *lawgivers:* and in these respects none of the ancient prophets were like unto Moses. None of them were lawgivers; they only interpreted and enforced the law of Moses. None of them performed so many and so great wonders. None of them had such clear communications with God; they all saw visions and dreamed dreams. Moses and Jesus Christ are the only two, who perfectly resemble each other in these respects. But a more exact and particular comparison may be drawn between them, and hath been drawn by two eminent hands, by one of the best and ablest of the ancient fathers, and by one of the most learned and ingenious of modern divines: and as we cannot pretend to add any thing to them, we must be content to copy from them.

Eusebius treating of the prophecies concerning Christ,[7] produceth first this of Moses; and then asketh, which of the prophets after Moses, Isaiah for instance, or Jeremiah, or Ezekiel, or Daniel, or any other of the twelve was a lawgiver, and performed things like unto Moses? Moses rescued the Jewish nation from Egyptian superstition and idolatry, and taught them the true theology; Jesus Christ in like manner was the first teacher of true religion and virtue to the Gentiles. Moses confirmed his religion by miracles; and so likewise did Christ.

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[7] Eusebii Demons. Evangel. l. 3. c. 2.

Moses delivered the Jewish nation from Egyptian servitude; and Jesus Christ all mankind from the power of evil demons Moses promised a holy land, and therein a happy life to those who kept the law; and Jesus Christ a better country, that is a heavenly, to all righteous souls. Moses fasted forty days; and so likewise did Christ. Moses supplied the people with bread in the wilderness; and our Saviour fed five thousand at one time, and four thousand at another, with a few loaves. Moses went himself, and led the people through the midst of the sea; and Jesus Christ walked on the sea, and enabled Peter to walk likewise. Moses stretched out his hand over the sea, and the Lord caused the sea to go backward; and our Saviour rebuked the wind and the sea, and there was a great calm. Moses' face shone, when he descended from the mount, and our Saviour's did shine as the sun in his transfiguration. Moses by his prayers cured Miriam of her leprosy; and Christ with greater power by a word healed several lepers. Moses performed wonders by the finger of God; and Jesus Christ by the finger of God did cast out devils. Moses changed Oshea's name to Joshua; and our Saviour did Simon's to Peter. Moses constituted seventy rulers over the people; and our Saviour appointed seventy disciples. Moses sent forth twelve men to spy out the land; and our Saviour twelve apostles to visit all nations. Moses gave several excellent moral precepts; and our Saviour carried them to the highest perfection.

Dr. Jortin[8] hath enlarged upon these hints of Eusebius, and made several improvements, and additions to them. Moses in his infancy was wonderfully preserved from the destruction of all the male children; so was Christ. Moses fled from his country to escape the hands of the king; so did Christ, when his parents carried him into Egypt: afterwards "the Lord said to Moses in Midian, Go, return into Egypt; for all the men are dead which sought thy life" (Exod. iv. 19.); so the angel of the Lord said to Joseph in almost the same words, "Arise, and take the young child, and go into the land of Israel; for they are dead which sought the young child's life" (Matt. ii. 20.); pointing him out as it were for that prophet, who should arise like unto Moses. Moses refused to be called the son of Pharaoh's daughter, choosing rather to suffer affliction; Christ refused to be made king, choosing rather to suffer affliction. Moses, says St. Stephen, "was learned (ἐπαιδεύθη) in all the wisdom of the Egyptians," and Josephus (Ant. Jud. ii. 9.) says that he was a very forward and accomplished youth, and had wisdom and knowledge beyond his years; St. Luke observes of Christ, that "he increased (betimes) in wisdom and stature, and in favour with God and man," and his discourses in the temple with the doctors, when he was twelve years old, were a proof of it. Moses contended with the magicians, who were forced to acknowledge the divine power by which he was assisted; Christ ejected evil spirits, and received the same acknowledgments from them. Moses was not only a lawgiver, a prophet, and a worker of miracles, but a king and a priest: in all these offices the resemblance between Moses and Christ was singular. Moses brought darkness over the land; the sun withdrew his light at Christ's crucifixion: and as the darkness which was spread over Egypt was followed by the destruction of their first-born, and of Pharaoh and his host; so the darkness at Christ's death was the forerunner of the destruction of the Jews. Moses foretold the calamities which would befal the nation for their disobedience; so did Christ. The spirit which was in Moses was conferred in some degree upon the seventy elders, and they prophesied; Christ conferred miraculous powers upon his seventy disciples. Moses was victorious over powerful kings and great nations; so was Christ by the effects of his religion, and by the fall of those who persecuted his church. Moses conquered Amalek by holding up both his hands; Christ overcame his and our enemies when his hands were fastened to the cross. Moses interceded for transgressors, and caused an atonement to be made for them, and stopped the wrath of God; so did Christ. Moses ratified a covenant between God and the people by sprinkling them with blood; Christ with his own blood. Moses desired to die for the people, and prayed that God would forgive them, or blot him out of his book; Christ did more, he died for sinners. Moses instituted the passover, when a lamb was sacrificed, none of whose bones were to be broken, and whose blood protected the people from destruction; Christ was that paschal lamb. Moses lifted up the serpent, that they who looked upon him might be healed of their mortal wounds; Christ was that serpent. All Moses's affection towards the people, all his cares and toils on their account were repaid by them with ingratitude, murmuring, and rebellion; the same returns the Jews made to Christ for all his benefits. Moses was ill used by his own family, his brother and sister rebelled against him; there was a time when Christ's own brethren believed not in him. Moses had a very wicked and perverse generation committed to his care and conduct, and to enable him to rule them, miraculous powers were given to him, and he used his utmost endeavour to make the people obedient to God, and save them from ruin; but in vain; in the space of forty years they all fell in the wilderness except two: Christ also was given to a generation not less wicked and perverse, his instructions and his miracles were lost upon them, and in about the same space of time, after they had rejected him, they were destroyed. Moses was very meek above all men that were on the face of the earth; so was Christ. The people could not enter into the land of promise till Moses was dead; by the death of Christ the kingdom of heaven was open to believers. In the death of Moses and Christ there is also a resemblance of some circumstances: Moses died, in one sense, for the iniquities of the people; it was their rebellion which was the occasion of it, which drew down the displeasure of God upon them and upon him; Moses went up, in the sight of the people, to the top of mount Nebo, and there he died, when he was in perfect vigour, when "his eye was not dim, nor his natural force abated:" Christ suffered for the sins of men, and was led up, in the presence of the people, to mount Calvary, where he died in the flower of his age, and when he was in his full natural strength. Neither Moses nor Christ, as far as we may collect from sacred history, were ever sick, or felt any bodily decay or infirmity, which would have rendered them unfit for the toils they underwent; their sufferings were of another kind. Moses was buried, and no man knew where his body lay; nor could the Jews find the body of Christ. Lastly, as Moses a little before death promised *another prophet;* so Christ *another comforter.*

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[8] Remarks on Ecclesiastical History, vol. i. p. 203—222.

The great similitude consists in their both being *lawgivers*, which no prophet ever was besides Moses and Christ. They may resemble each other in several other features, and a fruitful imagination may find out a likeness where there is none. But as the same excellent writer concludes, 'Is this similitude and correspondence in so many things between Moses and Christ the effect of mere chance? Let us search all the records of universal history, and see if we can find a man who was so like to Moses as Christ was, and so like to Christ as Moses was. If we cannot find such a one, then have we found him of whom Moses in the law, and the prophets did write, Jesus of Nazareth, the Son of God.'

III. There is no want of many words to prove, for it is visible to all the world, that the people have been and still are severely punished for their infidelity and disobedience to this prophet. The prophecy is clear and express; "Unto him ye shall hearken; And it shall come to pass that whosoever will not hearken unto my words which he shall speak in my name, I will require it of him," that is, I will severely punish him for it, as the phrase signifies elsewhere. The antecedent is put for the consequent: judges first inquired, then punished: and the Seventy translate it, [9] *I will take vengeance of him.* This prophecy, as we have proved at large, evidently relates to Jesus Christ. God himself in a manner applies it to him: for when he was transfigured, (Matt. xvii. 5.) there came "a voice out of the cloud, which said, This is my beloved Son in whom I am

[9] Ἐγὼ ἐκδικήσω ἐξ αὐτοῦ. Sept.

well pleased; hear ye him;" alluding plainly to the words of Moses, "Unto him ye shall hearken," and so pointing him out for the prophet like unto Moses. St. Peter, as we noted before, directly applies it to our Saviour, (Acts iii. 22, 23.) "For Moses truly said unto the fathers, A prophet shall the Lord your God raise up unto you, of your brethren, like unto me: him shall ye hear in all things whatsoever he shall say unto you: And it shall come to pass, that every soul which will not hear that prophet, shall be destroyed from among the people;" which is the sense rather than the words of the prophecy. And hath not this terrible denunciation been fully executed upon the Jews? Was not the complete excision of that incredulous nation, soon after Jesus had finished his ministry among them, and his apostles had likewise preached in vain, the fulfilling of the threat upon them for not hearkening unto him? We may be the more certain of this application, as our Saviour himself not only denounced the same destruction, but also foretold the signs, the manner, and the circumstances of it, with a particularity and exactness that will amaze us, as we shall see in a proper place: and those of the Jews who believed in his name, by remembering the caution and following the advice which he had given them, escaped from the general ruin of their country, like firebrands plucked out of the fire. The main body of the nation either perished in their infidelity, or were carried captive into all nations: and have they not ever since persisting in the same infidelity, been obnoxious to the same punishment, and been a vagabond, distressed, and miserable people in the earth? The hand of God was scarce ever more visible in any of his dispensations. We must be blind not to see it: and seeing, we cannot but admire, and adore it. What other probable account can they themselves give of their long captivity, dispersion, and misery? Their former captivity for the punishment of all their wickedness and idolatry lasted only seventy years: but they have lived in their present dispersion, even though they have been no idolaters, now these seventeen hundred years, and yet without any immediate prospect of their restoration: and what enormous crime could have drawn down, and unrepented of still continues to draw down, these heavy judgments upon them? We say that they were cut off for their infidelity; and that when they shall turn to the faith, they will be graffed in again. One would think, it should be worth their while to try the experiment. Sure we are, that they have long been monuments of God's justice; we believe, that upon their faith and repentance they will become again objects of his mercy: and in the mean time with St. Paul, (Rom. x. 1.) "our hearts desire and prayer to God for Israel is, that they may be saved."

VII.—PROPHECIES OF MOSES CONCERNING THE JEWS.

IT is observable that the prophecies of Moses abound most in the latter part of his writings. As he drew nearer his end, it pleased God to open to him larger prospects of things. As he was about to take leave of the people, he was enabled to disclose unto them more particulars of their future state and condition. The design of this work will permit us to take notice of such only as have some reference to these latter ages: and we will confine ourselves principally to the 28th chapter of Deuteronomy, the greater part whereof we may see accomplished in the world at this present time.

This great prophet and lawgiver is here proposing at large to the people the blessings for obedience, and the curses for disobedience: and indeed he had foretold at several times and upon several occasions, that they should be happy or miserable in the world, as they were obedient or disobedient to the law that he had given them. And could there be any stronger evidence of the divine original of the Mosaical law? and hath not the interposition of providence been wonderfully remarkable in their good or bad fortune? and is not the truth of the prediction fully attested by the whole series of their history from their first settlement in Canaan to this very day? but he is larger and more particular in recounting the curses than the blessings, as if he had a prescience of the people's disobedience, and foresaw that a larger portion and longer continuation of the evil would fall to their share, than of the good. I know that some critics make a division of these prophecies, and imagine that one part relates to the former captivity of the Jews, and to the calamities which they suffered under the Chaldæans; and that the other part relates to the latter captivity of the Jews, and to the calamities which they suffered under the Romans: but there is no need of any such distinction; there is no reason to think that any such was intended by the author; several prophecies of the one part as well as of the other have been fulfilled at both periods, but they have all more amply been fulfilled during the latter period; and there cannot be a more lively picture than they exhibit, of the state of the Jews at present.

1. We will consider them with a view to the order of time rather than the order wherein they lie; and we may not improperly begin with this passage, ver. 49, "The Lord shall bring a nation against thee from far, from the end of the earth, as swift as the eagle flieth, a nation whose tongue thou shalt not understand:" and the Chaldæans might be said to come *from far*, in comparison with the Moabites, Philistines, and other

neighbouring nations, which used to infest Judea. Much the same description is given of the Chaldæans by Jeremiah, (v. 15.) "Lo, I will bring a nation upon you from far, O house of Israel, saith the Lord: it is a mighty nation, it is an ancient nation, a nation whose language thou knowest not, neither understandest what they say." He compares them in like manner to eagles, (Lam. iv. 19.) "Our persecutors are swifter than the eagles of the heaven: they pursued us upon the mountains, they laid wait for us in the wilderness." But this description cannot be applied to any nation with such propriety as to the Romans. They were truly brought "from far, from the end of the earth." Vespasian and Adrian, the two great conquerors and destroyers of the Jews, both came from commanding here in Britain. The Romans too for the rapidity of their conquests might very well be compared to eagles, and perhaps not without an allusion to the standard of the Roman armies, which was an eagle: and their language was more unknown to the Jews than the Chaldee.

2. The enemies of the Jews are farther characterized in the next verse, "A nation of fierce countenance, which shall not regard the person of the old, nor shew favour to the young." Such were the Chaldæans; and the sacred historian saith expressly (2 Chron. xxxvi 17.), that for the wickedness of the Jews, God "brought upon them the king of the Chaldees, who slew their young men with the sword, in the house of their sanctuary, and had no compassion upon young man or maiden, old man, or him that stooped for age; he gave them all into his hand." Such also were the Romans: for when Vespasian entered Gadara, [1] Josephus saith, that 'he slew all man by man, the Romans shewing mercy to no age, out of hatred to the nation, and remembrance of their former injuries.' The like slaughter was made at Gamala,[2] 'For nobody escaped besides two women, and they escaped by concealing themselves from the rage of the Romans. For they did not so much as spare young children, but every one at that time snatching up many cast them down from the citadel.'

3. Their enemies were also to besiege and take their cities, ver. 52. "And he shall besiege thee in all thy gates, until thy high and fenced walls come down, wherein thou trustedst,

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[1] Καὶ παρελθὼν εἴσω, πάντας ἡβηδὸν ἀναιρεῖ, μηδεμιᾶς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἡλικίας ἔλεον ποιουμένων, μίσει τε πρὸς τὸ ἔθνος, καὶ μνήμῃ τῆς κατὰ τὸν Κέστιον αὐτῶν παρανομίας. *et deinde in eam ingressus, puberes omnes interfici jussit, Romanis nulli ætati misericordiam adhibentibus, tam ex odio in gentem, quam memoria iniquitatis illorum in Cestium.* Bell. Jud. l. 3. c. 7. § 1.

[2] διεσώθη δὲ πλὴν δύο γυναικῶν οὐδείς. —— διεσώθησαν δὲ, τὰς παρὰ τὴν ἅλωσιν ὀργὰς Ῥωμαίων λαθοῦσαι. οὐδὲ γὰρ νηπίων ἐφείδοντο, πολλὰ δὲ ἕκαστος τότε ἁρπάζοντες ἐσφενδόνων ἀπὸ τῆς ἄκρας. *Nemo autem præter duas mulieres interitum effugit.—evaserunt autem, quod iræ Romanorum in excidio sese subduxerint. Nec enim infantibus pepercerunt, multos vero singuli eo tempore raptos ex arce projiciebant.* Bell. Jud. l. 4. c. 1. § 10.

throughout all thy land." So "Shalmaneser king of Assyria came up against Samaria, and besieged it, and at the end of three years they took it" (2 Kings xviii. 9, 10.). So "did Sennacherib king of Assyria come up against all the fenced cities of Judah, and took them" (Ib. ver. 13.): and Nebuchadnezzar and his captains took and spoiled Jerusalem, burnt the city and temple, "and brake down the walls of Jerusalem round about" (Ib. xxv. 10.). So likewise the Romans, as we may read in Josephus's history of the Jewish war, demolished several fortified places, before they besieged and destroyed Jerusalem. And the Jews may very well be said to have *trusted in their high and fenced walls,* for they seldom ventured a battle in the open field. They confided in the strength and situation of Jerusalem, as the Jebusites, the former inhabitants of the place, had done before them (2 Sam. v. 6, 7.): insomuch that they are represented saying (Jer. xxi. 13) "Who shall come down against us? or who shall enter into our habitation?" Jerusalem was indeed a very strong place, and wonderfully fortified both by nature and art, according to the description of [3] Tacitus as well as of Josephus: and yet [4] how many times was it taken? It was taken by Shishak king of Egypt, by Nebuchadnezzar, by Antiochus Epiphanes, by Pompey, by Sosius and Herod, before its final destruction by Titus.

4. In these sieges they were to suffer much, and especially from famine, "in the straitness wherewith their enemies should distress them," ver. 53, &c. And accordingly when the king of Syria besieged Samaria, "there was a great famine in Samaria; and behold they besieged it, until an ass's head was sold for fourscore pieces of silver, and the fourth part of a cab of doves' dung for five pieces of silver" (2 Kings vi. 25.). And when Nebuchadnezzar besieged Jerusalem, "the famine prevailed in the city, and there was no bread for the people of the land" (2 Kings xxv. 3.). And in the last siege of Jerusalem by the Romans there was a most terrible famine in the city, and Josephus hath given so melancholy an account of it, that we cannot read it without shuddering. He saith, particularly, [5] that 'women snatched the food out of the very mouths of their husbands, and sons of their fathers, and (what is most miserable) mothers of their infants:' and in [6] another place he saith,

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[3] Taciti Hist. l. 5. c. 11, 12. Josephus de Bell. Jud. l. 5. c. 4. et 5.

[4] See Josephus de Bell. Jud. l. 6. c. ult.

[5] γυναῖκες γοῦν ἀνδρῶν, καὶ παῖδες πατέρων, καὶ τὸ οἰκτρότατον μητέρες νηπίων ἐξήρπαζον ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν στομάτων τὰς τροφάς. *Siquidem uxores viris, et filii parentibus, et, quod omnium maxime miserabile erat, matres infantibus cibum ex ipso ore rapiebant.* Bell. Jud. l. 5. c. 10. § 3.

[6] Καθ' ἑκάστην γὰρ οἰκίαν, εἴ ποῦ τροφῆς παραφανείη σκιὰ, πόλεμος ἦν, καὶ διὰ χειρῶν ἐχώρουν οἱ φίλτατοι πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ἐξαρπάζοντες τὰ ταλαίπωρα τῆς ψυχῆς ἐφόδια. *Per singulas quippe domos, sicubi vel umbra paruisset cibi, bellum illico gerebatur, et amicissimi quique inter se acriter dimicabant, sibi invicem misera vitæ subsidia eripientes.* l. 6. c. 3. § 3.

that 'in every house, if there appeared any semblance of food, a battle ensued, and the dearest friends and relations fought with one another, snatching away the miserable provisions of life:' so literally were the words of Moses fulfilled, ver. 54, &c. the man's "eye shall be evil towards his brother, and towards the wife of his bosom, and towards his children, because he hath nothing left him in the siege, and in the straitness wherewith thine enemies shall distress thee in all thy gates," and in like manner the woman's "eye shall be evil towards the husband of her bosom, and towards her son, and towards her daughter."

5. Nay it was expressly foretold, that not only the men, but even the women should eat their own children. Moses had foretold the same thing before, Levit. xxvi. 29, "Ye shall eat the flesh of your sons, and the flesh of your daughters shall ye eat." He repeats it here ver. 53, "And thou shalt eat the fruit of thine own body, the flesh of thy sons and of thy daughters:" and more particularly ver. 56, &c. "The tender and delicate woman among you, who would not adventure to set the sole of her foot upon the ground, for delicateness and tenderness—she shall eat her children for want of all things secretly in the siege and straitness, wherewith thine enemies shall distress thee in thy gates." And it was fulfilled about 600 years after the time of Moses among the Israelites, when Samaria was besieged by the king of Syria, and two women agreed together, the one to give up her son to be boiled and eaten to-day, and the other to deliver up her son to be dressed and eaten to-morrow, and one of them was eaten accordingly (2 Kings vi. 28, 29.). It was fulfilled again about 900 years after the time of Moses, among the Jews in the siege of Jerusalem before the Babylonish captivity; and Baruch thus expresseth it, (ii. 1, &c.) "The Lord hath made good his word, which he pronounced against us, to bring upon us great plagues, such as never happened under the whole heaven, as it came to pass in Jerusalem, according to the things that were written in the law of Moses, that a man should eat the flesh of his own son, and the flesh of his own daughter:" and Jeremiah thus laments it in his Lamentations, (iv. 10.) "The hands of the pitiful women have sodden their own children, they were their meat in the destruction of the daughter of my people." And again it was fulfilled above 1500 years after the time of Moses in the last siege of Jerusalem by Titus, and we read in Josephus particularly of a noble woman's killing and eating her own sucking child. Moses saith, "The tender and delicate woman among you, who would not adventure to set the sole of her foot upon the ground, for delicateness and tenderness:" and there cannot be a more natural and lively description of a woman, who

was according to [7] Josephus illustrious for her family and riches. Moses saith, "she shall eat them for want of all things:" and according to Josephus she had been plundered of all her substance and provisions by the tyrants and soldiers. Moses saith, that she should do it "*secretly*:" and according to Josephus, when she had boiled and eaten half, she covered up the rest, and kept it for another time. At so many different times and distant periods hath this prophecy been fulfilled; and one would have thought that such distress and horror had almost transcended imagination, and much less that any person could certainly have foreseen and foretold it.

6. Great numbers of them were to be destroyed, ver. 62. "And ye shall be left few in number, whereas ye were as the stars of heaven for multitude." Now not to mention any other of the calamities and slaughters which they have undergone, there was in the last siege of Jerusalem by Titus an infinite multitude, saith [8] Josephus, who perished by famine: and he computes, that during the whole siege, the number of those who were destroyed by that and by the war amounted to 1,100,000, the people being assembled from all parts to celebrate the passover: and the same author hath given us an account of 1,240,490 destroyed in Jerusalem and other parts of Judea, besides 99,200 made prisoners; as [9] Basnage has reckoned them up from that historian's account. Indeed there is not a nation upon earth, that hath been exposed to so many massacres and persecutions. Their history abounds with them. If God had not given them a promise of a numerous posterity, the whole race would many a time have been extirpated.

7. They were to be carried into Egypt, and sold for slaves at a very low price, ver. 68, "And the Lord shall bring thee into Egypt again, with ships: and there ye shall be sold unto your enemies for bondmen and bondwomen, and no man shall buy you." They had come out of Egypt triumphant, but now they should return thither as slaves. They had walked through the sea as dry land at their coming out, but now they should be carried thither in ships. They might be carried thither in the ships of the Tyrian or Sidonian merchants, or by the Romans who had a fleet in the Mediterranean: and this was a

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[7] Διὰ γένος καὶ πλοῦτον ἐπίσημος, *genere atque opibus illustris*——— ταύτης τὴν μὲν ἄλλην κτῆσιν οἱ τύραννοι διήρπασαν κ. τ. λ. *hujus alias quidem facultates jam tyranni diripuerant*, &c.——ἔπειτ' ὀπτήσασα τὸ μὲν ἥμισυ κατεσθίει, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν κατακαλύψασα ἐφυλάττεν. *coctum deinde ipsa quidem dimidium ejus comedit, adopertum vero reliquum servabat.* Bell. Jud. l. 6. c. 3. § 4.

[8] Τῶν δ' ὑπὸ τοῦ λιμοῦ φθειρομένων κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἄπειρον μὲν ἔπιπτε τὸ πλῆθος. *Eorum autem, qui per civitatem fame perierunt infinita quidem cecidit multitudo.* Bell. Jud. l. 6. c. 3. § 3.

Τῶν δ' ἀπολουμένων κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν πολιορκίαν [ἀριθμὸς] μυριάδες ἑκατὸν καὶ δέκα *totius autem obsidionis tempore undecies centena hominum millia perierunt.* Ibid. c. 9 § 3.

[9] Hist. of the Jews, b. 1. c. 8. § 19. See too the conclusion of Usher's Annals.

much safer way of conveying so many prisoners, than sending them by land. It appears from [1] Josephus that in the reigns of the two first Ptolemies many of the Jews were slaves in Egypt. And when Jerusalem was taken by Titus, [2] of the captives who were above seventeen years he sent many bound to the works in Egypt; those under seventeen were sold: but so little care was taken of these captives, that 11,000 of them perished for want. The markets were quite overstocked with them, so that Josephus says in another place, that they were sold with their wives and children at the lowest price, there being many to be sold and but few purchasers; so that hereby also was verified that of the Psalmist (xliv. 13.) "Thou sellest thy people for nought, and takest no money for them." And we learn from [3] St. Jerome, that 'after their last overthrow by Adrian, many thousands of them were sold, and those who could not be sold, were transported into Egypt, and perished by shipwreck or famine, or were massacred by the inhabitants.'

8. They were to be rooted out of their own land, ver. 63. "And ye shall be plucked from off the land whither thou goest to possess it:" They were indeed *plucked from off their own land*, when the ten tribes were carried into captivity by the king of Assyria, and other nations were planted in their stead; and when the two other tribes were carried away captive to Babylon; and when the Romans took away their place and nation; besides other captivities and transportations of the people. Afterwards when the Emperor Adrian had subdued the rebellious Jews, he published an [4] edict forbidding them upon pain of death to set foot in Jerusalem, or even to approach the country round about it. Tertullian and Jerome say, [5] that they were prohibited from entering into Judea. From that time to this their country hath been in the possession of foreign lords and masters, few of the Jews dwelling in it, and those only of a low servile condition. Benjamin of Tudela in Spain, a celebrated Jew of the twelfth century, travelled into all parts to visit those of his own nation, and to learn an exact state of their affairs: and he [6] hath reported, that Jerusalem was almost entirely abandoned by the Jews. He found there not above

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[1] Joseph. Ant. l. 12. c. 1. et 2.

[2] —— τοὺς ὑπέρ ἑπτακαίδεκα ἔτη δήσας ἔπεμψεν εἰς τὰ κατ᾽ Αἴγυπτον ἔργα,——— οἱ δ᾽ ἐντὸς ἑπτακαίδεκα ἐτῶν ἐπράθησαν. ἐφθάρησαν δ᾽ αὐτῶν ἐν αἷς διέκρινεν ὁ Φρόντων ἡμέραις ὑπ᾽ ἐνδείας, χίλιοι πρὸς τοῖς μυρίοις. *annis XVII majores vinctos ad metalla exercenda in Ægyptum misit;—Quicunque vero infra XVII annum* ætatis *erant*, sub corona *venditi sunt Iisdem autem diebus, dum a Frontone secernebantur, ex inedia perierunt XI millia*. Bell. Jud. l. 6 c. 9. § 2. et c. 8. § 2.

[3] '— post ultimam eversionem quam sustinuerunt ab Adriano, multa hominum millia venundata sint; et quæ vendi non potuerint, translata in Ægyptum; et tam naufragio et fame quam gentium cæde truncata.' Hieron in Zachariam, c. 11.

[4] Justin Martyr. Apol. 1. ma. p. 71. Edit. Thirlbii. Euseb. Eccles. Hist. l. 4. c. 6.

[5] Tertull. Apol. c. 21. Hieron. in Isaiam, c. 6. in Dan. c. 9.

[6] See Benjamin. Itin. and Basnage's Hist. of the Jews. b. 7. c. 7.

two hundred persons, who were for the most part dyers of wool, and who every year purchased the privilege of the monopoly of that trade. They lived all together under David's tower, and made there a very little figure. If Jerusalem had so few Jews in it, the rest of the Holy Land was still more depopulate. He found two of them in one city, twenty in another, most whereof were dyers. In other places there were more persons; but in Upper Galilee, where the nation was in greatest repute after the ruin of Jerusalem, he found hardly any Jews at all. A very accurate and faithful[7] traveller of our own nation, who was himself also in the Holy Land, saith that 'it is for the most part now inhabited by Moors and Arabians; those possessing the valleys, and these the mountains. Turks there be few: but many Greeks with other Christians of all sects and nations, such as impute to the place an adherent holiness. Here be also some Jews, yet inherit they no part of the land, but in their own country do live as aliens.'

9. But they were not only to be plucked off from their own land, but also to be dispersed into all nations, ver. 25. "And thou shalt be removed into all the kingdoms of the earth;" and again ver. 64. "And the Lord shall scatter thee among all people, from one end of the earth even unto the other." Nehemiah, (i. 8, 9.) confesseth that these words were fulfilled in the Babylonish captivity; but they have more amply been fulfilled since the great dispersion of the Jews by the Romans. What people indeed have been scattered so far and wide as they? and where is the nation, which is a stranger to them, or to which they are strangers? They swarm in many parts of the East, and spread through most of the countries of Europe and Africa, and there are several families of them in the West Indies. They circulate through all parts where trade and money circulate; and are, as I may say, the brokers of the whole world.

10. But though they should be so dispersed, yet they should not be totally destroyed, but still subsist as a distinct people, as Moses had before foretold, Levit. xxvi. 44. "And yet for all that, when they be in the land of their enemies, I will not cast them away, neither will I abhor them, to destroy them utterly, and to break my covenant with them." The Jewish nation,[8] like the bush of Moses, hath been always burning, but is never consumed. And what a marvellous thing is it, that after so many wars, battles, and sieges, after so many fires, famines, and pestilences, after so many rebellions, massacres, and persecutions, after so many years of captivity, slavery, and misery, they are not *destroyed utterly*, and though scattered among all people, yet subsist as a distinct people, by them-

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[7] Sandys' Travels, b. 3. p. 114. 7th Ed.

[8] Basnage's Hist. Jews, b. 6. c. 1. § 1

selves? Where is any thing comparable to this to be found in all the histories, and in all the nations under the sun?

11. However they should suffer much in their dispersion, and should not rest long in any place, ver. 65. "And among these nations shalt thou find no ease, neither shall the sole of thy foot have rest." They have been so far from finding rest, that they have been banished from city to city, from country to country. In many places they have been banished and recalled, and banished again. We will only just mention their great banishments in modern times, and from countries very well known. In the latter end of the thirteenth century they [9] were banished from England by Edward I. and were not permitted to return and settle again till Cromwell's time. In the latter end of the fourteenth century they [1] were banished from France (for the seventh time, says Mezeray) by Charles VI.; and ever since they have been only tolerated, they have not enjoyed entire liberty, except at Metz where they have a synagogue. In the latter end of the fifteenth century [2] they were banished from Spain by Ferdinand and Isabella; and according to Mariana, there were 170,000 families, or as some say 800,000 persons who left the kingdom. Most of them paid dearly to John II. for a refuge in Portugal, but within a few years were expelled from thence also by his successor Emanuel. And in our own time, within these few years, they were banished from Prague by the queen of Bohemia.

12. They should be "oppressed and spoiled evermore;" and their houses and vineyards, their oxen and asses should be taken from them, and they should "be only oppressed and crushed alway," ver. 29—33. And what frequent seizures have been made of their effects in almost all countries? how often have they been fined and fleeced by almost all governments? how often have they been forced to redeem their lives with what is almost as dear as their lives, their treasure? Instances are innumerable. We will only cite an [3] historian of our own, who says that Henry III. 'always polled the Jews at every low ebb of his fortunes. One Abraham, who was found delinquent, was forced to pay 700 marks for his redemption. Aaron, another Jew, protested that the king had taken from him at times 30,000 marks of silver, besides 200 marks of gold, which he had presented to the queen. And in like manner he used many others of the Jews.' And when they were banished in the reign of Edward I. their estates were confiscated, and immense sums thereby accrued to the crown.

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[9] See Kennet, Echard, and Basnage's Hist. of the Jews, b. 7. c. 19.

[1] 'On enjoignit aux Juifs pour la septiesme-fois,' &c. See Mezeray Abregé Chronol. et Basnage, b. 7. c. 18.

[2] See Mariana's Hist. of Spain, b. 26. c. 1. et 6. and Basnage, b. 7 c. 21.

[3] Daniel in Kennet, vol. i. p. 179.

13. "Their sons and their daughters should be given unto another people," ver. 32. And in several countries, in Spain and Portugal particularly, their children have been taken from them by order of the government to be educated in the popish religion. The [4] fourth council of Toledo ordered, that all their children should be taken from them for fear they should partake of their errors, and that they should be shut up in monasteries, to be instructed in the Christian truths. And when they were banished from Portugal, 'the king,' says [5] Mariana, 'ordered all their children under fourteen years of age, to be taken from them and baptized: a practice not at all justifiable,' adds the historian, 'because none ought to be forced to become Christians, nor children to be taken from their parents.'

14. "They should be mad for the sight of their eyes which they should see," ver. 34. And into what madness, fury, and desperation have they been pushed by the cruel usage, extortions, and oppressions which they have undergone? We will allege only two similar instances, one from ancient, and one from modern history. After the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus, [6] some of the worst of the Jews took refuge in the castle of Masada, where being closely besieged by the Romans, they at the persuasion of Eleazar their leader, first murdered their wives and children; then ten men were chosen by lot to slay the rest; this being done, one of the ten was chosen in like manner to kill the other nine, which having executed he set fire to the place, and then stabbed himself. There were 960 who perished in this miserable manner; and only two women and five boys escaped by hiding themselves in the aqueducts under ground. Such another instance we have in our English history. For[7] in the reign of Richard I. when the people were in arms to make a general massacre of them, 1500 of them seized on the city of York to defend themselves; but being besieged they offered to capitulate, and to ransom their lives with money. The offer being refused, one of them cried in despair, that it was better to die courageously for the law, than to fall into the hands of the Christians. Every one immediately took his knife, and stabbed his wife and children. The men afterwards retired into the king's palace, which they set on fire, in which they consumed themselves with the palace and furniture.

15. "They should serve other gods, wood and stone," ver. 36. and again, ver. 64. "they should serve other gods, which neither they nor their fathers had known, even wood and stone." And is it not too common for the Jews in popish coun-

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[4] See Basnage, b. 7. c. 13. § 14.

[5] Mariana, b. 26. c. 6.

Josephus de Bell. Jud. l. 7. c. 8. et 9.

[7] Basnage, b. 7. c. 10. § 20. who cites Matt. Paris. p. 111. et Polyd. Virgil. l. 14. p. 248.

tries to comply with the idolatrous worship of the church of Rome, and to bow down to stocks and stones rather than their effects should be seized and confiscated? Here again we must cite the author, who hath most studied, and hath best written their modern history, and whom we have had occasion to quote several times in this discourse. 'The Spanish and Portugal inquisitions,'[8] saith he, 'reduce them to the dilemma of being either hypocrites or burnt. The number of these dissemblers is very considerable; and it ought not to be concluded, that there are no Jews in Spain or Portugal, because they are not known: They are so much the more dangerous, for not only being very numerous, but confounded with the ecclesiastics, and entering into all ecclesiastical dignities.' In another[9] place he saith, 'The most surprising thing is, that this religion spreads from generation to generation, and still subsists in the persons of dissemblers in a remote posterity. In vain the great lords of Spain[1] *make alliances, change their names, and take ancient scutcheons; they are still known to be of Jewish race, and Jews themselves. The convents of monks and nuns are full of them. Most of the canons, inquisitors, and bishops proceed from this nation.* This is enough to make the people and clergy of this country tremble, since such sort of churchmen can only profane the sacraments, and want intention in consecrating the host they adore. In the mean time Orobio, who relates the fact, knew these dissemblers. He was one of them himself, and bent the knee before the sacrament. Moreover, he brings proofs of his assertion, in maintaining, that there are in the synagogue of Amsterdam, brothers and sisters and near relations to good families of Spain and Portugal; and even Franciscan monks, Dominicans, and Jesuits, who come to do penance, and make amends for the crime they have committed in dissembling.'

16. "They should become an astonishment, a proverb, and a by-word among all nations," ver. 37. And do we not hear and see this prophecy fulfilled almost every day? is not the avarice, usury, and hard-heartedness of a Jew grown proverbial? and are not their persons generally odious among all sorts of people? Mahommedans, Heathens, and Christians, however they may disagree in other points, yet generally agree in vilifying, abusing, and persecuting the Jews. In most places where they are tolerated, they are obliged to live in a separate quarter by themselves (as they did here in the Old Jewry), and to wear some badge of distinction. Their very countenances commonly distinguish them from the rest of mankind. They are in all respects treated, as if they were of another species. And when a great master of nature would

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[8] Basnage, b. 7. c. 33. § 14.
[9] B. 7. c. 21. § 26.
[1] Limborch Collat. cum Jud. p. 102.

draw the portrait of a Jew, how detestable a character hath he represented in the person of his *Jew of Venice!*

17. Finally "their plagues should be wonderful, even great plagues, and of long continuance," ver. 59. And have not their plagues continued now these 1700 years? Their former captivities were very short in comparison: and [2] Ezekiel and Daniel prophesied in the land of the Chaldæans: but now they have no true prophet to foretel an end of their calamities, they have only false Messiahs to delude them and aggravate their misfortunes. In their former captivities they had the comfort of being conveyed to the same place; they dwelt together in the land of Goshen, they were carried together to Babylon: but now they are dispersed all over the face of the earth. What nation hath suffered so much, and yet endured so long? what nation hath subsisted as a distinct people in their own country, so long as these have done in their dispersion into all countries? and what a standing miracle is this exhibited to the view and observation of the whole world?

Here are instances of prophecies, prophecies delivered above three thousand years ago, and yet as we see fulfilling in the world at this very time: and what stronger proofs can we desire of the divine legation of Moses? How these instances may affect others, I know not; but for myself I must acknowledge, they not only convince, but amaze and astonish me beyond expression. They are truly, as Moses foretold they would be, "a sign and a wonder for ever," ver. 45, 46. "Moreover all these curses shall come upon thee, and shall pursue thee and overtake thee, till thou be destroyed; because thou hearkenedst not unto the voice of the Lord thy God, to keep his commandments, and his statutes which he commanded thee: and they shall be upon thee for a sign and for a wonder, and upon thy seed for ever."

VIII.—PROPHECIES OF OTHER PROPHETS CONCERNING THE JEWS.

BESIDES the prophecies of Moses, there are others of other prophets, relative to the present state and condition of the Jews. Such are those particularly concerning the restoration of the two tribes of Judah and Benjamin from captivity, and the dissolution of the ten tribes of Israel; and those concerning the preservation of the Jews, and the destruction of their enemies; and those concerning the desolation of Judea; and those concerning the infidelity and reprobation of the Jews; and those concerning the calling and obedience of the Gentiles And it may be proper to say something upon each of those topics.

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[2] See Basnage, b. 6. c. 1. § 2.

I. It was foretold, that the ten tribes of Israel should be carried captive by the kings of Assyria, and that the two remaining tribes of Judah and Benjamin should be carried captive by the king of Babylon: but with this difference that the two tribes should be restored and return from their captivity, but the ten tribes should be dissolved and lost in theirs. Nay not only the captivity and restoration of the two tribes were foretold, but the precise time of their captivity and restoration was also prefixed and determined by the prophet Jeremiah (xxv. 11.) "This whole land shall be a desolation, and an astonishment; and these nations shall serve the king of Babylon seventy years:" and again (xxix. 10.) "Thus saith the Lord, that after seventy years be accomplished at Babylon, I will visit you, and perform my good word towards you, in causing you to return to this place." This prophecy was first delivered (Jer. xxv. 1.) "in the fourth year of Jehoiakim the son of Josiah king of Judah, that was the first year of Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon." And this [1] same year it began to be put in execution; for Nebuchadnezzar invaded Judea, besieged and took Jerusalem, made Jehoiakim his subject and tributary, transported the finest children of the royal family and of the nobility to Babylon, to be bred up there for eunuchs and slaves in his palace, and also carried away the vessels of the house of the Lord, and put them in the temple of his god at Babylon. Seventy years from this time will bring us down to the first year of Cyrus (2 Chron. xxxvi. 22. Ezra i. 1.), when he made his proclamation for the restoration of the Jews, and for the rebuilding of the temple at Jerusalem. This computation of the seventy years' captivity appears to be the truest, and most agreeable to Scripture. But if you fix the commencement of these seventy years at the time when Jerusalem was burnt and destroyed, their [2] conclusion will fall about the time when Darius issued his decree for rebuilding the temple, after the work had been stopt and suspended. Or if you fix their commencement at the time when Nebuzaradan carried away the last remainder of the people, and completed the desolation of the land, their [3] conclusion will fall about the time when the temple was finished and dedicated, and the first passover was solemnized in it. 'So that,' as Dean Prideaux says, 'taking it which way you will, and at what stage you please, the prophecy of Jeremiah will be fully and exactly accomplished concerning this matter.' It may be said to have been accomplished at three different times, and in three different manners, and therefore possibly all might have been intended, though the first without doubt was the principal object of the prophecy.

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[1] See Usher, Prideaux, and the Commentators on 2 Kings xxiv. 2 Chron. xxxvi. and Dan i.

[2] Prideaux Connect. Part. i. b. 3. Anno 518. Darius 4.

[3] Prideaux ibid. Anno 515. Darius 7.

But the case was different with the ten tribes of Israel. It is very well known that Ephraim being the chief of the ten tribes is often put for all the ten tribes of Israel; and it was predicted by Isaiah (vii. 8.) "Within threescore and five years shall Ephraim be broken, that it be not a people." This prophecy was delivered in the first year of Ahaz king of Judah; for in the latter end of his father Jotham's reign (2 Kings xv. 37.), Rezin king of Syria and Pekah king of Israel began their expedition against Judah. They went up towards Jerusalem to war against it in the beginning of the reign of Ahaz; and it was to comfort him and the house of David in these difficulties and distresses, that the prophet Isaiah was commissioned to assure him, that the kings of Syria and Israel should remain only the heads of their respective cities, they should not prevail against Jerusalem, and within sixty and five years Israel should be so broken as to be no more a people. The learned [4] Vitringa is of opinion, that the text is corrupted, and that instead of *sixty* ששים and five, it was originally written *sixteen* ששי and five. *Sixteen and five*, as he confesseth, is an odd way of computation for *one and twenty;* but it designs perfectly the years of Ahaz and Hezekiah. For Ahaz reigned *sixteen* years, and Hezekiah *five* years alone, having reigned one year jointly with his father: and it was "in the sixth year of Hezekiah" (2 Kings xviii. 10, 11.), that "Shalmaneser took Samaria, and carried away Israel unto Assyria." Then indeed the kingdom of Israel was broken: and the conjecture of Vitringa would appear much more probable, if it could be proved that it had ever been usual to write the numbers or dates of years partly in words at length and partly in numeral letters. But without recourse to such an expedient the thing may be explicated otherwise. For from the first of Ahaz [5] compute sixty and five years in the reigns of Ahaz, Hezekiah, and Manasseh, the end of them will fall about the twenty-second year of Manasseh, when Esarhaddon king of Assyria made the last deportation of the Israelites, and planted other nations in their stead; and in the same expedition probably took Manasseh captive (2 Chron. xxxiii. 11.), and carried him to Babylon. It is said expressly that it was Esarhaddon who planted the other nations in the cities of Samaria: but it is not said expressly in Scripture, that he carried away the remainder of the people, but it may be inferred from several circumstances of the story. There were other deportations of the Israelites made by the kings of Assyria before this time. In the reign of Ahaz, Tiglath-pilezer took many of the Israelites, "even the Reubenites, and the Gadites, and the half tribe of Manasseh, and all the land of Naphtali, and carried them captive to Assyria, and brought them unto Halah, and Habor, and Hara, and to the river Gozan" (1 Chron. v. 26. 2 Kings xv. 29.). His son Shalmaneser, in the reign of Hezekiah, took Samaria, and carried away still greater numbers "unto Assyria, and put them in Halah and in Habor by the river of Gozan (the same places whither their brethren had been carried before them) and in the cities of the Medes" (2 Kings xviii. 11.). His son Sennacherib came up also against Hezekiah, and all the fenced cities of Judah; but his army was miraculously defeated and he himself was forced to return with shame and disgrace into his own country, where he was murdered by two of his sons. (2 Kings xviii. 19.). Another of his sons, Esarhaddon, succeeded him in the throne, but it was some time before he could recover his kingdom from these disorders, and think of reducing Syria and Palestine again to his obedience: and then it was, and not till then, that he completed the ruin of the ten tribes, carried away the remains of the people, and to prevent the land from becoming desolate, "brought men from Babylon, and from Cuthah, and from Hava, and from Hamath, and from Sepharvaim, and placed them in the cities of Samaria, instead of the children of Israel" (Ezra iv. 2, 10. 2 Kings xvii. 24.). Ephraim was broken from being a kingdom before, but now he was broken from being a people. And from that time to this what account can be given of the people of Israel as distinct from the people of Judah? where have they subsisted all this while? and where is their situation, or what is their condition at present?

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[4] Comment. in locum.

[5] See Usher, Prideaux, &c.

We see plainly that they were placed in Assyria and Media; and if they subsisted any where, one would imagine they might be found there in the greatest abundance. But authors have generally sought for them elsewhere: and the visionary writer of the second book of Esdras (xiii. 40, &c.) hath asserted that they took a resolution of retiring from the Gentiles, and of going into a country which had never been inhabited; that the river Euphrates was miraculously divided for their passage, and they proceeded in their journey a year and a half, before they arrived at this country, which was called Arsareth. But the worst of it is, as this country was unknown before, so it hath been equally unknown ever since. It is to be found no where but in this apocryphal book, which is so wild and fabulous in other respects, that it deserves no credit in this particular. Benjamin of Tudela, a Jew of the twelfth century,[6] hath likewise assigned them a large and spacious country with fine cities; but nobody knoweth to this day where it is situated.

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[6] For these particulars the reader may consult Basnage's Hist. of Jews, b. 6. c. 2, 3.

Eldad, another Jew of the thirteenth century, hath placed them in Ethiopia and I know not where, and hath made the Saracens and twenty-five kingdoms tributary to them. Another Jewish writer, Peritful of Ferrara, who lived in the century before the last, hath given them kingdoms in a country called Perricha, enclosed by unknown mountains, and bounded by Assyria, and likewise in the deserts of Arabia, and even in the East Indies. Manasseh, a famous rabbi of the last century, and others, have asserted, that they passed into Tartary, and expelled the Scythians; and others again from Tartary have conveyed them into America. But all these differing accounts prove nothing but the great uncertainty that there is in this matter. The best of them are only conjectures without any solid foundation, but most of them are manifest forgeries of the Jews to aggrandize their nation.

The difficulty of finding out the habitations of the ten tribes hath induced [7] others to maintain, that they returned into their own country with the other two tribes after the Babylonish captivity. The decree indeed of Cyrus extended to "all the people of God" (Ezra i. 3.), and that of Artaxerxes to "all the people of Israel" (vii. 13.); and no doubt many of the Israelites took advantage of these decrees, and returned with Zerubbabel and Ezra to their own cities: but still the main body of the ten tribes remained behind. Ezra, who should best know, saith that there "rose up the chief of the fathers of Judah and Benjamin" (i. 5.), and he calleth the Samaritans "the adversaries of Judah and Benjamin" (iv. 1.); these two tribes were the principals, the others were only as accessories. And if they did not return at this time, they cannot be supposed to have returned in a body at any time after this: for we read of no such adventure in history, we know neither the time nor occasion of their return, nor who were their generals or leaders in this expedition. Josephus, who saw his country for several years in as flourishing a condition as at any time since the captivity, affirms that [8] Ezra sent a copy of the decree of Artaxerxes to all of the same nation throughout Media, where the ten tribes lived in captivity, and many of them came with their effects to Babylon, desiring to return to Jerusalem: but the main body of the Israelites abode in that region: and therefore it hath happened, saith he, that there are two tribes in Asia and Europe, living in subjection to the Romans; but the ten tribes are beyond the Euphrates to this time; and then addeth, with the vanity of a Jew speaking of his countrymen, that they were so many myriads, that they could not be numbered.

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[7] See Calmet's two Dissertations, 1st. Sur le pays où les dix tribus d' Israel furent transportées, et sur celui où elles sont aujourd'hui. Comment. vol. 3. 2d. Ou l'on examine si les dix tribus sont revenuës de leur captivité, dans la terre d'Israel. Comment. vol. 6.

[8] Τὸ δ' ἀντίγραφον αὐτῆς ϖαρὰ ϖάντας ἔπεμψε τοὺς ὁμοεθνεῖς τοὺς κατὰ τὴν Μηδίαν ὄντας. —— ϖολλοὶ δ' αὐτῶν, καὶ τὰς κτήσεις ἀναλαβόντες, ἦλθον εἰς Βαβυλῶνα, ποθοῦντες τὴν εἰς τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα κάθοδον. ὁ δὲ πᾶς λαὸς τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν κατὰ χώραν ἔμεινε. διὸ καὶ δύο φυλὰς εἶναι συμβέβηκεν ἐπί τε τῆς Ἀσίας καὶ τῆς Εὐρώπης, Ῥωμαίοις ὑπακουούσας. αἱ δὲ δέκα φυλαὶ ϖέραν εἰσὶν Εὐφράτου ἕως δεῦρο, μυριάδες ἄϖειροι, καὶ ἀριθμῷ γνωσθῆναι μὴ δυνάμεναι. *exemplar vero ejus in Mediam ad omnes gentis suæ homines misit. — multi vero ex iis cum re sua familiari Babylonem se contulerunt, ut qui Hierosolyma revertendi desiderio tenebantur. Omnis autem multitudo Israelitarum in ea regione mansit. Quapropter duæ tantum tribus per Asiam atque Europam sub Romano degunt imperio. Decem autem reliquæ tribus usque in hodiernum diem loca ultra Euphratem colunt, infinita hominum millia, nec numero comprehendenda.* Antiqu. l. 11. c. 5. § 2.

Others, finding no good authority for admitting that the ten tribes of Israel were restored in the same manner as the two tribes of Judah and Benjamin,[9] have therefore asserted, that 'the ten tribes of Israel, which had separated from the house of David, were brought to a full and utter destruction, and never after recovered themselves again. For those who were thus carried away (excepting only some few, who joining themselves to the Jews in the land of their captivity returned with them), soon going into the usages and idolatry of the nations, among whom they were planted (to which they were too much addicted while in their own land), after a while became wholly absorbed, and swallowed up in them, and thence utterly losing their name, their language, and their memorial, were never after any more spoken of.' But if the whole race of Israel became thus extinct, and perished for ever, how can the numerous prophecies be fulfilled, which promise the future conversion and restoration of Israel as well as of Judah?

The truth I conceive to lie between these two opinions. Neither did they all return to Jerusalem, neither did all, who remained behind, comply with the idolatry of the Gentiles, among whom they lived. But whether they remained, or whether they returned, this prophecy of Isaiah was still fulfilled; the kingdom, the commonwealth, the state of Israel was utterly broken; they no longer subsisted as a distinct people from Judah, they no longer maintained a separate religion, they joined themselves to the Jews from whom they had been unhappily divided, they lost the name of Israel as a name of distinction, and were thenceforth all in common called Jews. It appears from the book of Esther, that there were great numbers of Jews in all the hundred twenty and seven provinces of the kingdom of Ahasuerus or Artaxerxes Longimanus king of Persia, and they could not all be the remains of the two tribes of Judah and Benjamin, who had refused to return to Jerusalem with their brethren; they must many of them have been the descendants of the ten tribes whom the kings of Assyria had carried away captive; but yet they are all spoken of as one and the same people, and all without distinction are denominated Jews. We read in the Acts of the

[c] Prideaux Connect. part 1. b. 1. Anno 677. Manasseh 22.

Apostles, (ii. 9.) that there came to Jerusalem to celebrate the feast of Pentecost "Parthians, and Medes, and Elamites, and the dwellers in Mesopotamia:" these men came from the countries, wherein the ten tribes had been placed, and in all probability therefore were some of their posterity; but yet these as well as the rest are styled (ver. 5.) "Jews, devout men, out of every nation under heaven." Those likewise of the ten tribes, who returned to Jerusalem, united with the two tribes of Judah and Benjamin, and formed but one nation, one body of Jews; they might for some ages perhaps preserve their genealogies; but they are now incorporated together, and the distinction of tribes and families is in great measure lost among them, and they have all from the Babylonish captivity to this day been comprehended under the general name of Jews. In St. Paul's time there were several persons of all the ten tribes in being; for he speaketh of "the twelve tribes hoping to attain to the promise of God" (Acts xxvi. 7.); and St. James addresseth his epistle "to the twelve tribes which are scattered abroad" (James i. 1.). And we make no question, that several persons of all the ten tribes are in being at present, though we cannot separate them from the rest; they are confounded with the other Jews; there is no difference, no distinction between them. The [1] Samaritans indeed (of whom there are still some remains at Sichem and the neighbouring towns) pretend to be the descendants of the children of Israel, but they are really derived from those nations, which Esarhaddon king of Assyria planted in the country, after he had carried thence the ten tribes into captivity. And for this reason the Jews call them by no other name than Cuthites (the name of one of those nations), and exclaim against them as the worst of heretics, and if possible have greater hatred and abhorrence of them than of the Christians themselves.

Thus we see how the ten tribes of Israel were in a manner lost in their captivity, while the two tribes of Judah and Benjamin were restored and preserved several ages afterwards. And what, can you believe, were the reasons of God's making this difference and distinction between them? The ten tribes had totally revolted from God to the worship of the golden calves in Dan and Bethel; and for this, and their other idolatry and wickedness, they were suffered to remain in the land of their captivity. The Jews were restored, not so much for their own sakes, as for the sake of the promises made unto the fathers, the promise to Judah that the Messiah should come of his tribe, the promise to David that the Messiah should be born of his family. It was therefore necessary for the tribe of Judah, and the families of that tribe, to be kept distinct until the coming of the Messiah. But now these ends are fully answered, the tribes of Judah and Benjamin are as much confounded as any of the rest: all distinction of families and genealogies is lost among them: and the [2] Jews themselves acknowledge as much in saying, that when the Messiah shall come, it will be part of his office 'to sort their families, restore the genealogies, and set aside strangers.'

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[1] See Prideaux as before.

II. The preservation of the Jews through so many ages, and the total destruction of their enemies are wonderful events; and are made still more wonderful by being signified beforehand by the spirit of prophecy, as we find particularly in the prophet Jeremiah, (xlvi. 28.) 'Fear not thou, O Jacob my servant, saith the Lord; for I am with thee, for I will make a full end of all the nations whither I have driven thee, but I will not make a full end of thee."

The preservation of the Jews is really one of the most signal and illustrious acts of divine providence. They are dispersed among all nations, and yet they are not confounded with any. The drops of rain which fall, nay, the great rivers which flow into the ocean, are soon mingled and lost in that immense body of waters: and the same in all human probability would have been the fate of the Jews, they would have been mingled and lost in the common mass of mankind; but on the contrary they flow into all parts of the world, mix with all nations, and yet keep separate from all. They still live as a distinct people, and yet they no where live according to their own laws, no where elect their own magistrates, no where enjoy the full exercise of their religion. Their solemn feasts and sacrifices are limited to one certain place, and that hath been now for many ages in the hands of strangers and aliens, who will not suffer them to come thither. No people have continued unmixed so long as they have done, not only of those who have sent forth colonies into foreign countries, but even of those who have abided in their own country. The northern nations have come in swarms into the more southern parts of Europe; but where are they now to be discerned and distinguished? The Gauls went forth in great bodies to seek their fortune in foreign parts; but what traces or footsteps of them are now remaining any where? In France who can separate the race of the ancient Gauls from the various other people, who from time to time have settled there? In Spain who can distinguish exactly between the first possessors the Spaniards, and the Goths, and the Moors, who conquered and kept possession of the country for some ages? In England who can pretend to say with certainty which families are derived from the ancient Britons, and which from the Romans, or Saxons, or Danes, or Normans? The most ancient and honourable pedigrees can be traced up only to a certain period, and beyond that there is nothing but conjecture and uncertainty, obscurity and ignorance: but the Jews can go up higher than any nation, they can even deduce their pedigree from the beginning of the world. They may not know from what particular tribe or family they are descended, but they know certainly that they all sprung from the stock of Abraham. And yet the contempt with which they have been treated, and the hardships which they have undergone in almost all countries, should one would think have made them desirous to forget or renounce their original; but they profess it, they glory in it: and after so many wars, massacres, and persecutions, they still subsist, they still are very numerous: and what but a supernatural power could have preserved them in such a manner as none other nation upon earth hath been preserved?

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[2] See Bishop Chandler's Defence of Christianity, c. 1. § 2. p. 38. 3d. Edit.

Nor is the providence of God less remarkable in the destruction of their enemies, than in their preservation. For from the beginning who have been the great enemies and oppressors of the Jewish nation, removed them from their own land, and compelled them into captivity and slavery? The Egyptians afflicted them much, and detained them in bondage several years. The Assyrians carried away captive the ten tribes of Israel, and the Babylonians afterwards the two remaining tribes of Judah and Benjamin. The Syro-Macedonians, especially Antiochus Epiphanes, cruelly persecuted them: and the Romans utterly dissolved the Jewish state, and dispersed the people so that they have never been able to recover their city and country again. But where are now these great and famous monarchies, which in their turns subdued and oppressed the people of God? Are they not vanished as a dream, and not only their power, but their very names lost in the earth? The Egyptians, Assyrians, and Babylonians were overthrown, and entirely subjugated by the Persians: and the Persians (it is remarkable) were the restorers of the Jews, as well as the destroyers of their enemies. The Syro-Macedonians were swallowed up by the Romans: and the Roman empire, great and powerful as it was, was broken into pieces by the incursions of the northern nations; while the Jews are subsisting as a distinct people at this day. And what a wonder of providence is it, that the vanquished should so many ages survive the victors, and the former be spread all over the world, while the latter are no more?

Nay not only nations have been punished for their cruelties to the Jews, but divine vengeance hath pursued even single persons, who have been their persecutors and oppressors. The first-born of Pharaoh was destroyed, and he himself with his host was drowned in the sea. Most of those who oppressed

Israel in the days of the Judges, Eglon, Jabin and Sisera, Oreb and Zeeb, and the rest, came to an untimely end. Nebuchadnezzar was stricken with madness, and the crown was soon transferred from his family to strangers. Antiochus Epiphanes[3] died in great agonies, with ulcers, and vermin issuing from them, so that the filthiness of his smell was intolerable to all his attendants, and even to himself. Herod, who was a cruel tyrant to the Jews,[4] died in the same miserable manner. Flaccus, governor of Egypt, who barbarously plundered and oppressed the Jews of Alexandria,[5] was afterwards banished and slain. Caligula, who persecuted the Jews for refusing to pay divine honours to his statues,[6] was murdered in the flower of his age, after a short and wicked reign. But where are now, since they have absolutely rejected the gospel, and been no longer the peculiar people of God, where are now such visible manifestations of a divine interposition in their favour? The Jews would do well to consider this point; for rightly considered, it may be an effectual means of opening their eyes, and of turning them to Christ our Saviour.

III. The desolation of Judea is another memorable instance of the truth of prophecy. It was foretold so long ago as by Moses, (Levit. xxvi. 33.) "I will scatter you among the heathen, and will draw out a sword after you; and your land shall be desolate, and your cities waste." It was foretold again by Isaiah, the prophet speaking, as prophets often do, of things future as present, (i. 7, 8.) "Your country is desolate, your cities are burnt with fire; your land, strangers devour it in your presence, and it is desolate as overthrown by strangers. And the daughter of Zion is left as a cottage in a vineyard, as a lodge in a garden of cucumbers, as a besieged city." This passage may relate immediately to the times of Ahaz and Hezekiah; but it must have a farther reference to the devastations made by the Chaldæans, and especially by the Romans. In this sense it is understood by [7] Justin Martyr, Tertullian, Jerome, and most ancient interpreters: and the following words imply no less than a general destruction, and almost total excision of the people, such as they suffered under the Chaldæans, but more fully under the Romans, (ver. 9.) "Except the Lord of hosts had left unto us a very small remnant, we should have been as Sodom, and we should have been like unto Gomorrah." The same thing was again foretold by Jeremiah; for speaking afterwards of the conversion of the Gentiles, and of the restoration of the Jews in the latter days, he must be understood to speak here of the times preceding, (xii. 10, 11.) "Many pastors (princes or leaders) have destroyed my vineyard, they have trodden my portion under foot, they have made my pleasant portion a desolate wilderness; they have made it desolate, and being desolate it mourneth unto me; the whole land is made desolate, because no man layeth it to heart."

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[3] 2 Mac. ix. 9. Polyb. Frag. l. 31. c. 11.

[4] Joseph. Antiq. l. 17. c. 6. § 5. De Bell. Jud. l. 1. c. 33. § 5.

[5] Philo Judæus in Flaccum, ad fin.

[6] Philo de Legatione ad Caium. Joseph Antiq. l. 18 c. 9. l. 19 c 1. Suetonii Calig. c. 59. "Vixit annis xxx. imperavit triennio, et x mensibus, diebusque viii."

[7] Just. Mart. Apol. 1ma. p. 70. Edit. Thirlb. Dial. cum Tryphone, p. 160, et 243. Tertull. advers. Marcion. l. 3. c. 23. et alib. Hieron. in locum.

The same thing is expressed or implied in other places: and hath not the state of Judea now for many ages been exactly answerable to this description? That a country should be depopulated and desolated by the incursions and depredations of foreign armies is nothing wonderful; but that it should lie so many ages in this miserable condition is more than man could foresee, and could be revealed only by God. A celebrated French writer, [8] in his History of the Crusades, pretends to exhibit a true picture of Palestine, and he says that then 'it was just what it is at present, the worst of all the inhabited countries of Asia. It is almost wholly covered with parched rocks, on which there is not one line of soil. If this small territory were cultivated, it might not improperly be compared to Switzerland.' But there is no need of citing authorities to prove that the land is forsaken of its inhabitants, is uncultivated, unfruitful, and desolate; for the enemies of our religion make this very thing an objection to the truth of our religion. They say that so barren and wretched a country could never have been *a land flowing with milk and honey,* nor have supplied and maintained such multitudes, as it is represented to have done in Scripture. But they do not see or consider, that hereby the prophecies are fulfilled; so that it is rather an evidence for the truth of our religion, than any argument against it.

The country was formerly a good country, if we may believe the concurrent testimony of those who should best know it, the people who inhabited it. Aristeas and Josephus too [9] speak largely in commendation of its fruitfulness: and though something may be allowed to national prejudices, yet they would hardly have had the confidence to assert a thing, which all the world would easily contradict and disprove. Nay there are even heathen authors who bear testimony to the fruitfulness of the land: though we presume, that after the Babylonish captivity it never recovered to be again what it was before. Strabo[1] describes indeed the country about Jerusalem as rocky and barren, but he commends other parts, particularly about Jordan and Jericho. Hecatæus[2] quoted by Josephus giveth it the character of one of the best and most fertile countries. Tacitus[3] saith, that it raineth seldom, the soil is fruitful, fruits abound as with us, and besides them the balsam and palm trees. And notwithstanding the long desolation of the land, there are still visible such marks and tokens of fruitfulness, as may convince any man that it once deserved the character, which is given of it in Scripture. I would only refer the reader to two learned and ingenious travellers of our own nation, Mr. Maundrell and Dr. Shaw; and he will fully be satisfied of the truth of what is here asserted.

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[8] Voltaire's Hist. not far from the beginning.

[9] Aristeas, p 13, 14. Edit. Hody. Joseph. de Bell. Jud. l. 8. c. 3

[1] Strabo, l. 16. p. 1104. 1095. 1106.

[2] Joseph. contra Apion, l. 1. § 22.—— τῆς ἀρίστης καὶ παμφορωτάτης χώρας —*optimi et feracissimi soli.*

The [4]former says, that 'all along this day's travel (Mar. 25.) from Kane Leban to Beer, and also as far as we could see around, the country discovered a quite different face from what it had before; presenting nothing to the view in most places, but naked rocks, mountains, and precipices. At sight of which, pilgrims are apt to be much astonished and baulked in their expectations; finding that country in such an inhospitable condition, concerning whose pleasantness and plenty they had before formed in their minds such high ideas from the description given of it, in the word of God: insomuch that it almost startles their faith when they reflect how it could be possible for a land like this, to supply food for so prodigious a number of inhabitants, as are said to have been polled in the twelve tribes at one time; the sum given in by Joab, 2 Sam. xxiv., amounting to no less than thirteen hundred thousand fighting men, besides women and children. But it is certain that any man, who is not a little biassed to infidelity before, may see, as he passes along, arguments enough to support his faith against such scruples. For it is obvious for any one to observe, that these rocks and hills must have been anciently covered with earth, and cultivated, and made to contribute to the maintenance of the inhabitants, no less than if the country had been all plain: nay perhaps much more; forasmuch as such a mountainous and uneven surface affords a larger space of ground for cultivation, than this country would amount to, if it were all reduced to a perfect level. For the husbanding of these mountains, their manner was to gather up the stones, and place them in several lines, along the sides of the hills, in form of a wall. By such borders they supported the mould from tumbling or being washed down; and formed many beds of excellent soil, rising gradually one above another, from the bottom to the top of the mountains. Of this form of culture you see evident footsteps, wherever you go in all the mountains of Palestine. Thus the very rocks were made fruitful. And perhaps there is no spot of ground in this whole land, that was not formerly improved, to the production of something or other, ministering to the sustenance of human life. For than the plain countries nothing can be more fruitful, whether for the production of corn or cattle, and consequently of milk. The hills, though improper for all cattle except goats, yet being disposed into such beds as are before described, served very well to bear corn, melons, gourds, cucumbers, and such like garden stuff, which makes the principal food of these countries for several months in the year. The most rocky parts of all, which could not well be adjusted in that manner for the production of corn, might yet serve for the plantation of vines and olive trees; which delight to extract, the one its fatness, the other its sprightly juice, chiefly out of such dry and flinty places. And the great plain joining to the Dead Sea, which by reason of its saltness might be thought unserviceable both for cattle, corn, olives, and vines, had yet its proper usefulness for the nourishment of bees, and for the fabric of honey; of which Josephus gives us his testimony, De Bell. Jud. l. 5. c. 4. And I have reason to believe it, because when I was there, I perceived in many places a smell of honey and wax, as strong as if one had been in an apiary. Why then might not this country very well maintain the vast number of its inhabitants, being in every part so productive of either milk, corn, wine, oil, or honey, which are the principal food of these eastern nations? the constitution of their bodies, and the nature of their clime, inclining them to a more abstemious diet than we use in England, and other colder regions.'

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[3] Taciti Hist. l.5.c.6. 'rari imbres, uber solum, exuberant fruges nostrum ad morem, præterque eas, balsamum et palmæ.'

[4] Maundrell, p. 64, &c. 5th Edit.

The [5] other asserts, that 'the Holy Land, were it as well peopled and cultivated, as in former time, would still be more fruitful than the very best part of the coast of Syria and Phœnicia. For the soil itself is generally much richer, and all things considered, yields a more preferable crop. Thus the cotton that is gathered in the plains of Ramah, Esdraelon, and Zebulun, is in greater esteem than what is cultivated near Sidon and Tripoli; neither is it possible for pulse, wheat, or any sort of grain, to be more excellent than what is commonly sold at Jerusalem. The barrenness or scarcity rather, which some authors may either ignorantly or maliciously complain of, does not proceed from the incapacity or natural unfruitfulness of the country, but from the want of inhabitants, and the great aversion there is to labour and industry in those few who possess it. There are besides such perpetual discords and depredations among the petty princes, who share this fine country, that allowing it was better peopled, yet there would be small encouragement to sow, when it was uncertain who should gather in the harvest. Otherwise the *land is good land,* and still capable of affording its neighbours the like supplies of corn and oil, which it is known to have done in the time of Solomon. The parts particularly about Jerusalem, being described to be rocky and mountainous, have been therefore supposed to be barren and unfruitful. Yet granting this conclusion, which is far from being just, a kingdom is not to be denominated barren or unfruitful from one part of it only, but from the whole. Nay farther, the blessing that was given to Judah, was not of the same kind with the blessing of Asher or of Issachar, that "his bread should be fat," or "his land should be pleasant," but that "his eyes should be red with wine, and his teeth should be white with milk." Gen. xlix. 12. Moses also maketh milk and honey (the chief dainties and subsistence of the earlier ages, as they continue to be of the Bedoween Arabs) to be [6]"the glory of all lands:" all which productions are either actually enjoyed, or at least might be, by proper care and application. The plenty of wine alone is wanting at present; yet from the goodness of that little, which is still made at Jerusalem and Hebron, we find that these barren rocks (as they are called) might yield a much greater quantity, if the abstemious Turk and Arab would permit a further increase and improvement to be made of the vine, &c.'

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[5] Shaw's Travels, p. 365, &c.

IV. Nothing can be a stronger or clearer proof of the divine inspiration of the prophets, than their foretelling not only the outward actions, but even the inward dispositions of men, many ages before those men were in being. The prophets were naturally prejudiced in favour of their own nation; but yet they foretel the infidelity and reprobation of the Jews, their disbelief of the Messiah, and thereupon their rejection by God. We will not multiply quotations to this purpose. It will be sufficient to produce one or two passages from the evangelical prophet Isaiah. The 53d chapter is a most famous prophecy of the Messiah; and it begins with upbraiding the Jews for their unbelief, "Who hath believed our report? and to whom is the arm of the Lord revealed?" which St. John (xii. 38.) and St. Paul (Rom. x. 16.) have expressly applied to the unbelieving Jews of their time. The prophet assigns the reason too, why they would not receive the Messiah, namely, because of his low and afflicted condition: and it is very well known that they rejected him on this account, having all along expected him to come as a temporal prince and deliverer in great power and glory.

The prophet had before been commissioned to declare unto the people the judgments of God for their infidelity and disobedience, (vi. 9, 10.) "And he said, Go, and tell this people (*this people,* not *my people*), Hear ye indeed, but understand not; and see ye indeed, but perceive not. Make the heart of this people fat, and make their ears heavy, and shut their eyes; lest they see with their eyes, and hear with their ears, and understand with their heart, and convert, and be healed." In the style of Scripture the prophets are said *to do* what they declare *will be done:* and in like manner Jeremiah is said (i, 10.) to be "set over the nations, and over the kingdoms, to root out, and to pull down, and to destroy, and to throw down, to build, and to plant;" because he was authorised to make known the purposes and decrees of God, and because these events would follow in consequence of his prophecies. "Make the heart of this people fat," is therefore as much as to say, *Denounce my judgment upon this people, that their heart shall be fat, and their ears heavy, and their eyes shut; lest they see with their eyes, and hear with their ears, and understand with their heart, and convert, and be healed.* This prophecy might relate in some measure to the state of the Jews before the Babylonish captivity; but it did not receive its full completion till the days of our Saviour; and in this sense it is understood and applied by the writers of the New Testament, and by our Saviour himself. The prophet is then informed, that this infidelity and obstinacy of his countrymen should be of long duration. "Then said I, Lord, how long? And he answered, Until the cities be wasted without inhabitant, and the houses without man, and the land be utterly desolate. And the Lord have removed men far away, and there be a great forsaking in the midst of the land" (ver. 11.). Here is a remarkable gradation in the denouncing of these judgments. Not only Jerusalem, and *the cities should be wasted without inhabitant,* but even the single *houses* should be *without man;* and not only the *houses* of the cities should be *without man,* but even the country should *be utterly desolate;* and not only the people should be removed out of the *land,* but *the Lord* should *remove them far away;* and they should not be removed for a short period, but there should be *a great* or rather *a long forsaking in the midst of the land.* And hath not the world seen all these particulars exactly fulfilled? Have not the Jews laboured under a spiritual blindness and infatuation in *hearing but not understanding,* in *seeing but not perceiving* the Messiah, after the accomplishment of so many prophecies, after the performance of so many miracles? And in consequence of their refusing to *convert and be healed,* have not *their cities been wasted without inhabitant, and their houses without man?* Hath not their *land been utterly desolate?* Have they not been *removed far away* into the most distant parts of the earth? And hath not their removal or banishment been now of near 1700 years duration?

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[6] As Bishop Pearce observes, Is not this a mistake in Dr. Shaw? The words are not of Moses but of Ezekiel, (xx. 6. 15.) and he does not seem to call the *milk and honey* the *glory of all lands*; but the *land*, which did abound with *milk and honey*, he rather calls *the glory of all lands*.

And do they not still continue deaf and blind, obstinate and unbelieving? The Jews, at the time of the delivery of this prophecy, gloried in being the peculiar church and people of God: and would any Jew of himself have thought or have said, that his nation would in process of time become an infidel and reprobate nation, infidel and reprobate for so many ages, oppressed by men, and forsaken by God? It was above 750 years before Christ, that Isaiah predicted these things; and how could he have predicted them, unless he had been illuminated by the divine vision; or how could they have succeeded accordingly, unless the spirit of prophecy had been the spirit of God?

V. Of the same nature are the prophecies concerning the calling and obedience of the Gentiles. How could such an event be foreseen hundreds of years before it happened? but the prophets are full of the glorious subject, and speak with delight and rapture of the universal kingdom of the Messiah; that "God would give unto him the heathen for his inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for his possession" (Psal. ii. 8.); that "all the ends of the world should remember and turn unto the Lord, and all the kindreds of the nations should worship before him" (Psal. xxii. 27.); that "in the last days the mountain of the house of the Lord should be established in the top of the mountains, and should be exalted above the hills, and all people should flow unto it" (Micah iv. 1.), which passage is also to be found in Isaiah (ii. 2.); that "from the rising of the sun even unto the going down of the same, my name shall be great among the Gentiles, and in every place incense shall be offered unto my name, and a pure offering; for my name shall be great among the heathen, saith the Lord of hosts" (Mal. i. 2.). But the prophet Isaiah is more copious upon this as well as other evangelical subjects: and his 49th and 60th chapters treat particularly of the glory of the church in the abundant access of the Gentiles. "It is a light thing that thou shouldst be my servant to raise up the tribes of Jacob, and to restore the preserved of Israel: I will also give thee for a light to the Gentiles, that thou mayest be my salvation unto the end of the earth" (xlix. 6.). "Arise, shine, for thy light is come, and the glory of the Lord is risen upon thee. The Gentiles shall come to thy light, and kings to the brightness of thy rising. The abundance of the sea shall be converted unto thee, the forces of the Gentiles shall come unto thee, &c." (lx. 1, 3, 5, &c.)

It is as absurd as it is vain in the Jews to apply these prophecies to the proselytes whom they have gained among the nations; for the number of their proselytes was very inconsiderable, and nothing to answer these pompous descriptions. Neither was their religion ever designed by its founder for an universal religion, their worship and sacrifices being confined to one certain place, whither all the males were obliged to repair thrice every year; so that it was plainly calculated for a particular people, and could never become the religion of the whole world. There was indeed to be a religion, which was designed for all nations, to be preached in all, and to be received in all: but what prospect or probability was there, that such a generous institution should proceed from such a narrow-minded people as the Jews, or that the Gentiles who hated and despised them should ever receive a religion from them? Was it not much more likely, that they should be corrupted by the example of all the nations around them, and be induced to comply with the polytheism and idolatry of some of their powerful neighbours and conquerors, to which they were but too much inclined of themselves; was not this, I say, much more likely than that they should be the happy instruments of reforming the world, and converting some of all nations to the worship of the one only God in spirit and in truth?

But the prophet farther intimates, that this great revolution, the greatest that ever was in the religious world, should be effected by a few incompetent persons, and effected too in a short compass of time. "A little one shall become a thousand, and a small one a strong nation: I the Lord will hasten it in his time" (lx. 22.). Our Saviour's commission to his apostles was "*Go, teach all nations:*" and who were the persons to whom this commission was given? those who were best qualified and able to carry it into execution? the rich, the wise, the mighty of this world? No, they were chiefly a few poor fishermen, of low parentage and education, of no learning or eloquence, of no policy or address, of no repute or authority, despised as Jews by the rest of mankind, and as the meanest and worst of Jews by the Jews themselves. And what improper persons were these to contend with the prejudices of all the world, the superstitions of the people, the interests of the priests, the vanity of philosophers, the pride of rulers, the malice of the Jews, the learning of Greece, and the power of Rome?

As this revolution was effected by a few incompetent persons, so was it effected too in a short compass of time. After our Saviour's ascension "the number of disciples together was about an hundred and twenty" (Acts. i. 15.): but they soon increased and multiplied; the first sermon of St. Peter added unto them "about three thousand souls" (ii. 41.), and the second made up the number "about five thousand" (iv. 4.). Before the destruction of Jerusalem, in the space of about forty years, the gospel was preached in almost every region of the world then known: And in the reign of Constantine, Christianity became the religion of the empire; and after having suffered a little under Julian, it entirely prevailed and triumphed over paganism and idolatry; and still prevails in the most civilized and improved parts of the earth. All this was more than man could foresee, and much more than man could execute: and we experience the good effects of these prophecies at this day. The speedy propagation of the gospel could not have been effected by persons so unequal to the task, if the same divine Spirit who foretold it, had not likewise assisted them in it, according to the promise, "I the Lord will hasten it in his time." We may be as certain as if we had seen it, that the truth really was, as the Evangelist affirms, (Mark xvi. 20.) "They went forth and preached every where, the Lord working with them, and confirming the word with signs following."

But neither the prophecies concerning the Gentiles, nor those concerning the Jews, have yet received their full and entire completion. Our Saviour hath not yet had "the uttermost parts of the earth for his possession" (Psal. ii. 8.): "All the ends of the world have not yet turned unto the Lord" (xxii. 27.): "All people, nations, and languages, have not yet served him" (Dan. vii. 14.). These things have hitherto been only partially, but they will even literally be fulfilled. Neither are the Jews yet made "an eternal excellency, a joy of many generations" (Isa. lx. 15.). The time is not yet come, when "violence shall no more be heard in the land, wasting nor destruction within their borders" (ver. 18.). God's promises to them are not yet made good in their full extent. "Behold, I will take the children of Israel from among the heathen, whither they be gone, and will gather them on every side, and bring them into their own land. And they shall dwell in the land that I have given unto Jacob my servant, even they and their children, and their children's children for ever, and my servant David shall be their prince for ever" (Ezek. xxxvii. 21. 25.). "Then shall they know that I am the Lord their God, who caused them to be led into captivity among the heathen; but I have gathered them unto their own land, and have left none of them any more there. Neither will I hide my face any more from them, for I have poured out my Spirit upon the house of Israel, saith the Lord God" (xxxix. 28, 29.). However what hath already been accomplished is a sufficient pledge and earnest of what is yet to come: and we have all imaginable reason to believe, since so many of these prophecies are fulfilled, that the remaining prophecies will be fulfilled also; that there will be yet a greater harvest of the nations, and the yet unconverted parts of the earth will be enlightened with the knowledge of the Lord; that the Jews will in God's good time be converted to Christianity, and upon their conversion be restored to their native city and country: and especially since the state of affairs is such, that they may return without much difficulty, having no dominion, no settled country, or fixed property to detain them much any where. We have seen the prophecy of Hosea (iii. 4, 5.) fulfilled in part, and why should we not believe that it will be fulfilled in the whole? "The children of Israel shall abide many days without a king, and without a prince, and without a sacrifice, and without an image (or *altar*), and without an ephod (or *priest to wear an ephod*), and without teraphim (or *divine manifestations*). Afterward shall the children of Israel return, and seek the Lord their God, and David their king, and shall fear the Lord and his goodness in the latter days."

We have now exhibited a summary view of the prophecies of the Old Testament more immediately relative to the present state and condition of the Jews: and what stronger and more convincing arguments can you require of the truth both of the Jewish and of the Christian religion? The Jews were once the peculiar people of God: and as St. Paul saith (Rom. xi. 1.), "Hath God cast away his people? God forbid." We see that after so many ages they are still preserved by a miracle of providence a distinct people; and why is such a continual miracle exerted, but for the greater illustration of the divine truth, and the better accomplishment of the divine promises, as well those which are yet to be, as those which are already fulfilled? We see that the great empires, which in their turns subdued and oppressed the people of God, are all come to ruin: because though they executed the purposes of God, yet that was more than they understood; all that they intended was to satiate their own pride and ambition, their own cruelty and revenge. And if such hath been the fatal end of the enemies and oppressors of the Jews, let it serve as a warning to all those, who at any time or upon any occasion are for raising a clamour and persecution against them. They are blamable no doubt for persisting in their infidelity after so many means of conviction; but this is no warrant or authority for us to proscribe, to abuse, injure, and oppress them, as Christians of more zeal than either knowledge or charity have in all ages been apt to do. *Charity is greater than faith:* and it is worse in us to be cruel and uncharitable, than it is in them to be obstinate and unbelieving. Persecution is the spirit of popery, and in the worst of popish countries the Jews are the most cruelly used and persecuted: the spirit of protestantism is toleration and indulgence to weaker consciences. Compassion to this unhappy people is not to defeat the prophecies; for only wicked nations were to harrass and oppress them, the good were to shew mercy to them; and we should choose rather to be the dispensers of God's mercies than the executioners of his judgments. Read the eleventh chapter of the Epistle to the Romans, and see what the great apostle of the Gentiles, who certainly understood the prophecies better than any of us can pretend to do, saith of the infidelity of the Jews. Some of the Gentiles of his time valued themselves upon their superior advantages, and he reproves them for it, that they who "were cut out of the olive-tree which is wild by nature, and were graffed contrary to nature into a good olive-tree," should presume to "boast against the natural branches" (ver. 24. 18.): but what would he have said, how would he have flamed and lightened, if they had made religion an instrument of faction, and had been for stirring up a persecution against them? We should consider, that to them we owe the oracles of God, the Scriptures of the New Testament as well as the Old; we should consider that "the glorious company of the apostles" as well as "the goodly fellowship of the prophets" were Jews; we should consider, that "of them as concerning the flesh Christ came," the Saviour of the world: and surely something of kindness and gratitude is due for such infinite obligations. Though they are now broken off, yet they are not utterly cast away. "Because of unbelief (as St. Paul argues, ver. 20.) they were broken off, and thou standest by faith; be not high-minded, but fear." There will be a time, when they will be graffed in again, and again become the people of God; for as the apostle proceeds (ver. 25, 26.), "I would not, brethren, that ye should be ignorant of this mystery (lest ye should be wise in your own conceits), that blindness in part is happened to Israel, until the fulness of the Gentiles be come in; and so all Israel shall be saved." And which (think ye) is the most likely method to contribute to their conversion, which are the most natural means to reconcile them to us and our religion, prayer, argument, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness; or noise and invective, injury and outrage, the malice of some, and the folly and madness of more? They cannot be worse than when they crucified the Son of God, and persecuted his apostles: but what saith our Saviour (Luke xxiii. 34.)? "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do:" what saith his apostle St. Paul (Rom. x. 1.)? "Brethren, my heart's desire and prayer to God for Israel is, that they might be saved." In conformity to these blessed examples our church hath also taught us to pray for them: and how can prayer and persecution consist and agree together? They are only pretended friends to the church, but real enemies to religion, who encourage persecution of any kind. All true sons of the church, all true Protestants, all true Christians will, as the apostle adviseth (Eph. iv. 31.), "put away all bitterness, and wrath, and anger, and clamour, and evil speaking, with all malice;" and will join heart and voice in that excellent collect—"Have mercy upon all Jews, Turks, infidels, and heretics, and take from them all ignorance, hardness of heart, and contempt of thy word: and so fetch them home, blessed Lord, to thy flock, that they may be saved among the remnant of the true Israelites, and be made one fold, under one shepherd, Jesus Christ our Lord."

IX.—THE PROPHECIES CONCERNING NINEVEH.

AS the Jews were the peculiar people of God, the prophets were sent to them chiefly, and the main subjects of the prophecies are the various changes and revolutions in the Jewish church and state. But the spirit of prophecy is not limited there; other subjects are occasionally introduced; and for the greater manifestation of the divine providence, the fate of other nations is also foretold: and especially of those nations, which lay in the neighbourhood of Judea, and had intercourse and connexions with the Jews; and whose good or ill fortune therefore was of some concern and consequence to the Jews themselves. But here it is greatly to be lamented, that of these eastern nations and of these early times we have very short and imperfect accounts; we have no regular histories, but only a few fragments of history, which have escaped the general shipwreck of time. If we possessed the Assyrian history written by Abydenus, and the Chaldæan by Berosus, and the Egyptian by Manetho; we might in all probability be better enabled to explain the precise meaning, and to demonstrate the exact completion of several ancient prophecies: but for want of such helps and assistances we must be glad of a little glimmering light wherever we can see it. We see enough, however, though not to discover the beauty and exactness of each particular, yet to make us admire in the general these wonders of providence, and to shew that the condition of cities and kingdoms hath been such, as the prophets had long ago foretold. And we will begin with the instance of Nineveh.

Nineveh was the metropolis of the Assyrian empire, and the Assyrians were formidable enemies to the kingdoms both of Israel and Judah. In the days of Menahem king of Israel, Pul the king of Assyria invaded the land, and was bought off with a thousand talents of silver (2 Kings xv. 19.). A few years afterwards "in the days of Pekah king of Israel, came Tiglath-pileser king of Assyria, and took *several cities*, and Gilead, and Galilee, all the land of Naphtali, and carried them captive to Assyria" (2 Kings xv. 29.). The same Tiglath-Pileser was invited by Ahaz king of Judah to come and assist him against Rezin king of Syria, and Pekah king of Israel: "And Ahaz took the silver and gold that was found in the house of the Lord, and in the treasures of the king's house, and sent it for a present to the king of Assyria" (2 Kings xvi. 8.). The king of Assyria came accordingly to his assistance, and routed his enemies: but still, as another sacred writer saith, "distressed him, and strengthened him not" (2 Chron. xxviii. 20.). A little after, in the days of Hoshea king of Israel, "Shalmaneser the king of Assyria came up throughout all the land," and after a siege of three years "took Samaria, and carried Israel away into Assyria, and placed them in Halah, and in Habor by the river of Gozan, and in the cities of the Medes" (2 Kings xvii. 5, 6.). It was "in the sixth year of Hezekiah," king of Judah, that Shalmaneser king of Assyria carried Israel away captive: and "in the fourteenth year of king Hezekiah, did Sennacherib king of Assyria come up against all the fenced cities of Judah, and took them" (2 Kings xviii. 10. 13.). And the king of Assyria exacted of the king of Judah "three hundred talents of silver, and thirty talents of gold;" so that even good king Hezekiah was forced to "give him all the silver that was found in the house of the Lord, and in the treasures of the king's house" (ver. 14, 15.). Sennacherib notwithstanding sent his captains "with a great host against Jerusalem," (ver. 17.) but his army was miraculously defeated, and he himself was afterwards slain at Nineveh (2 Kings xix. 35, 36, 37.). His son Esarhaddon completed the deportation of the Israelites, "and brought men from Babylon, and from Cuthah, and from Ava, and from Hamath, and from Sepharvaim, and placed them in the cities of Samaria instead of the children of Israel; and they possessed Samaria, and dwelt in the cities thereof" (2 Kings xvii. 24. Ezra iv. 2.). We see then that the Assyrians totally destroyed the kingdom of Israel, and greatly oppressed the kingdom of Judah: and no wonder therefore that they are made the subject of several prophecies.

The prophet Isaiah denounceth the judgments of God against Sennacherib in particular, and against the Assyrians in general. "O Assyrian," or rather, "Woe to the Assyrian, the rod of mine anger," (x. 5.) God might employ them as the ministers of his wrath, and executioners of his vengeance; and so make the wickedness of some nations the means of correcting that of others: "I will send him against an hypocritical nation; and against the people of my wrath will I give him a charge to take the spoil, and to take the prey, and to tread them down like the mire in the streets" (ver. 6.). But it was far from any intent of theirs to execute the divine will, or to chastise the vices of mankind; they only meant to extend their conquests, and establish their own dominion upon the ruin of others: "Howbeit he meaneth not so, neither doth his heart think so, but it is in his heart to destroy, and cut off nations not a few" (ver. 7.). Wherefore when they shall have served the purposes of divine providence, they shall be severely punished for their pride and ambition, their tyranny and cruelty to their neighbours: "Wherefore it shall come to pass, that when the Lord hath performed his whole work upon mount Zion, and on Jerusalem, I will punish the fruit of the stout heart of the king of Assyria, and the glory of his high looks" (ver. 12.). There was no prospect of such an event, while the Assyrians were in the midst of their successes and triumphs: but still the word of the prophet prevailed; and it was not long after these calamities brought upon the Jews, of which we have given a short deduction, that the Assyrian empire properly so called was overthrown, and Nineveh destroyed.

Nineveh, or Ninus, as it was most usually called by the Greeks and Romans, was, as we said before, the capital city of the Assyrian empire; and the capital is frequently put for the whole empire, the prosperity or ruin of the one being involved in that of the other. This was a very ancient city, being built by Asshur or as others say by Nimrod; for those words of Moses (Gen. x. 11.) which our translators together with most of the ancient versions render thus, "Out of that land went forth Asshur, and builded Nineveh," others translate, as the [1] Chaldee Paraphrast translates them, and as they are rendered in the margin of our Bibles, "Out of that land he," that is, Nimrod, the person spoken of before, "went forth into Assyria, and builded Nineveh." It is well known that the word *Asshur* in Hebrew is the name of the country as well as the name of the man, and the preposition is often omitted, so that the words may very well be translated *he went forth into Assyria*. And Moses is here giving an account of the sons of Ham, and it may seem foreign to his subject to intermix the story of any of the sons of Shem, as Asshur was. Moses afterwards recounts the sons of Shem, and Asshur among them; and it is presumed that he would hardly relate his actions, before he had mentioned his nativity, or even his name, contrary to the series of the genealogy and to the order of the history. But this notwithstanding I incline to understand the text literally as it is translated, "Out of that land went forth Asshur," being expelled thence by Nimrod, "and builded Nineveh" and other cities, in opposition to the cities which Nimrod had founded in the land of Shinar. And neither is it foreign to the subject, nor contrary to the order of the history, upon the mention of Nimrod's invading and seizing the territories of Asshur, to relate whither Asshur retreated, and where he fortified himself against him. But by whomsoever Nineveh was built, it might afterwards be greatly enlarged and improved by Ninus, and called after his name, whoever Ninus was, for that is altogether uncertain.

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[1] "De terra illa egressus est in Assyriam." Onk.

As it was a very ancient, so was it likewise a very great city. In Jonah it is styled "that great city" (i. 2. iii. 2.), "an exceeding great city" (iii. 3.). In the original it is *a city great to God;*[2] in the same manner as Moses is called by St. Stephen, in the Acts of the Apostles (vii. 20.) ἀστεῖος τῷ Θεῷ, *fair to God,* or *exceeding fair,* as our translators rightly render it; and so "the mountains of God" (Psal. xxxvi. 6.) are exceeding high mountains, and "the cedars of God" (Psal. lxxx. 10.) are exceeding tall cedars. It was therefore "an exceeding great city;" and the scripture-account is confirmed by the testimony of heathen authors. Strabo[3] says, that Nineveh was much greater even than Babylon: and Diodorus Siculus[4] from Ctesias affirms that 'its builder Ninus proposed to build a city of such magnitude, that it should not only be the greatest of the cities which were then in all the world, but that none of those who should be born after that time attempting the like should easily exceed it;" and a little after he subjoins, that 'nobody afterwards built such a city, either as to the greatness of the compass, or as to the magnificence of the walls.' It is added in Jonah (iii. 3.) that it was "an exceeding great city of three days' journey,"[5] that is, of three days' journey in circuit, as St. Jerome and the best commentators expound it. Strabo, as it was observed before, hath said that Nineveh was much larger than Babylon; and a little afterwards he says, that[6] the circuit of Babylon was 385 furlongs: but Diodorus Siculus[7] asserts that the whole circuit of Nineveh was 480 furlongs; which[8] make somewhat more than 60 miles, and 60 miles were three days' journey, 20 miles a day being the common computation of a foot traveller. It is farther said in Jonah (iv. 11.) that in Nineveh "there were more than sixscore thousand persons who could not discern between their right hand and their left hand, and also much cattle." I think it is[9] generally calculated that the young children of any place are a fifth part of the inhabitants; and if we admit of that calculation, the whole number of inhabitants in Nineveh amounted to above six hundred thousand: which number will appear by no means incredible, if we consider the dimensions of the city as given by Diodorus Siculus,[1] that it was in length 150 furlongs, in breadth 90 furlongs, and in circuit 480 furlongs, that is 20 miles long, about 12 miles broad, and above 60 miles in compass. A city of such dimensions might easily contain such a number of inhabitants, and many more: and at the same time there might be, as there are in most of the great cities of the east, large vacant spaces for gardens or for pasture; so that there might be, as the sacred text asserts there was, "also much cattle." But according to the modern method of calculation[2] the number of the Ninevites is reduced much lower. For allowing that the number of infants was one hundred and thirty thousand, as the Scripture saith that they were *more* than one hundred and twenty thousand; yet these making but three-tenths of the inhabitants, the number of citizens will appear to have amounted to four hundred and twenty-three thousand. London and Paris stand not upon one quarter of the ground, and yet are supposed to contain more inhabitants; London even more than the former calculation, and Paris more than the latter; it being[3] computed that in London there are about 725,943 persons, and about 437,478 in Paris.

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[2] עיר-גדולה לאלהים *Deo magna civitas,* ϖόλις μεγάλη τῷ Θεῷ, Sept.

[3] πολὺ δὲ μείζων ἦν τῆς Βαβυλῶνος. *Ea multo major erat Babylone.* Strabo, l. 16. p. 1071.

[4] ——ἔσπευδε τηλικαύτην κτίσαι τὸ μέγεθος ϖόλιν, ὥςτε μὴ μόνον αὐτὴν εἶναι μεγίστην τῶν τότε οὐσῶν κατὰ ϖᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην, ἀλλὰ μηδὲ τῶν μεταγενεστέρων ἑτέρων ἐπιβαλλόμενον ῥᾳδίως ἂν ὑπερθέσθαι. *tantæ quoque molis urbem condere festinabat, ut non modo omnium tunc in orbe terrarum maxima existeret, sed etiam ut nemo post genitorum tale quid aggressus ipsum facile superaret* —— τηλικαύτην γὰρ πόλιν οὐδεὶς ὕστερον ἔκτισε κατά τε τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ ϖεριβόλου, καὶ τὴν ϖερὶ τὸ τεῖχος μεγαλοπρέπειαν. *a nullo enim postmodum urbs tanto ambitus spatio, tantaque magnificentia mœnium exstructa fuit.* Diod. Siculus, l. 2. c. 3.

[5] 'Civitas magna, et tanti ambitus; ut vix trium dierum posset itinere circumiri.' Hieron. Comment. in locum.

[6] τὸν δὲ κύκλον ἔχει τοῦ τείχους τριακοσίων ὀγδοήκοντα πεντε σταδίων. *muri ambitu* CCCXXCV *stadiorum.* Strabo, l. 16. p. 1072.

[7] τοῦ σύμπαντος ϖεριβόλου συσταθέντος ἐκ σταδίων τετρακοσίων καὶ ὀγδοήκοντα. *Ambitus totus stadiis* CCCCXXC *constat.* l. 2. c. 3.

[8] —'Nini circuitus stadiorum fuisse CCCCLXXX, id est, milliarium sexaginta; quæ triduanum iter facient, si singulorum dierum iter æstimes viginti milliaribus: quomodo definierunt non Jurisconsulti solum, sed et Græcorum vetustissimi. Herodotus, l. 5. c. 53. ϖεντήκοντα δὲ καὶ ἑκατὸν στάδια ἐπ' ἡμέρῃ ἑκάστῃ διεξιοῦσι. *centum et quinquaginta stadia unoquoque die peragrantibus.* CL stadia sunt viginti milliaria, &c.' Bocharti Phaleg. l. 4. c. 20. col. 252.

[9] Bochart. ibid. col. 253. Lowth's Comment. and Calmet's.

The inhabitants of Nineveh, like those of other great cities, abounding in wealth and luxury, became very corrupt in their morals. Whereupon it pleased God to commission the prophet Jonah to preach unto them the necessity of repentance, as the only means of averting their impending destruction: and such was the success of his preaching, that both the king and the people repented and turned from their evil ways, and thereby for a time delayed the execution of the divine judgments. Who this king of Assyria was we cannot be certain, we can only make conjectures, his name not being mentioned in the book of Jonah. Archbishop Usher[4] supposeth him to have been Pul the king of Assyria, who afterward invaded the kingdom of Israel, in the days of Menahem (2 Kings xv. 19.); it being very agreeable to the methods of providence to make use of an heathen king who was penitent, to punish the impenitency of God's own people Israel. But it should seem more probable, that this prince was one of the kings of Assyria, before any of those who are mentioned in Scripture. For Jonah is reckoned the most ancient of all the prophets usually so called, whose writings are preserved in the canon of Scripture. We know that he prophesied of the restoration of the coasts of Israel taken by the king of Syria, which was accomplished by Jeroboam the second (2 Kings xiv. 25.): and therefore Jonah must have lived before that time; and is with great reason supposed by Bishop Lloyd in his Chronological Tables to have prophesied at the latter end of Jehu's, or the beginning of the reign of Jehoahaz, when the kingdom of Israel was reduced very low, and greatly oppressed by Hazael king of Syria (2 Kings x. 32.). If he prophesied at that time, there intervened Jehoahaz's reign of seventeen years, Joash's reign of sixteen years, Jeroboam's of forty and one years, Zachariah's of six months, Shallum's of one month, and Menahem was seated on the throne of Israel, before any mention is made of Pul the king of Assyria: and therefore we may reasonably conclude from the distance of time, which was above seventy years, that Jonah was not sent to Pul the king of Assyria, but to one of his predecessors, though to whom particularly we are unable to discover, for the want before complained of, the want of Assyrian histories, which no doubt would have related so memorable a transaction.

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[1] εἶχε δὲ τῶν μὲν μακροτέρων πλευρῶν ἑκατέραν ἡ πόλις ἑκατὸν καὶ πεντήκοντα σταδίων, τῶν δὲ βραχυτέρων, ἐνενήκοντα κ. τ. λ. *latus utrinque longius ad* CL *stadia excurrit; reliqua duo minora,* XC *obtinent, &c.* Diod. Sic. l. 2. c. 3.

[2] Maitland's Hist. of London, b. 3. c. 2. p. 542.

[3] Maitland, p. 541. et 548.

[4] See Usher's Annals, A.M. 3233. p. 58. and Lowth's Comment.

But this repentance of the Ninevites, we may presume, was of no long continuance. For not many years after we find the prophet Nahum foretelling the total and entire destruction of the city; though there is no certainty of the time of Nahum's, any more than of Jonah's prophesying. Josephus[5] saith that he flourished in the time of Jotham king of Judah, and that all the things which he foretold concerning Nineveh came to pass one hundred and fifteen years afterwards. St. Jerome[6] placeth him under Hezekiah, king of Judah, and saith that his name by interpretation is *a comforter;* for the ten tribes being carried away by the king of Assyria, this vision was to comfort them in their captivity; nor was it a less consolation to the other two tribes of Judah and Benjamin, who remained in the land, and were besieged by the same enemies, to hear that these conquerors would in time be conquered themselves, their city be taken, and their empire overthrown. All that is said of him in Scripture is "Nahum the Elkoshite" (Nahum i. 1.), which title in all probability was given him from the place of his nativity; and [7] St. Jerome supposeth it to have been a village in Galilee, the ruins whereof were shewn to him, when he travelled in those parts. Now we learn from the sacred history (2 Kings xv. 29.), that the people of "Galilee were taken by Tiglath-pileser king of Assyria, and carried captive into Assyria." It is not improbable therefore, that at that time this prophet, who was a Galilean, might be instructed to foretell the fall of Nineveh: and that time coincides with the reign of Jotham king of Judah, which is the time assigned for Nahum's prophesying by Josephus. But if Josephus was right in this particular, he was wrong in another; for more than one hundred and fifteen years intervened between the reign of Jotham king of Judah, and the destruction of Nineveh, as it is usually computed by chronologers. There is one thing, which might greatly assist us in fixing the time of Nahum's prophesying; and that is the destruction of No-Amon or Diospolis in Egypt, which he mentions (chap. iii. 8, &c.) as a late transaction, if we could know certainly when that destruction happened, or by whom it was effected. It is commonly attributed to Nebuchadnezzar; but that time is too late, and the destruction of No-Amon would fall out after the destruction of Nineveh instead of before it. Dr. Prideaux[8] with more reason believes, that it was effected by Sennacherib, before he marched against Jerusalem; and then Nahum's prophesying would coincide exactly with the reign of Hezekiah, which is the time assigned for it by St. Jerome.

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[5] Ἦν δέ τις κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν προφήτης Ναούμος τ'οὔνομα. *Erat autem quidem eo tempore vates, cui nomen Nahumus.* συνέβη δὲ πάντα τὰ προειρημένα περὶ Νινευῆς, μετὰ ἔτη ἑκατὸν καὶ πεντεκαίδεκα. *evenerunt autem omnia quæ de Nineve prædicta sunt centum et quindecim post annos.* Jos. Antiq. lib. 9. c. 11. § 3.

[6] 'Naum qui interpretatur *consolator.* Jam enim decem tribus ab Assyriis deductæ fuerant in captivitatem sub Ezechia rege Juda, sub quo etiam nunc in consolationem populi transmigrati adversum Nineven visio cernitur. Nec erat parva consolatio, tam his qui jam Assyriis serviebant, quam reliquis qui sub Ezechia de tribu Juda et Benjamin ab iisdem hostibus obsidebantur; ut audirent Assyrios quoque a Chaldæis esse capiendos, sicut in consequentibus hujus libri demonstrabitur.' Hieron. Prol. in Naum.

But whenever it was that Nahum prophesied, he plainly and largely foretold the destruction of Nineveh; his whole prophecy relates to this single event: and the city was accordingly destroyed by the Medes and Babylonians. This point I think is generally agreed upon, that Nineveh was taken and destroyed by the Medes and Babylonians; these two rebelling and uniting together subverted the Assyrian empire: but authors differ much about the time when Nineveh was taken, and about the king of Assyria in whose reign it was taken, and even about the persons who had the command in this expedition. Herodotus[9] affirms, that it was taken by Cyaxares king of the Medes; St. Jerome, after the Hebrew chronicle,[1] asserts that it was taken by Nabuchodonosor king of the Babylonians: but these accounts may be easily reconciled, for Cyaxares and Nabuchodonosor might take it with their joint forces, as they actually did according to that which is written in the book of Tobit (xiv. 15.), if the Assuerus in Tobit be the same (as there is great reason to think him the same) with the Cyaxares of Herodotus: "But before Tobias died, he heard of the destruction of Nineveh, which was taken by Nabuchodonosor and Assuerus; and before his death he rejoiced over Nineveh." Josephus[2] who saith in one place that the empire of the Assyrians was dissolved by the Medes, saith in another that the Medes and Babylonians dissolved the empire of the Assyrians. Herodotus himself[3] saith that the Medes took Nineveh, and subdued the Assyrians, except the Babylonian portion; the reason of which was, the Babylonians were their allies and confederates. Ctesias, and after him[4] Diodorus Siculus ascribe the taking of Nineveh, and the subversion of the Assyrian empire, to Arbaces the Mede, assisted by Belesis the Babylonian. I know that [5]Eusebius, and after him several excellent chronologers, Usher, Prideaux, and others, reckon this quite a different action, and fix it at quite a different time; but it is not likely that the same city should be twice destroyed, and the same empire twice overthrown, by the same people twice confederated together. Diodorus, who relates this catastrophe, doth not mention the other; but saith expressly,[6] that Arbaces distributed the citizens of Nineveh in the country villages, levelled the city with the ground, transferred many talents of gold and silver to Ecbatana the royal city of the Medes; and so, saith he, the empire of the Assyrians was subverted. If there is some difficulty in discovering the persons by whom Nineveh was taken, there is more in ascertaining the king of Assyria in whose reign it was taken, and more still in fixing the time when it was taken, scarce any two chronologers agreeing in the same date: but as these things are hardly possible to be known, so neither are they necessary to be known, with precision and exactness; and we may safely leave them among the uncertainties of ancient history and chronology.

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[7] 'Elcesi usque hodie in Galilæa viculus, parvus quidem, et vix ruinis veterum ædificiorum indicans vestigia; sed tamen notus Judæis; et mihi quoque a circumducente monstratus.' Hieron. ibid.

[8] Prid. Connect. part 1. b. 1. Anno 713. Hezek. 15.

[9] Herod. l. 1. c. 106.

[1] Hieron. in Naum ii. 12. Seder Olam Rabba soli Nabuchodonosor rem attribuit, et tempus ponit. Anno primo Nabuchodonosor subegit Nineven, id est, non diu post mortem patris. Ebraicum hoc Chronicon secuti sunt S. Hieronymus, &c.' Marshami Chron. Sæc. XVIII. p. 559.

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[2] Συνέβη τὴν τῶν Ἀσσυρίων ἀρχὴν ὑπὸ Μήδων καταλυθῆναι. *Assyriorum imperium a Medis eversum iri contigit.* Joseph. Antiq. l. 10. c. 2. § 2. —— Μήδους καὶ τοὺς Βαβυλωνίους, οἱ τὴν Ἀσσυρίων κατέλυσαν ἀρχήν. *Medos et Babylonios, qui Assyriorum everterant imperium.* ibid. c. 5. § 1.

[3] Καὶ τήν τε Νίνον εἷλον, καὶ τοὺς Ἀσσυρίους ὑποχειρίους ἐποιήσαντο, ϖλὴν τῆς Βαβυλωνίης μοίρης. *et Ninum expugnaverunt, Assyriosque, excepta Babylonica portione, subegerunt.* Herod. l. 1. c. 106.

[4] Diod. Sic. l. 2. c. 24.

[5] "Eusebius (more suo) utramque sententiam in Canonem retulit: ad mentem Ctesiæ, 'Arbaces Medus (ait, Num. 1197.), Assyriorum imperio destructo, regnum in Medos transtulit.' Dein (post annos 213) ex auctoritate Herodoti, Num. 1410. 'Cyaxares Medus subvertit Ninum.' Ista autem *ἀσύστατα* sunt." Marshami Chronicon. Sæc. xviii. p. 556.

[6] Ὁ δ' οὖν Ἀρβάκης τοῖς κατὰ τὴν ϖόλιν ἐπιεικῶς προσενεχθεὶς, αὐτοὺς μὲν κατὰ κώμας διῴκισε, —— τὴν δὲ ϖόλιν εἰς ἔδαφος κατέσκαψεν. ἔπειτα τόν τε ἄργυρον καὶ χρυσὸν —— πολλῶν ὄντα ταλάντων, ἀπεκόμισε τῆς Μηδίας εἰς Ἐκβάτανα. ἡ μὲν οὖν ἡγεμονία τῶν Ἀσσυρίων —— ὑπὸ Μήδων κατέλυθη τὸν προειρημένον τρόπον. *Simili quoque lenitate erga cives usus, quamvis in pagos eos distraheret, — urbem autem solo æquavit. Tum argentum et aurum — (multa certe talenta erant) in Ecbatana Medorum regiam transtulit. Hoc ergo modo Assyriorum imperium — a Medis eversum est.* Diod. Sic. l. 2. c. 28.

It is sufficient for our purpose, that Nineveh was taken and destroyed according to the predictions: and Nahum foretold not only the thing, but also the manner of it. Herodotus promised to relate in his Assyrian history how Nineveh was taken;[7] the Medes took Nineveh, saith he, but how they took it, I will shew in another work. Again afterwards he mentions his design of writing the Assyrian history. Speaking of the kings of Babylon he saith,[8] of these I shall make mention in the Assyrian history. But to our regret this history was never finished, or is lost. More probably it was never finished, for otherwise some or other of the ancients would have mentioned it. If it had been extant with his other works, it would in all probability have been of great service in illustrating several passages in Nahum's prophecies. It is however something fortunate, that we can in some measure supply this loss out of Diodorus Siculus. Nahum prophesies, that the Assyrians should be taken while they were drunken (i. 10.) "For while they be folden together as thorns, and while they are drunken as drunkards, they shall be devoured as stubble full dry:" and [9] Diodorus relates, that 'it was while all the Assyrian army were feasting for their former victories, that those about Arbaces being informed by some deserters of the negligence and drunkenness in the camp of the enemies, assaulted them unexpectedly by night, and falling orderly on them disorderly, and prepared on them unprepared, became masters of the camp, and slew many of the soldiers, and drove the rest into the city.' Nahum foretels (ii. 6.) that "the gates of the rivers shall be opened, and the palace shall be dissolved:" and [1] Diodorus informs us, 'that there was an old prophecy, that Nineveh should not be taken, till the river became an enemy to the city; and in the third year of the siege, the river being swoln with continual rains overflowed part of the city, and broke down the wall for twenty furlongs; then the king thinking that the oracle was fulfilled, and the river become an enemy to the city, built a large funeral pile in the palace, and collecting together all his wealth and his concubines and eunuchs, burnt himself and the palace with them all: and the enemy entered the breach that the waters had made, and took the city.' What was predicted in the first chapter (ver. 8.) was therefore literally fulfilled, " With an overrunning flood he will make an utter end of the place thereof." Nahum promises the enemy much spoil of gold and silver, (ii. 9.) " Take ye the spoil of silver, take the spoil of gold; for there is no end of the store, and glory out of all the pleasant furniture:" and we read in [2] Diodorus, that Arbaces carried many talents of gold and silver to Ecbatana the royal city of the Medes. According to Nahum (i. 8. iii. 15.) the city was to be destroyed by fire and water; and we see in Diodorus, that by fire and water it was destroyed.

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[7] Καὶ τήν τε Νῖνον εἷλον (ὡς δὲ εἷλον, ἐν ἑτέροισι λόγοισι δηλώσω). *et Ninum expugnaverunt (ut autem ceperint, in aliis mox scriptis indicabo).* Herod. l. 1. c. 106.

[8] Τῶν ἐν τοῖσι Ἀσσυρίοισι λόγοισι μνήμην ποιήσομαι. *quorum in exponendis rebus Assyriis mentionem faciam.* Herod. l. 1. c. 184. Vossius de Hist. Græc. l. 1. c. 3. Fabricius Bib. Græc. l. 2. c. 20.

[9] Διόπερ τῆς δυνάμεως ἁπάσης ἑστιωμένης, οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἀρβάκην παρά τινων αὐτομόλων πυθόμενοι τὴν ἐν τῇ παρεμβολῇ τῶν πολεμίων ῥαθυμίαν καὶ μέθην, νυκτὸς ἀπροσδοκήτως τὴν ἐπίθεσιν ἐποιήσαντο. προσπεσόντες δὲ συντεταγμένοι μὲν ἀσυντάκτοις, ἕτοιμοι δὲ ἀπαρασκεύοις, τῆς τε παρεμβολῆς ἐκράτησαν, καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν πολλοὺς ἀνελόντες, τοὺς ἄλλους μέχρι τῆς πόλεως κατεδίωξαν. *toto igitur exercitu conviviis indulgente, Arbaces per transfugas de negligentia et ebrietate hostium edoctus, noctu ex improviso illos opprimit. Et quoniam compositi incompositos, parati imparatos, invadebant, facile et castra expugnant, et vastam hostium stragem edunt, et reliquos in urbem compellunt.* Diod. Sic. l. 2. c. 26.

[1] Ἦν δ' αὐτῷ λόγιον παραδεδομένον ἐκ προγόνων, ὅτι τὴν Νῖνον οὐδεὶς ἕλῃ κατὰ κράτος, ἐὰν μὴ πρότερον ὁ ποταμὸς τῇ πόλει γένηται πολέμιος. ——— τῷ τρίτῳ δ' ἔτει, συνεχῶς ὄμβρων ῥαγδαίων καταῤῥαγέντων, συνέβη τὸν Εὐφράτην [Τίγριν] μέγαν γενόμενον κατακλῦσαί τε μέρος τῆς πόλεως, καὶ καταβαλεῖν τὸ τεῖχος ἐπὶ σταδίους εἴκοσιν. ἐνταῦθα ὁ βασιλεὺς νομίσας τετελέσθαι τὸν χρησμὸν, καὶ τῇ πόλει τὸν ποταμὸν γεγονέναι φανερῶς πολέμιον, ἀπέγνω τὴν σωτηρίαν. ἵνα δὴ μὴ τοῖς πολεμίοις γένηται ὑποχείριος, πυρὰν ἐκ τοῖς βασιλείοις κατεσκεύασεν ὑπερμεγέθη, καὶ τόν τε χρυσὸν καὶ τὸν ἄργυρον ἅπαντα, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις τὴν βασιλικὴν ἐσθῆτα πᾶσαν ἐπὶ ταύτην ἐσώρευσε. τὰς δὲ παλλακίδας καὶ τοὺς εὐνούχους συγκλείσας εἰς τὸν ἐν μέσῃ τῇ πυρᾷ κατεσκευασμένον οἶκον, ἅμα τούτοις ἅπασιν ἑαυτόν τε καὶ τὰ βασίλεια κατέκαυσεν. οἱ δ' ἀποστάται, πυθόμενοι τὴν ἀπόλειαν Σαρδαναπάλου, τῆς μὲν πόλεως ἐκράτησαν, εἰσπεσόντες κατὰ τὸ πεπτωκὸς μέρος τοῦ τείχους. *atqui vaticinium a majo-*

But Nahum is cited upon this occasion principally to shew, that he foretold the total and entire destruction of this city. " The Lord (saith he in the first chapter, ver. 8, 9.), with an overrunning flood will make an utter end of the place thereof; he will make an utter end; affliction shall not rise up the second time." Again in the second chapter, (ver. 11. 13.) " Where is the dwelling of the lions, and the feeding place of the young lions?" meaning Nineveh whose princes ravaged like lions: " Behold, I am against thee, saith the Lord of hosts, and I will cut off thy prey from the earth, and the voice of thy messengers shall no more be heard." And again in the third and last chapter (ver. 17—19.): " Thy crowned are as the locusts, and thy captains as the great grasshoppers, which camp in the hedges in the cold day; but when the sun ariseth, they flee away, and their place is not known where they are (or *have been);* thy shepherds slumber, O king of Assyria; thy nobles shall dwell in the dust; thy people is scattered upon the moun-

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ribus traditum habebat: ' a nullo capi Ninum posse, nisi fluvius urbi prius hostis evaderet'—Tertio demum anno accidit, ut Euphrates [Tigris], continuis imbrium gravissimorum tempestatibus excrescens, urbis partem inundaret, et murum ad stadia xx *dejiceret. Tum vero finem habere oraculum, amnemque manifeste urbi hostem esse, rex judicans, spem salutis abjecit. Itaque ne in hostium manus perveniret, rogum in regia ingentem exstruxit; quo aurum et argentum omne, et quicquid erat regii vestimenti, congessit. Tum concubinis et eunuchis in domunculam quam in medio pyræ exstruxerat, conclusis, se regiamque cum illis omnibus incendio absumpsit. Cujus interitum cum audissent, qui a rege defecerant, per collapsam muri partem ingressi, urbem ceperunt.* Diod. Sic. l. 2. c. 26, 27.

[2] ἔπειτα τόν τε ἄργυρον καὶ χρυσὸν τὸν ἐκ τῆς πυρᾶς ὑπολειφθέντα, πολλῶν ὄντα ταλάντων, ἀπεκόμισε τῆς Μηδίας εἰς Ἐκβάτανα. *tum quicquid argenti aurique ex pyra rectabat (multa certe talenta erant) in Ecbatana Medorum regiam transtulit.* Diod. Sic. l. 2. c. 28.

tains, and no man gathereth them: there is no healing of thy bruise; thy wound is grievous; all that hear the bruit of thee shall clap the hands over thee; for upon whom hath not thy wickedness passed continually?" The prophet Zephaniah likewise, in the days of Josiah king of Judah, foretold the same sad event (ii. 13—15.). "The Lord will stretch out his hand against the north, and destroy Assyria, and will make Nineveh a desolation, and dry like a wilderness: and flocks shall lie down in the midst of her, all the beasts of the nations; both the cormorant and the bittern shall lodge in the upper lintels of it; their voice shall sing in the windows; desolation shall be in the thresholds; for he shall uncover the cedar work: this is the rejoicing city that dwelt carelessly, that said in her heart, I am, and there is none beside me; how is she become a desolation, a place for beasts to lie down in! every one that passeth by her, shall hiss and wag his hand." But what probability was there that the capital city of a great kingdom, a city which was sixty miles in compass, a city which contained so many thousand inhabitants, a city which had walls, according to Diodorus Siculus,[3] a hundred feet high, and so thick that three chariots could go abreast upon them, and fifteen hundred towers at proper distances in the walls of two hundred feet in height: what probability was there, I say, that such a city should ever be totally destroyed? and yet so totally was it destroyed, that the place is hardly known where it was situated.

We have seen that it was taken and destroyed by the Medes and Babylonians: and what we may suppose helped to complete its ruin and devastation was Nebuchadnezzar's soon afterwards enlarging and beautifying of Babylon. From that time no mention is made of Nineveh by any of the sacred writers; and the most ancient of the heathen authors, who have occasion to say any thing about it, speak of it as a city that was once great and flourishing, but now destroyed and desolate. Great as it was formerly, so little of it was remaining, that authors are not agreed even about its situation. I think we may conclude from the general suffrage of ancient historians and geographers, that it was situated upon the river Tigris; but yet no less authors than [4]Ctesias and Diodorus Siculus represent it as situated upon the river Euphrates. Nay authors differ not only from one another, but also from themselves. For the learned [5]Bochart hath shewn that Herodotus, Diodorus Siculus, and Ammianus Marcellinus, all three speak differently of it, sometimes as if it was situated upon the river Tigris, and sometimes as if it was situated upon the river Euphrates. So that to reconcile these authors with themselves and with others, it is supposed by [6] Bochart that there were two Ninevehs, and by [7] Sir John Marsham that there were three; the Syrian upon the river Euphrates, the Assyrian upon the river Tigris, and a third built afterwards upon the Tigris by the Persians, who succeeded the Parthians in the empire of the east in the third century, and were subdued by the Saracens in the seventh century after Christ: but whether this latter Nineveh was built in the same place as old Nineveh is a question that cannot be decided. Lucian,[8] who flourished in the second century after Christ, affirms that Nineveh was utterly perished, and there was no footstep of it remaining, nor could you tell where once it was situated: and the greater regard is to be paid to Lucian's testimony, as he was a native of Samosata, a city upon the river Euphrates, and coming from a neighbouring country he must in all likelihood have known whether there had been any remains of Nineveh or not. There is at this time a city called Mosul, situate upon the western side of the river Tigris, and on the opposite eastern shore are ruins of a great extent, which are said to be the ruins of Nineveh. Benjamin of Tudela,[9] who wrote his Itinerary in the year of Christ 1173, informs us, that there is only a bridge between Mosul and Nineveh; this latter is laid waste, yet hath it many streets and castles. But another, who wrote in 1300, asserts that Nineveh at present is totally laid waste, but by the ruins which are still to be seen there, we may firmly believe that it was one of the greatest cities in the world. The same thing is attested by later travellers, and particularly by [1] Thevenot, upon whose authority Prideaux relates that 'Mosul is situated on the west side of the river Tigris, where was anciently only a suburb of the old Nineveh, for the city itself stood on the east side of the river, where are to be seen some of its ruins of great extent even to this day.' Tavernier likewise affirms,[2] that 'cross the Tigris, which hath a swift stream and whitish water, whereas Euphrates runs slow and is reddish, you come to the ancient city Nineveh, which is now a heap of rubbish only, for a league along the river, full of vaults and caverns.' Mr. Salmon,[3] who is an industrious collector and compiler from others, saith in his account of Assyria, 'In this country the famous city of Nineveh once stood, on the eastern bank of the river Tigris, opposite to the place where Mosul now stands——There is nothing now to be seen but heaps of rubbish, almost a league along the river Tigris, over against Mosul, which people imagine to be the remains of this vast city.' But it is more than probable that these ruins are the remains of the Persian Nineveh, and not of the Assyrian. 'Ipsæ periere ruinæ:' Even the ruins of old Nineveh have been, as I may say, long ago ruined and destroyed: such *an utter end* hath been made of it, and such is the truth of the divine predictions!

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[3] Τὸ μὲν γὰρ ὕψος εἶχε τὸ τεῖχος ποδῶν ἑκατὸν, τὸ δὲ πλάτος τρισὶν ἅρμασιν ἱππάσιμον ἦν. οἱ δὲ σύμπαντες πύργοι τὸν μὲν ἀριθμὸν ἦσαν χίλιοι καὶ πεντακόσιοι, τὸ δ' ὕψος εἶχον ποδῶν διακοσίων. *nam mutus ad* C *pedum altitudinem, exsurgebat, et ad trium latitudinem curruum junctim agitandorum porrectus erat. Turres in eo* MD *ducentos pedes altæ.* Diod. Sic. l. 2. c. 3.

[4] Diod. Sic. l. 2. c. 3. 27.

[5] Bocharti Phaleg. lib. 4. cap. 20. col. 248, 249.

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[6] 'Non video hæc aliter posse conciliari, quam si dicatur duplex fuisse Ninus; una ad Euphratem in Comagena; altera in Assyria trans Tigrim, &c.' Bochart. ibid.

[7] 'Est igitur (in veterum scriptis) Ninus triplex, Syriaca, Assyriaca, et Persica, &c.' Marshami Chron. Sæc. XVIII. p. 559.

[8] Ἡ Νῖνος ἀπόλωλεν ἤδη, καὶ οὐδὲν ἴχνος ἔτι λοιπὸν αὐτῆς, οὐδ' ἂν εἴπῃς ὅπου ποτ' ἦν. *Ninus jam est eversa, ita ut ne reliquum quidem sit ejus vestigium, nec ubi olim sita fuerit, facile dixeris.* Luciani Ἐπισκ., vel Contemplantes, prope fin.

[9] 'Benjamin Tudelensis (qui scripsit Itinerarium anno Xti 1173) 'Inter Almozal (ait p. 62.) et Nineven pons tantum intercedit: Hæc devastata est: attamen multos pagos et arces habet.' At vero Haiton Armenius (De Tartar. c. 11. p. 406.) (anno 1300) 'Ista civitas (Nineve) ad præsens est totaliter devastata.' Marshami Chron. Sæc. XVIII. p. 558. 'Sed per ea, quæ adhuc sunt apparentia in eadem, firmiter credi potest quod fuerit una ex majoribus civitatibus hujus mundi.' Idem apud Bochart. Phaleg. l. 4. c. 20. col. 255.

[1] Thevenot's Travels, part 2. b. 1. c. 11. p. 50. Prideaux's Connect. part 1. b. 1. Anno 612. Josiah 29.

This perhaps may strike us the more strongly by supposing only a parallel instance. Let us then suppose, that a person should come in the name of a prophet, preaching repentance to the people of this kingdom, or otherwise denouncing the destruction of the capital city within a few years: "With an overrunning flood will God make an utter end of the place thereof, he will make an utter end; its place may be sought, but it shall never be found." I presume we should look upon such a prophet as a madman, and shew no farther attention to his message than to deride and despise it: and yet such an event would not be more strange and incredible than the destruction and devastation of Nineveh. For Nineveh was much the larger, and much the stronger, and older city of the two; and the Assyrian empire had subsisted and flourished more ages than any form of government in this country: so that you cannot object the instability of the eastern monarchies in this case. Let us then, since this event would not be more improbable and extraordinary than the other, suppose again, that things should succeed according to the prediction, the floods should arise, and the enemy should come, the city should be overflown and broken down, be taken and pillaged, and destroyed so totally, that even the learned could not agree about the place where it was situated. What would be said or thought in such a case? Whoever of posterity should read and compare the prophecy and event together, must they not by such an illustrious instance be thoroughly convinced of the providence of God, and of the truth of his prophet, and be ready to acknowledge, "*Verily this is the word that the Lord hath spoken, Verily there is a God who judgeth the earth!*"

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[2] Tavernier in Harris. vol. 2. b. 2. c. 4.

[3] Salmon's Modern Hist. vol. 1. c. 12. Present State of the Turkish Empire. 4to.

X.—THE PROPHECIES CONCERNING BABYLON.

AFTER Nineveh was destroyed, Babylon became the queen of the east. They were both equally enemies to the people of God; the one subverted the kingdom of Israel, and the other the kingdom of Judah; the one carried away the ten tribes, and the other the two remaining tribes into captivity. No wonder therefore that there are several prophecies relating to each of these cities, and that the fate of Babylon is foretold as well as of Nineveh. As Jeremiah said, (l. 17, 18.) "Israel is a scattered sheep, the lions have driven him away; first the king of Assyria hath devoured him, and last this Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon hath broken his bones: Therefore thus saith the Lord of hosts the God of Israel, Behold, I will punish the king of Babylon and his land, as I have punished the king of Assyria."

Babylon was a very great and very ancient city as well as Nineveh. It is indeed generally reckoned less than Nineveh; for according to Strabo (who was cited in the last discourse) it was only 385 furlongs in compass, or 360 according to [1] Diodorus Siculus, or 368 according to Quintus Curtius: but [2] Herodotus, who was an older author than any of them, represents it of the same dimensions as Nineveh, that is 480 furlongs, or above 60 miles in compass; but the difference was, that Nineveh was constructed in the form of a parallelogram, and Babylon was an exact square, each side being 120 furlongs in length. So that according to this account Babylon contained more ground in it than Nineveh did; for by multiplying the sides the one by the other, it will be found, that Nineveh contained within its walls only 13,500 furlongs, and that Babylon contained 14,400. It was too as ancient, or more ancient than Nineveh; for in the words of Moses, speaking of Nimrod (Gen. x. 10.), it was "the beginning of his kingdom," that is, the first city, or the capital city in his dominions. Several heathen authors say that Semiramis, but most (as [3] Quintus Curtius asserts) that Belus built it: and Belus was very probably the same as Nimrod. But whoever was the first founder of this city, we may reasonably suppose that it received very great improvements afterwards, and Nebuchadnezzar particularly repaired and enlarged, and beautified it to such a degree, that he may in a manner be said to have built it; as he boasted himself (Dan. iv. 30.) "Is not this great Babylon that I have built for the house of the kingdom, by the might of my power, and for the honour of my majesty?" Nor is this asserted only in Scripture, but is likewise attested by heathen authors, Megasthenes, Berosus, and Abydenus, whose words are quoted by [4]Josephus and Eusebius. By one means or other Babylon became so great and famous a city as to give name to a very large empire: and it is called in Scripture (Dan. iv. 30.) "great Babylon;" (Is. xiii. 19.) "the glory of kingdoms, the beauty of the Chaldees' excellency;" (Is. xiv. 4.) "the golden city;" (Is. xlvii. 5.) "the lady of kingdoms;" (Jer. li. 13.) "abundant in treasures;" (Jer. li. 41.) "the praise of the whole earth:" and its beauty, strength, and grandeur; its walls, temples, palaces, and hanging gardens; the banks of the river, and the artificial canals and lake made for the draining of that river in the seasons of its overflowings, are described with such pomp and magnificence by heathen authors, that it might deservedly be reputed one of the wonders of the world. The fullest and best account of these things in English is to be found in the second book of that very valuable and very useful work Dr. Prideaux's Connection. Though Babylon was seated in a low watery plain, yet in Scripture (Jer. li. 25.) it is called a *mountain*, on account of the great height of its walls and towers, its palaces and temples: and [5]Berosus, speaking of some of its buildings, saith that they appeared most like mountains. Its *gates of brass* and its *broad walls* are particularly mentioned in Scripture (Is. xlv. 2. Jer. li. 58.): and the city [6]had an hundred gates, 25 on each side, all made of solid brass: and its walls according to [7]Herodotus were 350 feet in height, and 87 in thickness, and six chariots could go abreast upon them, as [8]Diodorus affirms after Ctesias.

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[1] Περιεβάλετο τεῖχος τῇ πόλει σταδίων τριακοσίων ἑξήκοντα. CCCLX *stadiorum muro urbem circumdedit.* Diod. Sic. l. 2. c. 7. 'Totius operis ambitus CCCLXVIII stadia complectitur.' Quint. Curt. l. 5. c. 1.

[2] Κέεται ἐν πεδίῳ μεγάλῳ, μέγαθος ἐοῦσα μέτωπον ἕκαστον, εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν σταδίων, ἐούσης τετραγώνου· οὗτοι στάδιοι τῆς περιόδου τῆς πόλιος γίνονται συνάπαντες ὀγδώκοντα καὶ τετράκοσιοι. *oppidum situm est in planitie ingenti, forma quadrata, magnitudine quoquo versus centenum vicenum stadiorum; in summa quadringentorum et octoginta, in circuitu quatuor laterum urbis.* Herod. l. 1. c. 178.

[3] 'Semiramis eam condiderat: vel, ut plerique credidere, Belus.' Quint. Curt. l. 5. c. 1.

Such a city as this, one would imagine, was in no danger of being totally abandoned, and coming to nought. Such a city as this might surely, with less vanity than any other, boast that she should continue for ever, if any thing human could continue for ever. So she vainly gloried, (Is. xlvii. 7, 8.) "I shall be a lady for ever; I am, and none else beside me; I shall not sit as a widow, neither shall I know the loss of children." But the prophets Isaiah and Jeremiah, plainly and particularly foretold the destruction of this city. They lived during the declension of the kingdom of Judah; and as they predicted the captivity of the Jews, so they likewise foretold the downfal of their enemies: and they speak with such assurance of the event, that they describe a thing future as if it were already past. (Is. xxi. 9.) "Babylon is fallen, is fallen; and all the graven images of her gods he hath broken unto the ground." (Jer. li. 8.) "Babylon is suddenly fallen and destroyed; howl for her, take balm for her pain, if so be she may be healed." It is somewhat remarkable, that one of Isaiah's prophecies concerning Babylon is entitled (xxi. 1.) "the burden of the desert of the sea," or rather *of the plain of the sea,* for Babylon was seated in a plain, and surrounded by water. The propriety of the expression consists in this, not only that any large collection of waters in the oriental style is called *a sea,* but also that the places about Babylon, as [9] Abydenus informs us out of Megasthenes, are said from the beginning to have been overwhelmed with waters, and to have been called *the sea.*

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[4] Joseph. Antiq. l. 10. c. 11. § 1. Euseb. Præpar. Evang. l. 9. c. 41.

[5] Τὴν ὄψιν ἀποδοὺς ὁμοιοτάτην τοῖς ὄρεσι—— *quibus speciem dedit montibus persimilem.* Joseph. Antiq. ibid.

[6] Herod. l. i. c. 179.

[7] Herod. ibid. c. 178. Prideaux ibid.

[8] Ὥστε τὸ μὲν πλάτος εἶναι τῶν τειχῶν ἓξ ἅρμασιν ἱππάσιμον. *ut mœnium latitudo sex juxta curribus vehendis sufficeret.* Diod. Sic. l. 2. c. 7.

Cyrus, who was the conqueror of Babylon, and transferred the empire from the Babylonians to the Medes and Persians, was particularly foretold by name (Is. xliv. 28. xlv. 1.) above a hundred years before he was born. He is honoured with the appellation of "the Lord's anointed," and the Lord is said to "have holden his right hand," and to have "girded him" (Is. xlv. 1. 5.): and he was raised up to be an instrument of providence for great purposes, and was certainly a person of very extraordinary endowments, though we should allow that Xenophon had a little exceeded the truth, and had drawn his portrait beyond the reality. It was promised that he should be a great conqueror, should "subdue nations before him," (Is. xlv. 1.) "and I will loose the loins of kings to open before him the two-leaved gates, and the gates shall not be shut:" and he subdued several kings, and took several cities, particularly Sardes and Babylon, and extended his [1] conquests over all Asia from the river Indus to the Ægean sea. It was promised that he should find great spoil and treasure among the conquered nations; (Is. xlv. 3.) "I will give thee the treasures of darkness, and hidden riches of secret places:" and the riches which Cyrus found in his conquests amounted to a prodigious value in [2] Pliny's account; nor can we wonder at it, for those parts of Asia at that time abounded in wealth and luxury: Babylon had been heaping up treasures for many years; and the riches of Crœsus king of Lydia, whom Cyrus conquered and took prisoner, are in a manner become proverbial.

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[9] Λέγεται δὲ πάντα μὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὕδωρ εἶναι, θάλασσαν καλεομένην. *Ferunt, inquit, loca hæc omnia jam inde ab initio aquis obruta fuisse, marisque nomine appellata.* Euseb. Præp. Evang. l. 9. c. 41.

[1] — 'omnem Asiam ab India usque ad Ægeum mare.' Marshami Chron. Sæc. xviii. p. 587.

[2] Plin. l. 33. c. 15.

The time too of the reduction of Babylon was marked out by the prophet Jeremiah, (xxv. 11, 12.) "These nations (that is, the Jews and the neighbouring nations) shall serve the king of Babylon seventy years: And it shall come to pass when seventy years are accomplished, that I will punish the king of Babylon, and that nation, saith the Lord." This prophecy was delivered, as it appears from the first verse of the chapter, "in the fourth year of Jehoiakim the son of Josiah king of Judah, that was the first year of Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon;" and from that time there were [3] seventy years to the taking of Babylon and the restoration of the Jews. Nebuchadnezzar had transplanted the Jews to Babylon to people and strengthen the place, and their removal from thence must have weakened it very much; and after that it was distressed more and more, till at last it was brought to nought.

Several circumstances likewise of the siege and taking of Babylon were presignified by the prophets. It was foretold, that God would stir up the Medes and Persians against it, (Isa. xxi. 2.) "Go up, O Elam (that is, Persia), besiege, O Media;" and (Jer. li. 11.) "the Lord hath raised up the spirit of the kings of the Medes, for his device is against Babylon to destroy it:" and accordingly it was besieged by the united forces of the Medes and Persians under the command of Cyrus the Persian, the nephew and son-in-law of the king of the Medes. The Medes are chiefly spoken of, as they were at that time the superior people. The *Medes* is too a general name for both nations, and so it is used and applied by several Greek historians as well as by the sacred writers. *Elam*[4] was an old name for *Persia*, for the name of *Persia* doth not appear to have been known in Isaiah's time; Ezekiel is the first who mentions it. And Bochart[5] asserts, that the *Persians* were first so named from their becoming *horsemen* in the time of Cyrus, the same word signifying both a Persian and a horseman. Or if by *Elam* we understand the province strictly so called, it is no less true that this also, though subject to Babylon, rose up against it, and upon the following occasion. Abradates[6] was viceroy or governor of Susa or Shushan, and Shushan was the capital of the province of Elam (Dan. viii. 2.). His wife Panthea, a lady of exquisite beauty, happened to be taken prisoner by the Persians. Cyrus treated her with such generosity, and preserved her with such strict honour, safe and inviolate for her husband, as won the heart of the prince, so that he and his forces revolted to Cyrus, and fought in his army against the Babylonians.

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[3] See Prideaux and other chronologers.

[4] '*Elam* est Persis, et cum Media sæpius conjungitur.—Persarum nomen, ante captivitatem Babylonicam, obscurum fuit. Ezechiel primus, inter bellicosas gentes, illos recenset, (27 : 10 & 38 : 5.) quum nondum innotuerant res Cyri. A Cyro demum natione Persâ, et victoriis inclyto, Persarum gloria increbuit.' Marshami Chron. Sæc. xviii. p. 564.

[5] 'At Persis ipsis nomen fuit ab equitatu, qua maxime valebant, equitare a teneris edocti.—Qua tamen disciplina primus illos imbuit Cyrus.—Itaque ex tam repentina mutatione factum, ut hæc regio פרס *Paras*, et incolæ פרסאי *Persæ* dicerentur, id est, equites. Arabice enim פרס *Pharas* est equus, et פארס *Pharis* eques (ut Hebraice פרש *Paras*) Porro vox eadem *Pharis* etiam Persam significat. Inde est, quod neque Moses, nec libri Regum, nec Esaias aut Jeremias, Persarum meminerunt, neque quisquam eorum, qui vixerunt ante Cyrum. At in Daniele et Ezechiele, Cyro coævis, et in libris Paralipomenon, et Esdræ, et Nehemiæ, et Esther, &c. qui post Cyrum scripti sunt, Persarum est frequens mentio. Antea verisimile est Hebræa nomina כות *Chut* et עילם *Elam* magnam Persidis partem inclusisse.' Bocharti Phaleg. l. 4. c. 10. col. 224.

It was foretold, that various nations should unite against Babylon (Isa. xiii. 4.); "The noise of a multitude in the mountains, like as of a great people; a tumultuous noise of the kingdoms of nations gathered together; the Lord of hosts mustereth the host of the battle:" and particularly it was foretold, that the kingdoms of Ararat, Minni, and Ashchenaz, that is the Armenians,[7] Phrygians, and other nations should compose part of his army (Jer. li. 27.); "Set ye up a standard in the land, blow the trumpet among the nations, prepare the nations against her, call together against her the kingdoms of Ararat, Minni, and Ashchenaz:" and accordingly Cyrus's army consisted of various nations; and among them were these very people,[8] whom he had conquered before, and now obliged to attend him in this expedition.

It was foretold, that the Babylonians should be terrified, and hide themselves within their walls (Jer. li. 30.); "The mighty men of Babylon have forborne to fight, they have remained in their holds, their might hath failed, they became as women:" and accordingly the Babylonians, after the loss of a battle or two, never recovered their courage to face the enemy in the field again; they retired within their walls, and the [9] first time that Cyrus came with his army before the place, he could not provoke them to venture forth and try the fortune of arms, even though he sent a challenge to the king to fight a duel with him; and the [1] last time that he came, he consulted with his officers about the best method of carrying on the siege, "since saith he, they do not come forth and fight."

It was foretold, that the river should be dried up, before the city should be taken; which was very unlikely ever to happen,[2] the river being more than two furlongs broad, and deeper than two men standing one upon another, so that the city was thought to be stronger and better fortified by the river than by the walls; but yet the prophets predicted that the waters should be dried up (Isa. xliv. 27.); "That saith to the deep, Be dry, and I will dry up thy rivers;" (Jer. l. 38.) "A drought is upon her waters, and they shall be dried up;" (Jer. li. 36.) "I will dry up her sea, and make her springs dry:" and accordingly Cyrus[3] turned the course of the river Euphrates which ran through the midst of Babylon, and by means of deep trenches and the canals and lake before mentioned, so drained the waters that the river became easily fordable for his soldiers to enter the city; and by these means Babylon was taken, which was otherwise impregnable, and was supplied with provisions for very many years, saith Herodotus,[4] for more than twenty years, saith Xenophon; or as Herodotus[5] saith, if the Babylonians had but known what the Persians were doing, by shutting the gates which opened to the river, and by standing upon the walls which were built as banks, they might have taken and destroyed the Persians as in a net or cage.

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[6] Xenoph. Cyropæd. l. 4—7.

[7] Vide Bocharti Phaleg. l. i. c. 3. col. 16. et col. 20. l. 3. c. 9. col. 174.

[8] Xenoph. Cyropæd. l 5. c. 3. § 38. et l. 7. c. 5. § 14.

[9] Xenoph. Cyropæd. l. 5. c. 3. § 5

[1] Ib. l. 7. c. 5. § 7. ἐπείπερ οὐ μάχονται ἐξιόντες. *quia ad pugnandum non exeunt.*

[2] Xenoph. Cyropæd. l. 7. c. 5. § 8.——ϖλάτος ἔχων πλεῖον ἢ ἐπὶ δύο στάδια· καὶ βάθος γε ὡς οὐδ' ἂν δύο ἄνδρες ὁ ἕτερος ἐπὶ τοῦ ἑτέρου ἑστηκὼς τοῦ ὕδατος ὑπερέχοιεν· ὥστε τῷ ποταμῷ ἔτι ἰσχυροτέρα ἐστὶν ἡ ϖόλις ἢ τοῖς τείχεσι. *[fluminis] latitudo est plus quam ad duo stadia: et profunditas tanta ut ne duo quidem viri alter super alterum stantes supra aquam emineant. Itaque urbs validior est flumine quam muris.*

It was foretold, that the city should be taken by surprise during the time of a feast (Jer. l. 24.); "I have laid a snare for thee, and thou art also taken, O Babylon, and thou wast not aware, thou art found and also caught;" (li. 39.) "In their heat I will make their feasts, and I will make them drunken, that they may rejoice, and sleep a perpetual sleep, and not wake, saith the Lord" (li. 57.). "And I will make drunk her princes, and her wise men, her captains, and her rulers, and her mighty men, and they shall sleep a perpetual sleep, and not wake, saith the king, whose name is the Lord of hosts:" and accordingly the city[6] was taken in the night of a great annual festival, while the inhabitants were dancing, drinking, and revelling; and as Aristotle[7] reports, it had been taken three days, before some part of the city perceived it; but Herodotus's[8] account is more modest and probable, that the extreme parts of the city were in the hands of the enemy before they who dwelt in the middle of it knew any thing of their danger. These were extraordinary occurrences in the taking of this city: and how could any man foresee and foretel such singular events, such remarkable circumstances, without revelation and inspiration of God?

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[3] Herod. l. 1. c. 191. Xenophon. Cyropæd. l. 7. c. 5. § 15.

[4] Herod. l. 1. c. 190. *ϖροεσάξαντο σιτία ἐτέων κάρτα πολλῶν. comportaverant per multorum annorum commeatus.* Xenoph. Cyropæd. l. 7. c. 5. § 13. *ἔχοντες τὰ ἐπιτήδεια πλέον ἢ εἴκοσιν ἐτῶν. ut qui res necessarias haberent plus quam viginti annorum.*

[5] Herod. l. 1. c. 191. *εἰ μέν νυν προεπύθοντο, ἢ ἔμαθον οἱ Βαϐυλώνιοι τὸ ἐκ τοῦ Κύρου ποιεύμενον, οὐκ ἂν, περιϊδόντες τοὺς Πέρσας ἐσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, διέφθειραν κάκιστα. κατακληΐσαντες γὰρ ἂν πάσας τὰς ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν πυλίδας ἐχούσας, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐπὶ τὰς αἱμασίας ἀναϐάντες τὰς παρὰ τὰ χείλεα τοῦ ϖοταμοῦ ἐληλαμένας, ἔλαϐον ἄν σφεας ὡς ἐν κύρτῃ. Quos Babylonii, si factum Cyri prius aut audissent aut sensissent, ingredi non permisissent, sed pessimo exitio affecissent. Nam obseratis omnibus quæ ad flumen ferunt portulis, conscensisque septis, ipsi pro ripis stantes illos progressos veluti in cavea excepissent.*

[6] Herod. l. 1. c. 191. Xenoph. Cyropæd. l. 7. c. 5. § 15.

[7] Arist. Polit. l. 3. c. 3. *ἧς γέ φασιν ἑαλωκυίας τρίτην ἡμέραν, οὐκ αἰσθέσθαι τι μέρος τῆς πόλεως. qua tertium jam diem capta, partem quandam urbis non sensisse dicunt.*

[8] Herod. l. 1. c. 191. *ὑπὸ δὲ μεγάθεος τῆς πόλιος, ὡς λέγεται ὑπὸ τῶν ταύτῃ οἰκημένων, τῶν περὶ τὰ ἔσχατα τῆς πόλιος ἑαλωκότων, τοὺς τὸ μέσον οἰκέοντας τῶν Βαϐυλωνίων, οὐ μανθάνειν ἑαλωκότας. tantaque urbis erat magnitudo, ut (quemadmodum narrant accolæ), quum capti essent qui extremas urbis partes incolebant, ii qui mediam urbem incolerent id nescirent.*

But these events you may possibly think too remote in time to be urged in the present argument: and yet the prophecies were delivered by Isaiah and Jeremiah, and the facts are related by no less historians than Herodotus and Xenophon; and Isaiah lived above 250 years before Herodotus, and near 350 before Xenophon, and Jeremiah lived above 150 years before the one and near 250 before the other. Cyrus took Babylon, according to Prideaux, in the year 539 before Christ. Isaiah prophesied "in the days of Uzziah, Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah, kings of Judah" (Isa. i. 1.), which was at least 160 years before the taking of Babylon, for Hezekiah died in the year 699 before Christ. Jeremiah sent his prophecies concerning Babylon to Babylon by the hands of Seraiah, "in the fourth year of the reign of Zedekiah" (Jer. li. 59.), which was 56 years before the taking of Babylon, for the fourth year of Zedekiah coincides with the year 595 before Christ. There is therefore no room for scepticism: but if you are still disposed to doubt and hesitate, what then think you of the present condition of the place? Could the prophets, unless they were prophets indeed, have foreseen and foretold what that would be so many ages afterwards? And yet they have expressly foretold that it should be reduced to desolation. Isaiah is very strong and poetical (xiii. 19, &c.): "Babylon, the glory of kingdoms, the beauty of the Chaldees' excellency, shall be as when God overthrew Sodom and Gomorrah: It shall never be inhabited, neither shall it be dwelt in from generation to generation; neither shall the Arabian pitch tent there, neither shall the shepherds make their fold there: but wild beasts of the desert shall lie there, and their houses shall be full of doleful creatures, and owls shall dwell there, and satyrs shall dance there; and the wild beasts of the island shall cry in their desolate houses, and dragons in their pleasant palaces: and her time is near to come, and her days shall not be prolonged." Again (xiv. 22, 23.), "I will rise up against them, saith the Lord of hosts, and cut off from Babylon the name, and remnant, and son and nephew (or rather, *son and grandson*) saith the Lord: I will also make it a possession for the bittern, and pools of water; and I will sweep it with the besom of destruction, saith the Lord of hosts." Jeremiah speaketh much in the same strain (l. 13. 23. 39, 40.). "Because of the wrath of the Lord, it shall not be inhabited, but it shall be wholly desolate; every one that goeth by Babylon shall be astonished, and hiss at all her plagues: how is the hammer of the whole earth cut asunder and broken? how is Babylon become a desolation among the nations? Therefore the wild beasts of the desert, with the wild beasts of the islands shall dwell there, and the owls shall dwell therein; and it shall be no more inhabited for ever; neither shall it be dwelt in from generation to generation: as God overthrew Sodom and Gomorrah, and the neighbour cities thereof, saith the Lord; so no man shall abide there, neither shall any son of man dwell therein." Again (li. 13. 26. 29. 37. 42, 43.), "O thou that dwellest upon many waters, abundant in treasures; thine end is come, and the measure of thy covetousness: and they shall not take of thee a stone for a corner, nor a stone for foundations; but thou shalt be desolate for ever, saith the Lord: and the land shall tremble and sorrow, for every purpose of the Lord shall be performed against Babylon, to make the land of Babylon a desolation without an inhabitant: and Babylon shall become heaps, a dwelling place for dragons, an astonishment and an hissing without an inhabitant: the sea is come up upon Babylon; she is covered with the multitude of the waves thereof: her cities are a desolation, a dry land and a wilderness, a land wherein no man dwelleth, neither doth any son of man pass thereby." We shall see how these and other prophecies have by degrees been accomplished, for in the nature of the things they could not be fulfilled all at once. But as the prophets often speak of things future, as if they were already effected; so they speak often of things to be brought about in process of time, as if they were to succeed immediately; past, present, and to come, being all alike known to an infinite mind, and the intermediate time not revealed perhaps to the minds of the prophets.

Isaiah addresseth Babylon by the name of a *virgin*, as having never before been taken by any enemy: (Is. xlvii. 1.) "Come down and sit in the dust, O virgin daughter of Babylon, sit on the ground:" and [9] Herodotus saith expressly, that this was the first time that Babylon was taken. After this it never more recovered its ancient splendour; from an imperial, it became a tributary city; from being governed by its own kings, and governing strangers, it became itself to be governed by strangers; and the seat of empire being transferred to Shushan, it decayed by degrees, till it was reduced at last to utter desolation. Berosus in Josephus [1] saith, that when Cyrus had taken Babylon, he ordered the outer walls to be pulled down, because the city appeared to him very factious and difficult to be taken. And [2] Xenophon informs us, that Cyrus obliged the Babylonians to deliver up all their arms upon pain of death, distributed their best houses among his officers, imposed a tribute upon them, appointed a strong garrison, and compelled the Babylonians to defray the charge, being desirous to keep them poor as the best means of keeping them obedient.

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[9] Καὶ Βαϐυλὼν μὲν οὕτω πρῶτον ἀραίρητο. *Atque ita primo capta est Babylon.* Herod. l. c. 191.

[1] Κῦρος δὲ Βαβυλῶνα καταλαϐόμενος, καὶ συντάξας τὰ ἔξω τῆς πόλεως τείχη κατασκάψαι, διὰ τὸ λίαν αὐτῷ πραγματικὴν καὶ δυσάλωτον φανῆναι τὴν πόλιν——*Cyrus autem, Babylone capta, constitutoque exteriora ejus munimenta diruere, quod civitatem videret ad res novas mobilem, urbem vero expugnatu difficilem*—Contra Apion. l. 1. § 22.

But notwithstanding these precautions, [3] they rebelled against Darius, and in order to hold out to the last extremity, they took all their women, and each man choosing one of them, out of those of his own family, whom he liked best, they strangled the rest, that unnecessary mouths might not consume their provisions. 'And hereby,' saith [4] Dr. Prideaux, 'was very signally fulfilled the prophecy of Isaiah against them, in which he foretold (chap. xlvii. 9.) "That two things should come to them in a moment, in one day, the loss of children and widowhood, and that these shall come upon them in their perfection, for the multitude of their forces, and the great abundance of their enchantments." And in what greater perfection could these calamities come upon them, than when they themselves thus upon themselves became the executioners of them?' Or rather, this prophecy was then fulfilled a second time, having been fulfilled before, the very night that Babylon was taken, when the Persians slew the king himself and a great number of the Babylonians. They sustained the siege and all the efforts of Darius for twenty months, and at length the city was taken by stratagem. As soon as Darius had made himself master of the place, he ordered three thousand of the principal men to be crucified, and thereby fulfilled the prophecies of the cruelty which the Medes and Persians should use towards the Babylonians (Is. xiii. 17, 18. Jer. l. 42.); and he likewise demolished the wall, and took away the gates, neither of which, saith [5] Herodotus, had Cyrus done before. But either Herodotus, or Berosus must have been mistaken; or we must suppose that Cyrus's orders were never carried into execution; or we must understand Herodotus to speak of the inner wall, as Berosus spoke of the outer: and yet it doth not seem very credible, when the walls were of that prodigious height and thickness, that there should be an inner and an outer wall too; and much less that there should be three inner and three outer walls, as Berosus affirms.[6] Herodotus computes the height of the wall to be 200 cubits;[7] but later authors reckon it much lower, [8]Quintus Curtius at 100, [9]Strabo, who is a more exact writer, at 50 cubits. Herodotus describes it as it was originally; and we may conclude therefore that Darius reduced it from 200 to 50 cubits; and by thus taking down the wall and destroying the gates he remarkably fulfilled the prophecy of Jeremiah, (li. 58.) "Thus saith the Lord of hosts, The broad walls of Babylon shall be utterly broken, and her high gates shall be burnt with fire."

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[2] Xenoph. Cyropæd. l. 7. c. 5. § 34, 36, et 69.

[3] Herod. l. 3. c. 150, &c.

[4] Prid. Connect. Part. 1. b. 3. Anno 517. Darius 5.

[5] —— τὸ τεῖχος περιεῖλε, καὶ τὰς πύλας πάσας ἀπέσπασε· τὸ γὰρ πρότερον ἑλὼν Κῦρος τὴν Βαϐυλῶνα, ἐποίησε τουτέων οὐδέτερον. *muros circumcidit, et portas omnes amolitus est: quorum neutrum Cyrus fecerat prius eidem a se captæ.* Herod. l. 3. c. 159.

[6] —— ὑπερεβάλετο τρεῖς μὲν τῆς ἔνδον πόλεως περιϐόλους, τρεῖς δὲ τῆς ἔξω τούτων. *ternos quidem interiori urbi ternosque pariter*

Xerxes,[1] after his return from his unfortunate expedition into Greece, partly out of religious zeal, being a professed enemy to image worship, and partly to reimburse himself after his immense expenses, seized the sacred treasures, and plundered or destroyed the temples and idols of Babylon, thereby accomplishing the prophecies of Isaiah and Jeremiah; (Isa. xxi. 9.) "Babylon is fallen, is fallen; and all the graven images of her gods he hath broken unto the ground:" (Isa. xlvi. 1.) "Bel boweth down, Nebo stoopeth, their idols were upon the beasts, and upon the cattle, &c." (Jer. l. 2) "Babylon is taken, Bel is confounded, Merodach is broken in pieces, her idols are confounded, her images are broken in pieces:" (Jer. li. 44. 47. 52.) "And I will punish Bel in Babylon, and I will bring forth out of his mouth that which he hath swallowed up: Therefore behold the days come, that I will do judgment upon the graven images of Babylon;" and again, "Wherefore behold the days come, saith the Lord, that I will do judgment upon her graven images." What God declares, "I will punish Bel in Babylon, and I will bring forth that which he hath swallowed," was also literally fulfilled, when the vessels of the house of God, which Nebuchadnezzar had brought from Jerusalem, and placed in the temple of Bel (Dan. i. 2.), were restored by order of Cyrus (Ezra i. 7.), and carried to Jerusalem again.

Such was the state of Babylon under the Persians. When Alexander came thither, though [2] Quintus Curtius says that the whole circuit of the city was 368 furlongs, yet he affirms that only for the space of 90 furlongs it was inhabited. The river Euphrates having been turned out of its course by Cyrus, and never afterwards restored to its former channel, all that

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exteriori murorum ambitus circumdedit. Apud Joseph. contra Apion. l. 1. § 19.

[7] Ὕψος διηκοσίων πηχέων. *cubitorum ducentorum celsitudine.* Herod. l. 1. c. 178.

[8] 'Altitudo muri c cubitorum eminet spatio.' Quint. Curt. l. 5. c. 1.

[9] Ὕψος δὲ τῶν μὲν μεσοπυργίων πήχεις πεντήκοντα. *Altitudine inter turres cubitorum L.* Strabo, l. 16. p. 1072.

[1] Herod. l. 1. c. 183. Arrian de Exped. Alex. l. 7. c. 17. Usher's Annals, A. M. 3526. p. 129. Prideaux Connect. Part 1. b. 4. Anno 479. Xerxes 7.

[2] Quintus Curtius, l. 5. c. 1. 'Ac ne totam quidem urbem tectis occupaverunt; per xc stadia habitatur; nec omnia continua sunt.'

side of the country was flooded by it. Alexander,[3] indeed, purposed to have made Babylon the seat of his empire, and actually set men at work to rebuild the temple of Belus, and to repair the banks of the river, and to bring back the waters again into their old channel: and if his designs had taken effect, how could the prophecies have been fulfilled? and what providence therefore was it, that his designs did not take effect, and that the breaches were never repaired? He met with some difficulties in the work, and death soon after put an end to this and all his other projects; and none of his successors ever attempted it: and [4] Seleucia being built a few years afterwards in the neighbourhood, Babylon in a little time became "wholly desolate." Seleucia not only robbed it of its inhabitants, but even of its name, being called also [5] Babylon by several others. We learn farther from a fragment of Diodorus Siculus, which is produced by Valesius, and quoted from him[6] by Vitringa, that a king of Parthia, or one of his peers, surpassing all the famous tyrants in cruelty, omitted no sort of punishment, but sent many of the Babylonians and for trifling causes into slavery, and burnt the forum and some of the temples of Babylon, and demolished the best parts of the city. This happened about 130 years before Christ: and now let us see what account is given of Babylon by authors after that time.

Diodorus Siculus [7] describes the buildings as ruined or decayed in his time, and asserts that now only a small part of the city is inhabited, the greatest part within the walls is tilled. Strabo[8] who wrote not long after Diodorus, saith that part of the city the Persians demolished, and part time and the neglect of the Macedonians, and especially after Seleucus Nicator had built Seleucia on the Tigris in the neighbourhood of Babylon, and he and his successors removed their court thither: and now (saith he) Seleucia is greater than Babylon, and Babylon is much deserted, so that one may apply to this what the comic poet said of Megalopolis in Arcadia, *The great city is now become a great desert.* Pliny [9] in like manner affirms, that it was reduced to solitude, being exhausted by the neighbourhood of Seleucia, built for that purpose by Seleucus Nicator. As Strabo compared Babylon to Megalopolis, [1] so Pausanias who flourished about the middle of the second century after Christ, compares Megalopolis to Babylon, and says in his Arcadics, that of Babylon, the greatest city that the sun ever saw, there is nothing now remaining but the walls. Maximus Tyrius [2] mentions it as lying neglected and forsaken; and Lucian [3] intimates, that in a little time it would be sought for and not be found, like Nineveh. Constantine the Great, in an oration preserved by Eusebius, saith that he himself was upon the spot, and an eye-witness of the desolate and miserable condition of the city. In Jerome's time (who lived in the fourth century after Christ) it was converted into a chase to keep wild beasts within the compass of its walls for the hunting of the latter kings of Persia.[4] We have learned, saith he, from a certain Elamite brother, who coming out of those parts, now liveth as a monk at Jerusalem, that the royal huntings are in Babylon, and wild beasts of every kind are confined within the circuit of its walls. And a little afterwards he saith,[5] that excepting the brick walls, which after many years are repaired for the inclosing of wild beasts, all the space within is desolation. These walls might probably be demolished by the Saracens who subverted this empire of the Persians, or they might be ruined or de-

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[3] Arian. de Exped. Alex. l. 7. c. 17. et c. 21. Hecatæus apud Joseph. contra Apion. l. 1. § 22. p. 1348. Strabo, l. 16. p. 1073.

[4] Strabo, ibid. Plinii Nat. Hist. l. 6. c. 30.

[5] Plin. ibid. 'quæ tamen Babylonia cognominatur.' See Prideaux Connect. Part 1. b. 8. Anno 293. Ptolemy Soter. 12.

[6] Vitring. Comment. in Iesaiam, c. 13. p. 421. vol. 1. 'Εὐήμερος ὁ τῶν Παρθῶν βασιλεὺς κ. τ. λ. *Evemerus, Parthorum rex* (docuit Valesius clarissime quod eruditi viri lubenter admiserunt, legendum esse *Himerum*, Parthorum regis satrapam, ex circumstantiis temporis historiæ, et collatis locis Justini ac Athenæi) *patria Hyrcanus, cunctos tyrannos acerbitate vincens, nullum sævitiæ genus prætermisit. Plurimos enim Babylonios levibus de caussis servituti addictos, cum omni familia in Mediam distrahendos misit. Forum quoque et nonnulla delubra Babylonis igni tradidit, ac pulcherrima quæque urbis loca evertit.* Accidit casus stante regno Seleucidarum, annis admodum cxxx ante Æ. V. nati Domini.'

[7] Τῶν δὲ βασιλείων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων κατασκευασμάτων ὁ χρόνος τὰ μὲν ὁλοσχερῶς ἠφάνισε, τὰ δ' ἐλυμήνατο. καὶ γὰρ αὐτῆς τῆς Βαϐυλῶνος νῦν βραχύ τι μέρος οἰκεῖται, τὸ δὲ ϖλεῖστον ἐντὸς τεῖχος γεωργεῖται. *Regiasque et alias structuras partim tempus omnino abolevit, partim corrupit. Nam et ipsius Babylonis exigua quædam portio nunc habitatur, maximaque intra muros pars agrorum cultui est exposita.* Diod. Sic. l. 2. c. 9.

[8] ——— καὶ κατήριψαν τῆς ϖόλεως, τὰ μὲν οἱ Πέρσαι, τὰ δ' ὁ χρόνος καὶ ἡ τῶν Μακεδόνων ὀλιγωρία ϖερὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα· καί μάλιστα ἐπειδὴ τὴν Σελεύκειαν ἐπὶ τῷ Τίγρητι ϖλησίον τῆς Βαϐυλῶνος ἐν τριακοσίοις ϖου σταδίοις ἐτείχισε Σέλευκος ὁ Νικάτωρ. Καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνος καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτὸν ἅπαντες ϖερὶ ταύτην ἐσπούδασαν τὴν ϖόλιν, καὶ τὸ βασίλειον ἐνταῦθα μετήνεγκαν· καὶ δὴ καὶ νῦν ἡ μὲν γέγονε Βαϐυλῶνος μείζων· ἡ δ' ἔρημος ἡ ϖολλή· ὥς' ἐπ' αὐτῆς μὴ ἂν ὀκνῆσαί τινα εἰπεῖν ὅπερ ἔφη τις τῶν κωμικῶν ἐπι τῶν Μεγαλοπολιτῶν τῶν ἐν Ἀρκαδία,

Ἐρημία μεγάλη ἐστὶν ἡ Μεγάλη ϖόλις.

— *et urbis partem Persæ diruerunt, partem tempus consumpsit et Macedonum negligentia: præsertim postquam Seleucus Nicator Seleuciam ad Tigrim condidit stadiis tantum* ccc *a Babylone dissitam. Nam et ille et posteri omnes huic urbi maximoperè studuerunt, et regiam eo transtulerunt; et nunc Babylone hæc major est, illa magna ex parte deserta; ut intrepide de ea usurpari possit, quod de Megalopoli Arcadiæ magna urbe quidam dixit Comicus,*

Est magna solitudo nunc Megalopolis.

Strabo, l. 16. p. 1073.

[9] 'Cetero ad solitudinem rediit exhausta vicinitate Seleuciæ, ob id conditæ a Nicatore.' Plin. Nat. Hist. l. 6. c. 30.

[1] Βαϐυλῶνος δὲ ταύτης, ἥν τινα εἶδε ϖόλεων τῶν τότε μεγίστην ἥλιος, οὐδὲν ἔτι ἦν εἰ μὴ τεῖχος, *Babylon omnium, quas unquam sol aspexit, urbium maxima, jam nihil præter muros reliqui habet.* Pausan. l. 8. c. 33.

[2] Βαϐυλῶνος κειμένης. Max. Tyr. Dissert. 6. prope finem.

[3] Οὐ μετὰ ϖολὺ καὶ αὐτὴ ζητηθησομένη, ὥσπερ ἡ Νῖνος. *haud ita multo post desideranda et ipsa, quemadmodum nunc Ninus* Lucian. Ἐπισκ. sive Contemplantes prope fin.

[4] 'Didicimus a quodam fratre Elamita, qui de illis finibus egrediens, nunc Hierosolymis vitam exigit monachorum, venationes regias esse in Babylone; et omnis generis bestias murorum ejus tamen ambitu coerceri.' Hieronym. Comment. in Isai. c. 13.

[5] ——'exceptis enim muris coctilibus qui propter bestias concludendas post annos plurimos instaurantur, omne in medio spatium solitudo est.' Id. in c. 14.

stroyed by time: but of this we read nothing, neither have we any account of Babylon for several hundred years afterwards, there having been such a dearth of authors during those times of ignorance.

Of later authors the first who mentions any thing concerning Babylon is Benjamin of Tudela, a Jew who lived in the twelfth century. In his Itinerary, which was written almost 700 years ago, he asserts, [6] that ancient Babylon is now laid waste, but some ruins are still to be seen of Nebuchadnezzar's palace, and men fear to enter there on account of the serpents and scorpions which are in the midst of it. Texeira, a Portuguese, in the description of his travels from India to Italy, affirms [7] that of this great and famous city there is nothing but only a few vestiges remaining, nor in the whole region is any place less frequented.

A German traveller, whose name was Rauwolf, passed that way in the year of our Lord 1574, [8] and his account of the ruins of this famous city is as follows: 'The village of Elugo now lieth on the place where formerly old Babylon, the metropolis of Chaldæa, was situated. The harbour is a quarter of a league's distance from it, where people go ashore in order to proceed by land to the celebrated city of Bagdat, which is a day and a half's journey from thence eastward on the Tigris. This country is so dry and barren, that it cannot be tilled, and so bare that I could never have believed that this powerful city, once the most stately and renowned in all the world, and situated in the pleasant and fruitful country of Shinar, could have ever stood there, if I had not known it by its situation, and many antiquities of great beauty, which are still standing here about in great desolation. First by the old bridge which was laid over the Euphrates, whereof there are some pieces and arches still remaining built of burnt brick, and so strong that it is admirable.—Just before the village of Elugo is the hill whereon the castle stood, and the ruins of its fortifications are still visible, though demolished and uninhabited. Behind it, and pretty near to it, did stand the tower of Babylon.——It is still to be seen, and is half a league in diameter; but so ruinous, so low, and so full of venomous creatures, which lodge in holes made by them in the rubbish, that no one durst approach nearer to it than within half a league, except during two months in the winter, when these animals never stir out of their holes. There is one sort particularly, which the inhabitants in the language of the country, which is Persian, call *Eglo*, the poison whereof is very searching: they are larger than our lizards.'

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[6] Benjamin. Itin. p. 76.—'eoque homines ingredi verentur, propter serpentes et scorpiones, qui sunt in medio ejus.' Bocharti Phaleg. l. 4. c. 15. col. 234. Vitringa in Iesaiam, c. 13. p. 421. vol. 1. Prideaux Connect. part 1. b. 8. Anno 293. Ptolemy Soter, 12. Calmet's Dict. in Babylon.

[7] Cap. 5. 'Hujus nihil nisi pauca supersunt vestigia: nec in tota regione locus ullus est minus frequens.' Bochart. ibid. et Prideaux.

[8] Calmet's Dict. in Babylon, and Prideaux as before, and Ray's edition of these travels in English, part 2. c. 7.

A noble Roman, Petrus Vallensis (Della Valle), was at Bagdat in the year 1616, and went to see the ruins, as they are thought of ancient Babylon; and he informs us [9] that 'in the middle of a vast and level plain, about a quarter of a league from Euphrates, which in that place runs westward, appears a heap of ruined buildings, like a huge mountain, the materials of which are so confounded together, that one knows not what to make of it.——Its situation and form correspond with that pyramid which Strabo calls the tower of Belus; and is in all likelihood the tower of Nimrod in Babylon, or Babel, as that place is still called.—There appear no marks of ruins, without the compass of that huge mass, to convince one so great a city as Babylon had ever stood there: all one discovers within fifty or sixty paces of it, being only the remains here and there of some foundations of buildings; and the country round about it so flat and level, that one can hardly believe it should be chosen for the situation of so great and noble a city as Babylon, or that there were ever any remarkable buildings on it: but for my part I am astonished there appears so much as there does, considering it as at least four thousand years since that city was built, and that Diodorus Siculus tells us, it was reduced almost to nothing in his time.'

Tavernier, who is a very celebrated traveller, relates, [1] that 'at the parting of the Tigris, which is but a little way from Bagdat, there is the foundation of a city, which may seem to have been a large league in compass. There are some of the walls yet standing, upon which six coaches may go abreast: They are made of burnt brick, ten foot square, and three thick. The chronicles of the country say here stood the ancient Babylon.' Tavernier, no doubt, saw the same ruins, as Benjamin the Jew, and Rauwolf, and Peter della Valle did; but he thought them not to be the ruins of Nebuchadnezzar's palace or of the tower of Babel. He adopts the opinion of the Arabs, and conceives them to be rather the remains of some tower built by one of their princes for a beacon to assemble his subjects in time of war: and this in all probability was the truth of the matter.

Mr. Salmon's [2] observation is just and pertinent: 'What is as strange as any thing that is related of Babylon is, that we cannot learn either by ancient writers or modern travellers, where this famous city stood, only in general, that it was situated in the province of Chaldæa, upon the river Euphrates considerably above the place where it is united with the Tigris. Travellers have guessed from the great ruins they have discovered in several parts of this country, that in this or that place Babylon once stood: but when we come to examine nicely the places they mention, we only learn that they are certainly in the wrong, and have mistaken the ruins of Seleucia, or some other great town.'

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[9] Vid. Viaggi di Pietro della Valle, part 2. Epist. 17. Clerici Comment. in Esaiam, c. 13. v. 20. Vitring. Comment. ibid. p. 421. vol. 1. Universal History, b. 1. c. 2. § 4. Note N.

[1] Tavernier in Harris, vol. 2. b. 2. c. 5.

[2] Salmon's Modern. Hist. vol. 1. Present State of the Turkish Empire, c. 11.

Mr. Hanway[3] going to give an account of the siege of Bagdat by Nadir Shah, prefaceth it in this manner. 'Before we enter upon any circumstance relating to the siege of Bagdat, it may afford some light to the subject, to give a short account of this famous city, in the neighbourhood of which formerly stood the metropolis of one of the most ancient and most potent monarchies in the world. The place is generally called Bagdat or Bagdad, though some writers preserve the ancient name of Babylon. The reason of thus confounding these two cities is, that the Tigris and Euphrates, forming one common stream before they disembogue into the Persian gulf, are not unfrequently mentioned as one and the same river. It is certain that the present Bagdat is situated on the Tigris, but the ancient Babylon, according to all historians sacred and profane, was on the Euphrates. The ruins of the latter, which geographical writers place about fifteen leagues to the south of Bagdat, are now so much effaced, that there are hardly any vestiges of them to point out the situation. In the time of the emperor Theodosius, there was only a great park remaining, in which the kings of Persia bred wild beasts for the amusement of hunting.'

By these accounts we see, how punctually time hath fulfilled the predictions of the prophets concerning Babylon. When it was converted into a chase for wild beasts to feed and breed there, then were exactly accomplished the words of the prophets, that "the wild beasts of the desert with the wild beasts of the islands should dwell there, and cry in their desolate houses." One part of the country was overflowed by the river's having been turned out of its course and never restored again to its former channel, and thence became boggy and marshy, so that it might literally be said to be "a possession for the bittern and pools of water." Another part is described as dry and naked, and barren of every thing, so that thereby was also fulfilled another prophecy, which seemed in some measure to contradict the former, "Her cities are a desolation, a dry land and a wilderness, a land wherein no man dwelleth, neither doth any son of man pass thereby." The place thereabout is represented as overrun with serpents, scorpions, and all sorts of venomous and unclean creatures, so that "their houses are full of doleful creatures, and dragons cry in their pleasant palaces; and Babylon is become heaps, a dwelling place for dragons, an astonishment and an hissing without an inhabitant." For all these reasons "neither can the Arabian pitch his tent there, neither can the shepherds make their folds there." And when we find that modern travellers cannot now certainly discover the spot of ground, whereon this renowned city once was situated, we may very properly say, "How is Babylon become a desolation among the nations? Every purpose of the Lord hath he performed against Babylon, to make the land of Babylon a desolation without an inhabitant:" and the expression is no less true than sublime, that "the Lord of hosts hath swept it with the besom of destruction."

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[3] Hanway's Travels, vol. 4 part 3. c. 10. p. 78.

How wonderful are such predictions compared with the events, and what a convincing argument of the truth and divinity of the holy Scriptures! Well might God allege this as a memorable instance of his prescience, and challenge all the false gods, and their votaries, to produce the like. (Is. xlv. 21. xlvi. 10.) "Who hath declared this from ancient time? who hath told it from that time? have not I the Lord? and there is no God else beside me, a just God and a Saviour, there is none beside me: Declaring the end from the beginning, and from ancient times the things that are not yet done, saying, My counsel shall stand, and I will do all my pleasure." And indeed where can you find a similar instance but in Scripture, from the beginning of the world to this day?

At the same time it must afford all readers of an exalted taste and generous sentiments, all the friends and lovers of liberty, a very sensible pleasure to hear the prophets exulting over such tyrants and oppressors as the kings of Assyria. In the 14th chapter of Isaiah there is an Epinikion, or a triumphant ode upon the fall of Babylon. It represents the infernal mansions as moved, and the ghosts of deceased tyrants as rising to meet the king of Babylon, and congratulate his coming among them. It is really admirable for the severest strokes of irony, as well as for the sublimest strains of poetry. The Greek poet [4] Alcæus, who is celebrated for his hatred to tyrants, and whose odes were animated with the spirit of liberty no less than with the spirit of poetry, we may presume to say, never wrote any thing comparable to it. The late worthy professor of poetry at Oxford hath eminently distinguished it in his lectures upon the sacred poesy of the Hebrews,[5] and hath given it the character that it justly deserves, of one of the most spirited, most sublime, and most perfect compositions of the lyric kind, superior to any of the productions of Greece or Rome: and he hath not only illustrated it with an useful commentary, but hath also copied the beauties of the great original in an excellent Latin Alcaic ode, which if the learned reader hath not yet seen, he will be not a little pleased with the perusal of it. Another excellent hand, Mr. Mason, hath likewise imitated it in an English ode, with which I hope he will one time or other oblige the public.[6]

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[4] Hor. 2 Od. xiii. 26.
'Et te sonantem plenius aureo,
Alceæ plectro, &c.'
Quintil. Instit. Orat. l. 1. c. 1. 'Alcæus in parte operis aureo plectro merito donatur, qua tyrannos insectatur: &c.'

But not only in this particular, but in the general the Scriptures, though often perverted to the purposes of tyranny, are yet in their own nature calculated to promote the civil as well as the religious liberties of mankind. True religion, and virtue, and liberty are more nearly related, and more intimately connected with each other, than people commonly consider. It is very true, as St. Paul saith, (2 Cor. iii. 17.) that "where the spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty:" or as our Saviour himself expresseth it, (John viii. 31, 32.) "If ye continue in my word, then are ye my disciples indeed; and ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make ye free."

XI.—THE PROPHECIES CONCERNING TYRE.

ANOTHER city that was an enemy to the Jews, and another memorable instance of the truth of prophecy, is Tyre, whose fall was predicted by the prophets, and particularly by Isaiah and Ezekiel. But it hath been questioned among learned men, which of the Tyres was the subject of these prophecies, whether Palætyrus or old Tyre that was seated on the continent, or new Tyre that was built in an island almost over against it. The truest and best answer I conceive to be, that the prophecies appertain to both, some expressions being applicable only to the former, and others only to the latter. In one place (Ezek. xxvii. 3.) it is described "as situate at the entry of the sea;" in others (ver. 4 and 25.) as "in the midst of the seas," or according to the original *in the heart of the seas.* Sometimes (Ezek. xxvi. 7, &c.) it is represented as besieged "with horses and with chariots;" a "fort," a "mount," and "engines of war, are set against it:" at other times (Is. xxiii.

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[5] Lowth Prælect. XIII. ad fin. 'viget per totum spiritus liber, excelsus, vereque divinus; neque deest quidquam ad summam hujusce Odæ sublimitatem absoluta pulchritudine cumulandam: cui, ut plane dicam quod sentio, nihil habet Græca aut Romana poesis simile aut secundum.' Prælec. XXVIII. p. 277, &c.

[6] Mr. Mason hath since published this with some other Odes in 1756.

2, 4, 6.) it is expressly called "an island," and "the sea, even the strength of the sea." Now it is said (Ezek. xxvi. 10.) "By reason of the abundance of his horses, their dust shall cover thee, thy walls shall shake at the noise of the horsemen, and of the wheels, and of the chariots when he shall enter into thy gates, as men enter into a city wherein is made a breach." Then it is said (ver. 12.) "They shall break down thy walls, and destroy thy pleasant houses, and they shall lay thy stones, and thy timber, and thy dust in the midst of the water;" and again (Ezek. xxviii. 8.) "They shall bring thee down to the pit, and thou shalt die the deaths of them that are slain in the midst of the seas." The insular Tyre therefore, as well as the Tyre upon the continent, is included in these prophecies; they are both comprehended under the same name, and both spoken of as one and the same city, part built on the continent, and part on an island adjoining. It is commonly said indeed, that when old Tyre was closely besieged, and was near falling into the hands of the Chaldæans, then the Tyrians fled from thence, and built new Tyre in the island: but the learned [1] Vitringa hath proved at large from good authorities, that new Tyre was founded several ages before, and was the station for ships, and considered as part of old Tyre; and [2] Pliny speaking of the compass of the city, reckons both the old and the new together.

Whenever the prophets denounce the downfall and desolation of a city or kingdom, they usually describe by way of contrast its present flourishing condition, to shew in a stronger point of view how providence shifteth and changeth the scene. and ordereth and disposeth all events. The prophets Isaiah and Ezekiel observe the same method with regard to Tyre. Isaiah speaketh of it as a place of great antiquity, (xxiii. 7.) "Is this your joyous city, whose antiquity is of ancient days?" And it is mentioned as a strong place as early as in the days of Joshua, (Josh. xix. 29.) "the strong city Tyre," for there is no reason for supposing with [3] Sir John Marsham, that the name is used here by way of *prolepsis* or anticipation. Nay there are even heathen authors, who speak of the insular Tyre, and yet extol the great antiquity of the place. The [4] Greek geographer Strabo saith, that after Sidon the greatest and most ancient city of the Phœnicians is Tyre, which is a rival to Sidon in greatness, and lustre, and antiquity. The [5] Roman historian

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[1] Vitring. Comment. in Iesaiam, c. 23. vol. 1. p. 667—671.

[2] 'Circuitus XIX. mill. passuum est, intra Palætyro inclusa.' Plin. Nat. Hist. l. 5. c. 17.

[3] Marshami Chron. Sæc. xi. p. 290. 'Nomen id per prolepsin usurpatur, &c.'

[4] Μετὰ δὲ Σιδόνα μεγίστη τῶν Φοινίκων καὶ ἀρχαιοτάτη πόλις Τύρος ἐστὶν, ἡ ἐνάμιλλος αὐτῇ κατά τε μέγεθος, καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν καὶ τὴν ἀρχαιότητα. *Post Sidonem, maxima et antiquissima Phœnicum est Tyrus, cum Sidone et magnitudine et forma et antiquitate comparanda.* Strabo, l. 16. p. 1097.

[5] 'Urbs et vetustate originis et crebra fortunæ varietate ad memoriam posteritatis insignis.' Quint. Curt. l. 4. c. 4.

Quintus Curtius saith, that it is a city remarkable to posterity both for the antiquity of its origin, and for its frequent change of fortune. Herodotus [6] who was himself at Tyre, and inquired into the antiquity of the temple of Hercules, was informed by the priests, that the temple was built at the same time as the city, and from the building of the city they counted two thousand and three hundred years. The ironical expression of the prophet, "Is this your joyous city whose antiquity is of ancient days?" implies that the Tyrians were apt to boast of their antiquity: and by this account of Herodotus it appears that they did so, and much exceeded the truth: but there could have been no pretence for their boasting of thousands of years, if the city had not been built (as some contend) till after the destruction of the old city by the Chaldæans, that is not 130 years before. Josephus [7] asserts, that from the building of Tyre to the building of Solomon's temple were 240 years: but he is with reason [8] supposed to speak of the insular Tyre; for the other part of the city on the continent was much older, was a strong place, as we have seen, in the days of Joshua, and is mentioned in the fragments of [9] Sanchoniathon, the Phœnician historian, who is [1] reckoned to have lived about the time of Gideon, [2] or somewhat later.

But ancient as this city was, it was the "daughter of Sidon," as it is called by the prophet Isaiah (xxiii. 12.), and (ver. 2.) "the merchants of Sidon, who pass over the sea, replenished it." *Sidon* was the eldest son of Canaan, (Gen. x. 15.) and the city of *Sidon* is mentioned by the patriarch Jacob (Gen. xlix. 13.), and in the days of Joshua it is called "great Sidon," (Josh. xi. 8.), and in the days of the Judges the inhabitants of Laish are said (Judg. xviii. 7.) to have "dwelt careless and secure after the manner of the Sidonians." We have seen already that Strabo affirms, that *after Sidon* Tyre was the greatest and most ancient city of the Phœnicians; and he [3] asserts likewise, that the poets have celebrated Sidon more, and Homer hath not so much as mentioned Tyre, though he commends Sidon and the Sidonians in several places. It may be therefore with reason inferred, that Sidon was the more ancient: and [4] Justin, the epitomizer of Trogus, hath expressly informed us, that the Sidonians being besieged by the king of Ascalon, went in ships and built Tyre. But though Tyre was the daughter of Sidon, yet the daughter soon equalled, and in time excelled the mother, and became the most celebrated place in the world for its trade and navigation, the seat of commerce and the centre of riches, and is therefore called by Isaiah (xxiii. 3. 8.) "a mart of nations, the crowning city, whose merchants are princes, whose traffickers are the honourable of the earth:" and Ezekiel, as it were commenting upon those words of Isaiah, *a mart of nations*, (chap. xxvii.) recounts the various nations, whose commodities were brought to Tyre, and were bought and sold by the Tyrians.

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[6] ἔφασαν γὰρ, ἅμα τύρῳ οἰκιζομὲνῃ καὶ τὸ ἱρὸν τοῦ θεοῦ ἱδρυνθῆναι· εἶναι δὲ ἔτεα ἀφ᾽ οὗ Τύρον οἰκέουσι, τριηκόσια καὶ δισχίλια. *quippe dicentes, ab urbe condita fuisse dei templum pariter exstructum: esse autem a Tyro condita annorum duo millia ac trecentos.* Herod. l. 2. c. 44.

[7] ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς οἰκήσεως Τύρου εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομίαν τοῦ ναοῦ διαγεγόνει χρόνος ἐτῶν τεσσαράκοντα καὶ διακοσίων. *A Tyri autem conditu usque ad exstructionem templi elapsi sunt anni quadraginta et ducenti.* Joseph. Antiq. l. 8. c. 3. § 1.

[8] Vide Vitring. ibid. p. 669.

[9] Apud. Euseb. Præpar. Evang. l. 1. c. 10.

[1] 'Itaque commode rejicitur in Gideonis tempora, &c.' Bochart. Chanaan. l. 2. c. 17. col. 776

[2] Stillingfleet's Origines Sacræ, b. i. c. 2.

[3] Οἱ μὲν οὖν ϖοιηταὶ τὴν Σιδόνα τεθρυλλήκασι μᾶλλον· Ὅμηρος δὲ οὐδὲ μέμνηται τῆς Τύρου. *Poetæ quidem magis Sidonem celebrant; atqui adeo Homerus Tyri non meminit.* Strabo, l. 16. p. 1097.

[4] 'Post multos deinde annos a rege Ascalionorum expugnati, navibus appulsi

It was in this wealthy and flourishing condition, when the prophets foretold its destruction, Isaiah 125 years at least before it was destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar. An extensive and beneficial trade soon produces luxury and pride. So it fared with the Tyrians; and for these and their other vices, as well as for their insults and injuries done to the Jews, the prophets prophesied against them. Isaiah mentions their pride as the great occasion of their fall, (xxiii. 9.) "The Lord of hosts hath purposed it, to stain the pride of all glory, and to bring into contempt all the honourable of the earth." Ezekiel (xxvii. 3, &c.) describes at large their luxury even in their shipping. Cleopatra's sailing down the river Cydnos to meet her gallant, Antony, was not with greater finery and magnificence; nor have the historians and poets painted the one in more lively colours, than the prophet hath the other.[5] He censures likewise the pride of the king of Tyre in arrogating to himself divine honours, (xxviii. 2, &c.) "Son of man, say unto the prince of Tyrus, Thus saith the Lord God, Because thine heart is lifted up, and thou hast said, I am a God, I sit in the seat of God, in the midst of the seas; yet thou art a man, and not God, though thou set thine heart as the heart of God:—With thy wisdom and with thine understanding thou hast gotten thee riches, and hast gotten gold and silver into thy treasures: By thy great wisdom and by thy traffic hast thou increased thy riches, and thine heart is lifted up because of thy riches; Therefore thus saith the Lord God, Because thou hast set thine heart as the heart of God: Behold, therefore, I will bring strangers upon thee, the terrible of the nations; and they shall draw their swords against the beauty of thy wisdom, and they shall defile thy brightness: They shall bring thee down to the pit, and thou shalt die the deaths of them that are slain in the midst of the seas." The prophets Joel and Amos had before

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Tyron urbem—condiderunt. Justin. l. 18. c. 1. § 5.

[5] Plutarch. in Antonio, § 26. Shakspeare, Dryden.

denounced the divine judgments upon the Tyrians for their wickedness in general, and in particular for their cruelty to the children of Israel, and for buying and selling them like cattle in the markets. Thus saith the Lord by the prophet Joel, (iii. 5, &c.) "Because ye have taken my silver and my gold, and have carried into your temples my goodly pleasant things: The children also of Judah, and the children of Jerusalem have ye sold unto the Grecians, that ye might remove them far from their border: Behold, I will raise them out of the place whither ye have sold them, and will return your recompence upon your own head." Amos speaketh to the same purpose, (i. 9.) "Thus saith the Lord, For three transgressions of Tyrus, and for four I will not turn away the punishment thereof; because they delivered up the whole captivity to Edom, and remembered not the brotherly covenant," that is, the league and alliance between Hiram king of Tyre on one part, and David and Solomon on the other. The Psalmist reckons them among the most inveterate and implacable enemies of the Jewish name and nation, (Psal. lxxxiii. 6, 7.) "The tabernacles of Edom, and the Ishmaelites, of Moab, and the Hagarenes, Gebal, and Ammon, and Amalek, the Philistines, with the inhabitants of Tyre." Ezekiel also begins his prophecy against them with a declaration, that it was occasioned by their insulting over the Jews upon the taking of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar, (xxvi. 2, 3.) "Son of man, Because that Tyrus hath said against Jerusalem, Aha, she is broken that was the gates of the people; she is turned unto me, I shall be replenished, now she is laid waste; Therefore thus saith the Lord God, Behold, I am against thee, O Tyrus, and will cause many nations to come up against thee, as the sea causeth his waves to come up."

These were the occasions of the prophecies against Tyre: and by carefully considering and comparing the prophecies together, we shall find the following particulars included in them; that the city was to be taken and destroyed by the Chaldæans, who were at the time of the delivery of the prophecy an inconsiderable people, and particularly by Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon; that the inhabitants should fly over the Mediterranean into the islands and the countries adjoining, and even there should not find a quiet settlement; that the city should be restored after seventy years, and return to her gain and merchandise; that it should be taken and destroyed again; that the people should in time forsake their idolatry, and become converts to the true religion and worship of God; and finally that the city should be totally destroyed, and become a place only for fishers to spread their nets upon. We shall find these particulars to be not only distinctly foretold, but likewise exactly fulfilled.

I. The city was to be taken and destroyed by the Chaldæans, who were at the time of the delivery of the prophecy an inconsiderable people. This, we think, is sufficiently implied in these words of the prophet Isaiah, (xxiii. 13.) "Behold, the land of the Chaldæans; this people was not till the Assyrian founded it for them that dwell in the wilderness, they set up the towers thereof, they raised up the palaces thereof; and he brought it to ruin." "Behold," an exclamation to shew that he is going to utter something new and extraordinary; "the land of the Chaldæans," that is, Babylon and the country about Babylon; "this people was not," was of no note or eminence, "till the Assyrian founded it for them that dwell in the wilderness," they dwelt before in tents and led a wandering life in the wilderness, till the Assyrians built Babylon for their reception. Babel or Babylon was first built by the children of men after the flood. After the dispersion of mankind, Nimrod made it the capital of his kingdom. With Nimrod it sunk again, till the Assyrians rebuilt it for the purposes here mentioned; "they set up the towers thereof, they raised up the palaces thereof," and Herodotus, Ctesias, and other ancient historians agree that the kings of Assyria fortified and beautified Babylon; "and he," that is, "this people" mentioned before, the Chaldæans or Babylonians, "brought it to ruin," that is, Tyre, which is the subject of the whole prophecy. The Assyrians were at that time the great monarchs of the east; the Chaldæans were their slaves and subjects; and therefore it is the more extraordinary, that the prophet should so many years beforehand foresee the successes and conquests of the Chaldæans.

Ezekiel lived nearer the time, and he declares expressly that the city should be taken and destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon; (xxvi. 7—11.) "Thus saith the Lord God, Behold, I will bring upon Tyrus, Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon, a king of kings from the north, with horses, and with chariots, and with horsemen, and companies, and much people;—he shall slay thy people by the sword, and thy strong garrisons shall go down to the ground." Salmaneser king of Assyria[6] had besieged Tyre but without success; the Tyrians had with a few ships beaten his large fleet; but yet Nebuchadnezzar should prevail. Ezekiel not only foretold the siege, but mentions it afterwards as a past transaction, (xxix. 18.) "Son of man, Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon caused his army to serve a great service against Tyrus; every head was made bald, and every shoulder was peeled."

Menander the Ephesian translated the Phœnician annals into Greek; and [7] Josephus asserts upon their authority, that

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[6] Annales Menandri apud Josephum, Antiq. l. 9. c. 14. § 2.

[7] Joseph. contra Apion. l. i. § 20. et 21.

Nebuchadnezzar besieged Tyre thirteen years when Ithobal was king there, and began the siege in the seventh year of Ithobal's reign, and that he subdued Syria and all Phœnicia. The same [8]historian likewise observes, that Philostratus in his Indian and Phœnician histories affirms that this king (Nebuchadnezzar) besieged Tyre thirteen years, Ithobal reigning at that time in Tyre. The siege continuing so long, the soldiers must needs endure many hardships, so that hereby we better understand the justness of Ezekiel's expression, that "Nebuchadnezzar caused his army to serve a great service against Tyrus; every head was made bald, and every shoulder was peeled:" such light doth profane history cast upon sacred. It farther appears from the Phœnician annals quoted by the same [9]historian, that the Tyrians received their kings afterwards from Babylon, which plainly evinces that some of the blood-royal must have been carried captives thither. The Phœnician annals too, as Dr. Prideaux[1] hath clearly shewn, agree exactly with Ezekiel's account of the time and year, wherein the city was taken. Tyre therefore according to the prophecies was subdued and taken by Nebuchadnezzar and the Chaldæans: and after this we hear little more of that part of the city which stood upon the continent. It is some satisfaction that we are able to produce such authorities as we have produced, out of heathen historians for transactions of such remote antiquity.

II. The inhabitants should pass over the Mediterranean into the islands and countries adjoining, and even there should find no quiet settlement. This is plainly signified by Isaiah (xxiii. 6.) "Pass ye over to Tarshish" (that is, to Tartessus in Spain), "howl ye inhabitants of the isle:" and again (ver. 12.) "Arise, pass over to Chittim" (that is, the islands and countries bordering upon the Mediterranean); "there also shalt thou have no rest." What the prophet delivers by way of advice, is to be understood as a prediction. Ezekiel intimates the same thing, (xxvi. 18.) "The isles that are in the sea shall be troubled at thy departure." It is well known that the Phœnicians were the best navigators of antiquity, and sent forth colonies into several parts of the world. A great scholar of the last century, hath written a whole treatise[2] of the colonies of the Phœnicians, a work (as indeed all his are) of immense learning and erudition. And of all the Phœnicians the Tyrians were the most celebrated for their shipping and colonies. Tyre exceeded

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[8] Φιλόστρατος ἐν ταῖς Ἰνδικαῖς αὐτοῦ καὶ Φοινικικαῖς ἱστορίαις, ὅτι οὗτος ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπολιόρκησε Τύρον ἔτη ιγ', βασιλεύοντος κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν καιρὸν Ἰθοβάλου τῆς Τύρου. *Philostratus tam in Indicis ejus quam Phœniciis historiis, quod hic rex tredecim annos Tyrum oppugnaverit, cum illo tempore Ithobalus in Tyro regnaret.* Joseph. Antiq. l. 10. c. 11. § 1.

[9] Joseph. contra Apion. l. 1. § 21.

[1] Prideaux. Connect. part. i. b. 2. Anno 573. Nebuchadnezzar 32.

[2] Bocharti Chanaan.

Sidon in this respect, as [3] Strabo testifies, and sent forth colonies into Africa and Spain unto and beyond the pillars of Hercules: and [4] Quintus Curtius saith, that her colonies were diffused almost over the whole world. The Tyrians therefore having planted colonies at Tarshish and upon the coasts of Chittim, it was natural for them, when they were pressed with dangers and difficulties at home, to fly to their friends and countrymen abroad for refuge and protection. That they really did so, St. Jerome asserts upon the authority of Assyrian histories, which are now lost and perished. 'We have read,' [5] saith he, 'in the histories of the Assyrians, that when the Tyrians were besieged, after they saw no hope of escaping, they went on board their ships, and fled to Carthage, or to some islands of the Ionian and Ægean sea.' And in another place he [6] saith, 'that when the Tyrians saw that the works for carrying on the siege were perfected, and the foundations of the walls were shaken by the battering of the rams, whatsoever precious things in gold, silver, clothes, and various kinds of furniture the nobility had, they put them on board their ships, and carried to the islands; so that the city being taken, Nebuchadnezzar found nothing worthy of his labour.' It must have been grievous to Nebuchadnezzar, after so long and laborious a siege, to be disappointed of the spoil of so rich a city; and therefore Ezekiel was commissioned to promise him the conquest of Egypt for his reward; (xxix. 18, 19.) "Son of man, Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon caused his army to serve a great service against Tyrus: every head was made bald, and every shoulder was peeled: yet had he no wages, nor his army for Tyrus, for the service that he had served against it. Therefore thus saith the Lord God, Behold, I will give the land of Egypt unto Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon, and he shall take her multitude, and take her spoil, and take her prey, and it shall be the wages for his army."

But though the Tyrians should pass over to Tarshish and to Chittim, yet even there they should find no quiet settlement, "there also shalt thou have no rest." Megasthenes,[7] who lived about 300 years before Christ, and was employed by Seleucus

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[3] Αἱ δὲ εἰς Λιβύην καὶ τὴν Ἰβηρίαν, ἀποικίαι, μέχρι καὶ ἔξω στηλῶν, τὴν Τύρον ϖλέον ἐξυμνοῦσι μᾶλλον. *Coloniæ tamen in Africam et Hispaniam usque, ad loca extra columnas deductæ, Tyrum plurimum celebraverunt.* Strabo, l. 16. p. 1097.

[4] 'Coloniæ certe ejus pene orbe toto diffusæ sunt.' Quint. Curt. l. 4. c. 4.

[5] 'Legimus in historiis Assyriorum, obsessos Tyrios, postquam nullam spem evadendi videbant, conscensis navibus fugisse Carthaginem, seu ad alias Ionii Ægeique maris insulas.' Hieron. in Is. 23. 6.

[6] 'Quod quum viderent Tyrii jam jamque perfectum, et percussione arietum murorum fundamenta quaterentur, quicquid pretiosum in auro, argento, vestibusque, et varia supellectili nobilitas habuit, impositum navibus ad insulas asportavit; ita ut capta urbe, nihil dignum labore suo inveniret Nabuchodonosor.' Idem in Ezek. c. 29.

[7] Arrian. de Exped. Alex. l. 5. c. 6. Ejusdem Hist. Ind. c. 5. Voss. de Hist. Græc. l. 1. c. 11. Prid. Connect. Part 1. b. 8. Anno 298. Ptolemy Soter. 7.

Nicator in an embassy to the king of India, wrote afterwards a history of India, wherein he mentioned Nebuchadnezzar with great honour. This historian is quoted by several ancient authors, he is cited particularly by [8]Strabo, Josephus, and Abydenus in Eusebius, for saying that Nebuchadnezzar surpassed Hercules in bravery and great exploits, that he subdued great part of Africa and Spain, and proceeded as far as to the pillars of Hercules. After Nebuchadnezzar had subdued Tyre and Egypt, we may suppose that he carried his arms farther westward: and if he proceeded so far as Megasthenes reports, the Tyrians might well be said to "have no rest," their conqueror pursuing them from one country to another. But besides this and after this, the Carthaginians and other colonies of the Tyrians lived in a very unsettled state. Their history is made up of little but wars and tumults, even before their three fatal wars with the Romans, in every one of which their affairs grew worse and worse. Sicily and Spain, Europe and Africa, the land and their own element the sea, were theatres of their calamities and miseries; till at last not only the new, but old Carthage too was utterly destroyed. As the Carthaginians sprung from the Tyrians, and the Tyrians from the Sidonians, and Sidon was the first-born of Canaan (Gen. x. 15.); so the curse upon Canaan seemeth to have pursued them to the most distant parts of the earth.

III. The city should be restored after seventy years, and return to her gain and her merchandise. This circumstance is expressly foretold by Isaiah (xxiii. 15—17.): "And it shall come to pass in that day, that Tyre shall be forgotten seventy years, according to the days of one king," or kingdom, meaning the Babylonian which was to continue seventy years: "after the end of seventy years shall Tyre sing as an harlot. Take an harp, go about the city, thou harlot that hast been forgotten, make sweet melody, sing many songs, that thou mayest be remembered. And it shall come to pass after the end of seventy years, that the Lord will visit Tyre, and she shall turn to her hire, and shall commit fornication with all the kingdoms of the world upon the face of the earth." Tyre is represented as a harlot, and from thence these figures are borrowed, the plain meaning of which is, that she should lie neglected of traders and merchants for seventy years, as long as the Babylonian empire lasted, and after that she should recover her liberties and her trade, and draw in several of all nations to deal with her, and particularly the kings of the earth to buy her purples, which were worn chiefly by emperors and kings, and for which Tyre was famous above all places in the world.

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[8] Strabo, l. 15. p. 1007. Joseph. Antiq. l. 10. c. 11. § 1. Contra Apion. l. 1. § 20. Euseb. Præpar. Evang. l. 9. c. 41.

Seventy years was the time prefixed for the duration of the Babylonian empire. So long the nations were to groan under that tyrannical yoke, though these nations were subdued some sooner, some later than others. (Jer. xxv. 11, 12.) "These nations shall serve the king of Babylon seventy years: And it shall come to pass when seventy years are accomplished, that I will punish the king of Babylon, and that nation, saith the Lord, for their iniquity, and the land of the Chaldæans, and will make it perpetual desolations." And accordingly at the end of seventy years Cyrus and the Persians subverted the Babylonian empire, and restored the conquered nations to their liberties.

But we may compute these seventy years after another manner. Tyre was taken[9] by Nebuchadnezzar in the thirty-second year of his reign, and in the year 573 before Christ. Seventy years from thence will bring us down to the year 503 before Christ, and the nineteenth of Darius Hystaspis. At that time it appears from [1]history that the Ionians had rebelled against Darius, and the Phœnicians assisted him with their fleets: and consequently it is reasonable to conclude that they were now restored to their former privileges. In the succeeding reign we find[2] that they, together with the Sidonians, furnished Xerxes with several ships for his expedition into Greece. And by the time of Alexander the Tyrians were grown to such power and greatness, that they, stopped the progress of that rapid conqueror longer than any part of the Persian empire besides. But all this is to be understood of the insular Tyre; for as the old city flourished most before the time of Nebuchadnezzar, so the new city flourished most afterwards, and this is the Tyre that henceforth is so much celebrated in history.

IV. The city should be taken and destroyed again. For when it is said by the prophets, (Isa. xxiii. 6.) "Howl ye inhabitants of the isle;" (Ezek. xxvii. 32.) "What city is like Tyrus, like the destroyed in the midst of the sea?" (xxviii. 8.) "They shall bring thee down to the pit, and thou shalt die the deaths of them that are slain in the midst of the seas:" these expressions can imply no less than that the insular Tyre should be destroyed as well as that upon the continent; and as the one was accomplished by Nebuchadnezzar, so was the other by Alexander the Great. But the same thing may be inferred more directly from the words of Zechariah, who prophesied in the reign of Darius, (Zech. i. 1. vii. 1.) probably Darius Hystaspis, many years after the former destruction of the city, and consequently he must be understood to speak of this latter. His words are these, (ix. 3, 4.) "And Tyrus did build herself a strong hold, and heaped up silver as the dust, and fine gold as the mire of the streets. Behold the Lord will cast her out, and he will smite her power in the sea, and she shall be devoured with fire." It is very true "that Tyrus did build herself a strong hold;" for her situation was very strong in an island, and besides the sea to defend her she was [3] fortified with a wall of 150 feet in height, and of a proportionable thickness. "She heaped up silver as the dust, and fine gold as the mire of the streets," being the most celebrated place in the world for trade and riches, "the mart of nations" as she is called, conveying the commodities of the east to the west, and of the west to the east. But yet, "Behold the Lord will cast her out, and he will smite her power in the sea, and she shall be devoured with fire." Ezekiel had likewise foretold that the city should be consumed with fire, (xxviii. 18.) "I will bring forth a fire from the midst of thee, it shall devour thee, and I will bring thee to ashes upon the earth, in the sight of all them that behold thee." And accordingly Alexander besieged, and took, and set the city on fire.[4] The ruins of old Tyre contributed much to the taking of the new city: for[5] with the stones and timber and rubbish of the old city Alexander built a bank or causey from the continent to the island, thereby literally fulfilling the words of the prophet Ezekiel, (xxvi. 12.) "They shall lay thy stones and thy timber, and thy dust in the midst of the water." He was seven months in completing this wórk, but the time and labour were well employed, for by means hereof he was enabled to storm and take the city.

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[9] See Prid. Connect. Part 1. b. 2. and b. 4.

[1] Herod. l. 5. c. 108, &c.

[2] Herod. l. 7. c. 89, &c. Diod. Sic. l. 11. c. 3.

As in the former siege the inhabitants, according to the prophecies, fled over the Mediterranean to the islands and countries adjoining, so they did likewise in this latter siege; for Diodorus Siculus[6] and Quintus Curtius both testify that they sent their wives and children to Carthage; and upon the taking of the place the Sidonians[7] secretly conveyed away fifteen thousand more in their ships. Happy were they who thus escaped, for of those who remained behind, the conqueror[8] slew eight thousand in the storming and taking of the city, he caused two thousand afterwards cruelly to be crucified, and thirty thousand he sold for slaves. They had before sold some of the captive Jews, and now it was returned upon them according to the prediction of Joel, (iii. 6—8.) "The children also of Judah, and the childrem of Jerusalem have ye sold; behold I will return your recompense upon your own head, and will sell your sons and your daughters." This is the main of the prophecy, that as they had sold the captive Jews, so they should be sold themselves: and having seen this so punctually fulfilled, we may more easily believe that the other parts were so too, though at this distance of time, and in this scarcity of ancient historians, we are not able to prove all the particulars. When the city was taken before, the Tyrians received their kings afterwards from Babylon; and now[9] their king held his crown by Alexander's appointment. The cases are parallel in many respects: but the city recovered much sooner from the calamities of this siege than from the fatal consequences of the former. For in[1] nineteen years' time it was able to withstand the fleets and armies of Antigonus, and sustained a siege of fifteen months before it was taken: a plain proof, as Dr. Prideaux observes, of 'the great advantage of trade. For this city being the grand mart, where most of the trade both of the east and west did then centre, by virtue hereof it was, that it so soon revived to its pristine vigour.'

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[3] Arrian. de Exped. Alex. l. 2. c. 21. ——*τό τε ὕψος εἰς ϖεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν μάλιστα πόδας, καὶ ἐς πλάτος ξύμμετρον.* ——— *CL admodum pedes altus, latitudine altitudini respondente.*

[4] Quint. Curt. l. 4 c. 4. 'ignemque tectis injici jubet.'

[5] Quint. Curt. l. 4 c. 2. Diod. Sic. l. 17. c. 40.

[6] ———*τέκνα μὲν καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ τοὺς γεγηρακότας εἰς Καρχηδόνα διακομίζειν ἐψηφίσαντο. liberos et uxores cum senio confectis Carthaginem transportare decernunt. τέλος δὲ, τῶν τέκνων καὶ γυναικῶν μέρος μὲν ἔφθασαν ὑπεκθέμενοι πρὸς τοὺς Καρχηδονίους. tandem deponenda quadam apud Carthaginenses liberorum et uxorum parte (hostem) antevertunt.* Diod. Sic. l. 17. c. 41. 'Conjuges liberosque devehendos Carthaginem tradidit.' Quint. Curt. l. 4. c. 3

[7] Quint. Curt. l. 4. c. 4.

[8] Arrian. l. 2. c. 24. Quint. Curt. ibid

V. It is usual with God to temper his judgments with mercy: and amidst these calamities it is also foretold, that there should come a time, when the Tyrians would forsake their idolatry, and become converts to the true religion and worship of God. The Psalmist is thought to have hinted as much, in saying (xlv. 12.) "The daughter of Tyre shall be there with a gift," and again (lxxii. 10.), "The kings of Tarshish and of the isles shall bring presents." Zechariah, when he foretels the calamities which the Tyrians and neighbouring nations should suffer from Alexander, (ix. 1—7.) at the same time predicts their conversion to the true God; "but he that remaineth, even he shall be for our God." But nothing can be plainer than Isaiah's declaration that they should consecrate the gains of their merchandise for the maintenance of those who minister to the Lord in holy things (xxiii. 18.): "And her merchandise and her hire shall be holiness to the Lord: it shall not be treasured, nor laid up: for her merchandise shall be for them that dwell before the Lord, to eat sufficiently, and for durable clothing." Here particularly we must be much obliged to the learned Vitringa,[2] who hath fully shewn the completion of this article; as indeed every one who would rightly understand the prophet Isaiah, must be greatly obliged to that excellent commentator, and will receive more light and assistance from him than from all besides him.

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[9] Diod. Sic. l. 17. c. 46. τῆς μὲν Τυρίων πόλεως κατέστησε βασιλέα τὸν ὀνομαζόμενον Βαλλώνυμον. *Tyriorum urbi regem præfecit cui Ballonymo nomen*

[1] Diod. Sic. l. 19. c. 61. Prid. Connect. Part 1. b. 8. Anno 313. Alexander Ægus 4.

[2] Vitring. Comment. in Iesaiam, c. 23. vol. 1. p. 704.

The Tyrians were much addicted to the worship of Hercules as he was called by the Greeks, or of Baal as he is denominated in Scripture. But in process of time, by the means of some Jews and proselytes living and conversing among them, some of them also became proselytes to the Jewish religion; so that "a great multitude of people from the sea-coast of Tyre and Sidon came to hear" our Saviour (Luke vi. 17.) "and to be healed of their diseases:" and our Saviour, who was "sent only to the lost sheep of the house of Israel," yet came "into the coasts of Tyre and Sidon" (Matt. xv. 21, &c. Mark vii. 24, &c.); and the first-fruits of the gospel there was a Tyrian woman, "a woman of Canaan," as she is called, "a Syro-phœnician by nation." When St. Paul in his way to Jerusalam came to Tyre, he found disciples there, who were inspired by the Holy Ghost and prophesied, (Acts xxi. 4.) and with them he "tarried seven days." The Tyrians were such sincere converts to Christianity, that in the time of Diocletian's persecution they exhibited several glorious examples of confessors and martyrs, which Eusebius[3] himself saw, and hath amply testified in his book of the martyrs of Palestine. Afterwards when the storm of persecution was blown over, the Tyrians under their bishop Paulinus built an oratory or rather a temple for the public worship of God, the most magnificent and sumptuous in all Palestine and Phœnicia, which temple Eusebius[4] hath described, and celebrated in a handsome panegyric, whereof he hath inserted a copy in his history, but modestly concealed the name of the author. Eusebius, therefore, commenting upon this passage of Isaiah, might very well say that 'it is fulfilled in our time.[5] For since a church of God hath been founded in Tyre as well as in other nations, many of its goods gotten by merchandise are consecrated to the Lord, being offered to his church;' as he afterwards explains himself, 'for the use of the ministers of the altar or gospel, according to the institution of our Lord, that they who wait at the altar should live of the altar.' In like manner St. Jerome:[6] 'We may behold churches in Tyre built to Christ; we may see their riches that they are not laid up, nor treasured, but given to those who dwell before the Lord. For the Lord hath appointed, that they who preach the gospel should live of the gospel.' And how liberally and munificently the bishops and clergy were at that time maintained, how plentifully they were furnished with every thing, "to eat sufficiently, and for durable clothing," no man can want to be informed, who is ever so little conversant in ecclesiastical history. To these proofs we will only add, that as Tyre consecrated its merchandise and hire unto the Lord, so it had the honour of being erected into an archbishopric,[7] and the first archbishopric under the patriarchate of Jerusalem, having fourteen bishops under its primacy; and in this state it continued several years.

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[3] Euseb. Eccles. Hist. l. 8. c. 7. De Martyr. Palæstinæ, c. 5. et 7.

[4] Euseb. Hist. l. 10. c. 4.

[5] Ὃ δὲ καὶ πληροῦται καθ' ἡμᾶς αὐτούς. κ. τ. λ. *quod nostro tempore impletum videmus. Nam cum ecclesia Dei in urbe Tyro perinde ac in reliquis gentibus fundata sit, multæ ex ejus mercibus negotiatione partis Domino consecrantur, ecclesiæ ejùs oblatæ: videlicet ut mox exponit, in usum ministrorum altaris cive evangelii, secundum institutum Domini, ut ministri altaris ex eo vivant.*

[6] 'Cernamus in Tyro exstructas Christi ecclesias, consideremus opes omnium, quod non reponantur nec thesaurizentur, sed dentur his qui habitant coram Domino.——Sic enim et Dominus constituit, ut qui Evangelium prædicant, vivant de Evangelio.' Hieron. in Is. c. 23.

VI. But after all the city should be totally destroyed, and become a place only for fishers to spread their nets upon. When the prophets denounced the destruction of a city or country, it was not intended that such denunciation should take effect immediately. The sentence of condemnation (as I may say) was then passed upon it, but the execution might be respited for some time. When it was threatened that Babylon should become a desolation without an inhabitant, there were yet many ages before it was reduced to that condition; it decayed by degrees, till at last it came to nothing; and now the place is so little known, that you may look for Babylon in the midst of Babylon. In like manner Tyre was not to be ruined and desolated all at once. Other things were to happen first. It was to be restored after seventy years; it was to be detroyed and restored again, in order to its being adopted into the church. These events were to take place, before Ezekiel's prophecies could be fully accomplished (xxvi. 3, 4, 5.): "Thus saith the Lord God, Behold, I am against thee, O Tyrus, and will cause many nations to come up against thee, as the sea causeth his waves to come up: And they shall destroy the walls of Tyrus, and break down her towers; I will also scrape her dust from her, and make her like the top of a rock: It shall be a place for the spreading of nets in the midst of the sea: for I have spoken it, saith the Lord God." He repeats it to shew the certainty of it, (ver. 14.) "I will make thee like the top of a rock; thou shalt be a place to spread nets upon; thou shalt be built no more; for I the Lord have spoken it, saith the Lord God:" and again, (ver. 21.) "I will make thee a terror, and thou shalt be no more; though thou be sought for, yet shalt thou never be found again, saith the Lord God."

These prophecies, like most others, were to receive their completion by degrees. Nebuchadnezzar, as we have seen, destroyed the old city; and Alexander employed the ruins and rubbish in making his causey from the continent to the island, which henceforwards were joined together. 'It is no wonder, therefore,' as Bishop Pococke[8] observes, 'that there are no signs of the ancient city; and as it is a sandy shore, the face of every thing is altered, and the great aqueduct in many parts is almost buried in the sand.' So that as to this part of the city, the prophecy hath literally been fulfilled, "Thou shalt be built no more; though thou be sought for, yet shalt thou never be found again." It may be questioned whether the new city ever after that arose to that height of power, wealth, and greatness, to which it was elevated in the times of Isaiah and Ezekiel. It received a great blow from Alexander, not only by his taking and burning the city, but much more by his building of Alexandria in Egypt, which in time deprived it of much of its trade, and thereby contributed more effectually to its ruin. It had the misfortune afterwards of changing its masters often, being sometimes in the hands of the Ptolemies kings of Egypt, and sometimes of the Seleucidæ kings of Syria, till at length it fell under the dominion of the Romans. It was taken by the [9] Saracens about the year of Christ 639, in the reign of Omar their third emperor. It was retaken by the [1] Christians during the time of the holy war, in the year 1124, Baldwin, the second of that name, being then king of Jerusalem, and assisted by a fleet of the Venetians. From the Christians it was taken[2] again in the year 1289 by the Mamalucs of Egypt, under their Sultan Alphix, who sacked and razed this and Sidon and other strong towns, that they might not ever again afford any harbour or shelter to the Christians. From the Mamalucs it was again taken[3] in the year 1516, by Selim, the ninth emperor of the Turks; and under their dominion it continues at present. But alas, how fallen, how changed from what it was formerly! For from being the centre of trade, frequented by all the merchant ships of the east and west, it is now become a heap of ruins, visited only by the boats of a few poor fishermen. So that as to this part likewise of the city, the prophecy hath literally been fulfilled, "I will make thee like the top of a rock; thou shalt be a place to spread nets upon."

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[7] Sandys's Travels, P. 3. p. 168. 6th Edit. 1670. Hoffman's Lexicon, &c.

The famous [4] Huetius knew one Hadrianus Parvillerius, a

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[8] Pococke's Descript. of the East, vol. 2. b. 1. c. 20. p. 81, 82.

[9] Ockley's Hist. of the Saracens, vol. 1. p. 340.

[1] Abul-Pharajii Hist. Dyn. 9. p. 250. Vers. Pocock. Savage's Abridgment of Knolles and Rycaut, vol. i. p. 26.

[2] Savage's Abridgment, vol. 1. p. 95. Pocock. Descript. of the East, vol. 2. b. 1. c. 20. p. 83.

[3] Savage's Abridgment, vol. 1. p. 241.

[4] 'Hadrianum Parvellerium, e societate Jesu, virum candidissimum et Arabice doctissimum qui decem annos in Syria egit, memini me audire aliquando cum diceret, sibi olim ad collapsas Tyri ruinas accedenti, et rupes mari prætentas ac disjectos passim in litore lapides procul spectanti, sole, fluctibus, et auris detersos ac levigatos, et siccandis solum piscatorum retibus, quæ tum forte plurima desuper expansa erant utiles, venisse in memoriam hujus prophetiæ Ezekielis de Tyro (xxvi. 5. 14.) "Dabo te in limpidissimam petram: siccatio sagenarum eris, nec ædificaberis ultra, quia ego locutus sum, ait Dominus Deus."' Huetii Demonstrat. Evang. Prop. 6. ad fin. p. 358.

Jesuit, a very candid man and a master of Arabic, who resided ten years in Syria; and he remembers to have heard him sometimes say, that when he approached the ruins of Tyre, and beheld the rocks stretched forth to the sea, and the great stones scattered up and down on the shore, made clean and smooth by the sun and waves and winds, and useful only for the drying of fishermen's nets, many of which happened at that time to be spread thereon, it brought to his memory this prophecy of Ezekiel concerning Tyre; (xxvi. 5. 14.) "I will make thee like the top of a rock; thou shalt be a place to spead nets upon; thou shalt be built no more; for I the Lord have spoken it, saith the Lord God."

Dr. Shaw[5] in his account of Tyre thus expresseth himself, 'I visited several creeks and inlets in order to discover what provision there might have been formerly made for the security of their vessels. Yet notwithstanding that Tyre was the chief maritime power of this country, I could not observe the least token of either *cothon* or harbour that could have been of any extraordinary capacity. The coasting ships indeed, still find a tolerable good shelter from the northern winds under the southern shore, but were obliged immediately to retire, when the winds change to the west or south: so that there must have been some better station than this for their security and reception. In the N. N. E. part likewise of the city, we see the traces of a safe and commodious basin, lying within the walls: but which at the same time is very small, scarce forty yards in diameter. Neither could it ever have enjoyed a larger area, unless the buildings, which now circumscribe it, were encroachments upon its original dimensions. Yet even this port, small as it is at present, is notwithstanding so choked up with sand and rubbish, that the boats of those poor fishermen, who now and then visit this once renowned emporium, can with great difficulty only be admitted.'

But the fullest for our purpose is Mr. Maundrell, whom it is a pleasure to quote as well as to read, and whose journal of his journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem, though a little book, is yet worth a folio, being so accurately and ingeniously written, that it might serve as a model for all writers of travels. 'This city,'[6] saith he, 'standing in the sea upon a peninsula, promises at a distance something very magnificent. But when you come to it, you find no similitude of that glory, for which it was so renowned in ancient times, and which the prophet Ezekiel describes chap. xxvi. xxvii. xxviii. On the north side it has an old Turkish ungarrisoned castle; besides which you see nothing here, but a mere Babel of broken walls, pillars, vaults, &c. there being not so much as one entire house left: its pre sent inhabitants are only a few poor wretches harbouring them selves in the vaults, and subsisting chiefly upon fishing, who seem to be preserved in this place by divine providence, as a visible argument, how God has fulfilled his word concerning Tyre, viz. that "it should be as the top of a rock, a place for fishers to dry their nets on." '

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[5] Shaw's Travels, p. 330.

[6] Maundrell, p. 48, 49. 5th Edit.

Such hath been the fate of this city, once the most famous in the world for trade and commerce. But trade is a fluctuating thing: it passed from Tyre to Alexandria, from Alexandria to Venice, from Venice to Antwerp, from Antwerp to Amsterdam and London, the English rivalling the Dutch, as the French are now rivalling both. All nations almost are wisely applying themselves to trade; and it behoves those who are in possession of it, to take the greatest care that they do not lose it. It is a plant of tender growth, and requires sun, and soil, and fine seasons, to make it thrive and flourish. It will not grow like the palm-tree, which with the more weight and pressure rises the more. Liberty is a friend to that, as that is a friend to liberty. But the greatest enemy to both is licentiousness, which tramples upon all law and lawful authority, encourages riots and tumults, promotes drunkenness and debauchery, sticks at nothing to supply its extravagance, practises every act of illicit gain, ruins credit, ruins trade, and will in the end ruin liberty itself. Neither kingdoms nor commonwealths, neither public companies nor private persons, can long carry on a beneficial flourishing trade without virtue, and what virtue teacheth, sobriety, industry, frugality, modesty, honesty, punctuality, humanity, charity, the love of our country, and the fear of God. The prophets will inform us how the Tyrans lost it; and the like causes will always produce the like effects. (Isa. xxiii. 8, 9.) "Who hath taken this counsel against Tyre, the crowning city, whose merchants are princes, whose traffickers are the honourable of the earth? The Lord of hosts hath purposed it, to stain the pride of all glory, and to bring into contempt all the honourable of the earth." (Ezek. xxvii. 3, 4.) "Thus saith the Lord God, O Tyrus, thou hast said, I am of perfect beauty. Thy borders are in the midst of the seas, thy builders have perfected thy beauty." (xxviii. 5, &c.) "By thy great wisdom, and by thy traffick hast thou increased thy riches, and thy heart is lifted up because of thy riches. By the multitude of thy merchandise they have filled the midst of thee with violence, and thou hast sinned; therefore will I cast thee as profane out of the mountain of God. Thine heart was lifted up because of thy beauty thou hast corrupted thy wisdom by reason of thy brightness. Thou has defiled thy sanctuaries by the multitude of thine iniquities, by the iniquity of thy traffick; therefore will I bring forth a fire from the midst of thee, it shall devour thee, and I will bring thee to ashes upon the earth, in the sight of all them that behold thee. All they that know thee among the people, shall be astonished at thee; thou shalt be a terror, and never shalt thou be any more."

XII.—THE PROPHECIES CONCERNING EGYPT.

EGYPT is one of the first and most famous countries that we read of in history. In the Hebrew Scriptures it is called *Mizraim* and *the land of Ham,* having been first inhabited after the deluge by Noah's youngest son, *Ham* or *Hammon,* and by his son *Mizraim.* The name of *Egypt* is of more uncertain derivation. It appears that the river was so called in [1] Homer's time; and from thence, as Hesychius imagines, the name might be derived to the country. Others more probably conceive that the meaning of the name [2] Ægyptus is *αἶα* Cuphti, *the land of Cuphti,* as it was formerly called by the Egyptians themselves and their neighbours the Arabians. All agree in this, that the kingdom of Egypt was very ancient; but some have carried this antiquity to an extravagant and fabulous height, their dynasties being utterly irreconcileable to reason and history both, and no ways to be solved or credited but by supposing that they extend beyond the deluge, and that they contain the catalogues of several contemporary, as well as of some successive kings and kingdoms. It is certain, that in the days of Joseph, if not before those in the days of Abraham, it was a great and flourishing kingdom. There are monuments of its greatness yet remaining to the surprise and astonishment of all posterity, of which as we know not the time of their erection, so in all probability we shall never know the time of their destruction.

This country was also celebrated for its wisdom, no less than for its antiquity. It was, as I may call it, the great academy of the earlier ages. Hither the wits and sages of Greece and other countries repaired, and imbibed their learning at this fountain. It is mentioned to the commendation of Moses, (Acts vii. 22.) that he "was learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians:" and the highest character given of Solomon's wisdom (1 Kings iv. 30.) is that it "excelled the wisdom of all the children of the east country, and all the wisdom of Egypt." But with this wisdom, and this greatness, it was early corrupted; and was as much the parent of superstition, as it was the mistress of learning; and the one as well as the other were from thence propagated and diffused over other countries. It was indeed the grand corruptor of the world, the source of polytheism and idolatry to several of the eastern, and to most of the more western nations; and degenerated at last to such monstrous and beastly worship, that we shall scarcely find a parallel in all history.

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[1] Hom. Odys. xiv. 257, 258.

Πεμπταῖοι δ' Αἴγυπτον ἐΰῤῥείτην ἱκόμεσθα·
Στῆσα δ' ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ποταμῷ νέας ἀμφιελίσσας.

Quinto-die autem ad Ægyptum pulchre-fluentem venimus ·
Statui vero in Ægypto fluvio naves remis utrinque-agitatas.

Hesychius: Αἴγυπτος, ὁ Νεῖλος ὁ ποταμὸς ἀφ' οὗ καὶ ἡ χώρα ἀπὸ τῶν νεωτέρων Αἴγυπτος ἐκλήθη. *Ægyptus, Nilus fluvius; a quo ipsa regio recentioribus appellata est Ægyptus.*

[2] Mede's Works, b. 1. disc. 50. p. 281. Hoffmanni Lexicon, &c.

However, this was the country where the children of Israel were in a manner born and bred; and it must be said they were much perverted by their education, and retained a fondness for the idols of Egypt ever afterwards. Several of Moses's laws and institutions were plainly calculated to wean them from, and to guard them against, the manners and customs of the Egyptians. But still in their hearts and affections they were much inclined to return into Egypt. Even Solomon married his wife from thence. And upon all occasions they courted the friendship and alliance of Egypt rather than of any of the neighbouring powers. Which prejudice of theirs was the more extraordinary, as the Egyptians generally treated them very injuriously. They oppressed them with most cruel servitude in Egypt. They gave them leave to depart, and then pursued them as fugitives. Shishak king of Egypt came up against Jerusalem, (1 Kings xiv. 25, 26.) and plundered it. And in all their leagues and alliances Egypt was to them as "a broken reed" (Isa. xxxvi. 6.) "whereon if a man lean, it will go into his hand and pierce it." Upon all these accounts we might reasonably expect that Egypt would be the subject of several prophecies, and we shall not be deceived in our expectation.

It is remarkable, that the prophecies uttered against any city or country, often carry the inscription of *the burden* of that city or country. The prophecies against Nineveh, Babylon, and Tyre were inscribed (Nahum i. 1.) "the burden of Nineveh," (Isa. xiii. 1.) "the burden of Babylon," and (Isa. xxiii. 1.) "the burden of Tyre:" and so here likewise (Isa. xix. 1.) the prophecies against Egypt have the title of "the burden of Egypt." And by *burden* is commonly understood a threatening burdensome prophecy, big with ruin and destruction, which like a dead weight is hung upon a city or country, to sink it. But the word in the original is of more general import and signification. Sometimes it signifies a prophecy at large: as the prophecies of Habakkuk and Malachi are entitled "the burden which Habakkuk the prophet did see," and "the burden of the word of the Lord to Israel by Malachi:" and it is rendered a *vision* or *prophecy* in the Septuagint and other ancient versions. Sometimes it signifies a prophecy of good as well as of evil: as it was said of the false prophets who prophesied peace when there was no peace, (Lament. ii. 14.) "Thy prophets have seen vain and foolish things for thee, they have seen for thee false burdens;" and Zechariah's prophecy of the restoration and triumphs of the Jews in the latter days is entitled (Zech. xii. 1.) "the burden of the word of the Lord for Israel." Sometimes it is translated *a prophecy*, where there is no prophecy, but only some grave moral sayings or sentences, as (Prov. xxx. 1.) "the words of Agur the son of Jakeh, even the prophecy;" and again (Prov. xxxi. 1.), "the words of king Lemuel, the prophecy that his mother taught him." We may farther observe that the word is used of the author of the prophecy, as well as of the subject of it; and there is "the burden of the Lord," and "the burden of the word of the Lord," as well as "the burden of Babylon," and "the burden of Egypt." We may be certain too, that this title was affixed to the prophecies by the prophets themselves, and not by the scribes who collected their writings afterwards, because it appears from Jeremiah (xxiii. 33, &c.) that the scoffers and infidels of his time made a jest and derision of it; and therefore they are forbidden to mention it any more as being a term of ambiguous signification; and instead of inquiring "What is the burden of the Lord," they are commanded to say, "What hath the Lord answered? and what hath the Lord spoken?" The word[3] in the original is derived from a verb that signifies to take up, to lift up, to bring forth, and the like; and the proper meaning of it is any weighty important matter or sentence, which ought not to lie neglected, but is worthy of being carried in the memory, and deserves to be lifted up and uttered with emphasis. Such, eminently such are all these prophecies, and those relating to Egypt as well as the rest. For they comprise the principal revolutions of that kingdom from the times of the prophets to this day.

I. The first great revolution, that we shall mention, was the conquest of this kingdom by Nebuchadnezzar, which was particularly foretold by Jeremiah and Ezekiel. These two prophets have both employed several sections, or chapters upon this occasion. Jeremiah was carried into Egypt, and there foretold (chap. xliii.) the conquest of Egypt by Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon: and some of his prophecies are entitled (xlvi. 13.) "The word that the Lord spake to Jeremiah the prophet, how Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon should come and smite the land of Egypt." Ezekiel also declares, (xxx. 10, 11.) "Thus saith the Lord God, I will also make the multitude of

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[3] משא a נשא *tulit, attulit, protulit*, &c. Buxtorf.

Egypt to cease by the hand of Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon: He and his people with him, the terrible of the nations shall be brought to destroy the land; and they shall draw their swords against Egypt, and fill the land with the slain;" and the conquest of this kingdom was promised to Nebuchadnezzar as a reward for his services against Tyre, which after a long siege he took and destroyed, but was disappointed of the spoil, as was observed in the foregoing dissertation; (Ezek. xxix. 18, 19.) "Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon caused his army to serve a great service against Tyrus: every head was made bald, and every shoulder was peeled: yet had he no wages, nor his army for Tyrus, for the service that he had served against it. Therefore thus saith the Lord God, Behold, I will give the land of Egypt unto Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon, and he shall take her multitude, and take her spoil, and take her prey, and it shall be the wages for his army."

Now for this early transaction we have the testimonies [4]of Megasthenes and Berosus, two heathen historians, who lived about 300 years before Christ, one of whom affirms expressly that Nebuchadnezzar conquered the greatest part of Africa, and the other affirms it in effect, in saying that when Nebuchadnezzar heard of the death of his father, having settled his affairs in Egypt, and committed the captives whom he took in Egypt to the care of some of his friends to bring them after him, he hasted directly to Babylon. If neither Herodotus nor Diodorus Siculus have recorded this transaction, what [5]Scaliger said of one of them may be very justly applied to both, that those Egyptian priests, who informed them of the Egyptian affairs, taught them only those things which made for the honour of their nation; other particulars of their idleness, servitude, and the tribute which they paid to the Chaldæans, they concealed. Josephus, we may presume, had good authorities, and was supported by earlier historians, when he [6]asserted, that Nebuchadnezzar, having subdued Cœle-Syria, waged war against the Ammonites and Moabites; and having conquered them, he invaded Egypt, and slew the king who then reigned, and appointed another.

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[4] *καταστρέψασθαι γὰρ αὐτόν φησι Λιβύης τὴν πολλήν. eum enim vastasse dicit magnam Libyæ partem.* Megasthenes apud Joseph. Antiq. l. 10. c. 11. §. 1. *αισθομενος δε μετ' ου ϖολυν χρονον την του ϖατρος τελευτην Ναβουχοδονοσορου, και καταστησας τα κατα την Αιγυπτον πραγματα. κ. τ. λ.* Nebuchodonosorus vero, non multo post patris morte cognita, rebusque in Ægypto ordinatis, &c. Berosus, ibid. Vid. etiam Eusebii. Præp. Evangel. l. 9. c. 40 et 41.

[5] 'Quod perspicue indicatur Jeremiæ, id Herodotus ignoravit: quia sacerdotes illi Ægyptii, qui ei sciscitanti de rebus Ægyptiacis respondebant, ea, quæ ad laudem gentis faciebant, tantum docuerunt; cætera quæ ad illorum ignaviam, servitutem et tributa, quæ Chaldæis pendebant, tacuerunt.' Scalig. in Fragm. p. 11.

[6] ————*στρατεύει ὁ αὐτὸς [Ναβουχοδονόσορος] ἐπὶ τὴν Κοίλην Συρίαν· καὶ κατασχὼν αὐτὴν, ἐπολέμησε καὶ Ἀμμανίτας καὶ Μωαβίτας. ποιησάμενος δὲ ὑπήκοα ταῦτα τὰ ἔθνη, ἐνέβαλεν εἰς τὴν Αἴγυπτον καταστρεψόμενος αὐτὴν, καὶ τὸν μὲν τότε βασιλέα κτείνει· καταστήσας δὲ ἕτερον κ. τ. λ.——exercitum ipse eduxit in Cœlen-Syriam; eaque occupata, et Ammanitis et Moabitis bellum intulit. Istis autem gentibus in potestatem suam reductis, impetum fecit in Ægyptum, ut ipsam debellaret, ac regem quidem, qui tunc regnabat, occidit; alio vero constituto,* &c. Joseph. Antiq. l. 10. c. 9. § 7.

It is indeed most highly probable, that Apries was dethroned, and Amasis constituted king by Nebuchadnezzar; and I think we may infer as much from Herodotus himself. The name of the king of Egypt at that time according to Jeremiah was *Pharaoh-Hophra,* and he can be none other than the *Apries* of Herodotus. Ezekiel represents him as an arrogant impious prince, (xxix. 3.) as "the great dragon (or, *crocodile*) that lieth in the midst of his rivers, which hath said, My river is my own, and I have made it for myself:" and agreeably hereto [7] Herodotus informs us, that Apries proudly and wickedly boasted of having established his kingdom so surely, that it was not in the power of any God to dispossess him of it. However, Jeremiah foretold, that he should be taken and slain by his enemies, (xliv. 30.) "Thus saith the Lord, Behold, I will give Pharaoh-Hophra king of Egypt into the hand of his enemies, and into the hand of them that seek his life, as I gave Zedekiah king of Judah into the hand of Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon, his enemy, and that sought his life:" and accordingly [8] Apries was taken and strangled by Amasis, who was by Nebuchadnezzar constituted king in his room.

Ezekiel foretold, that the country should be desolated forty years, and the people carried captive into other countries; (xxix. 12.) "I will make the land of Egypt desolate in the midst of the countries that are desolate, and her cities among the cities that are laid waste, shall be desolate forty years; and I will scatter the Egyptians among the nations, and will disperse them through the countries." We cannot prove indeed from heathen authors, that this desolation of the country continued exactly forty years, though it is likely enough that this, as well as the other conquered countries, did not shake off the Babylonian yoke till the time of Cyrus, which was about forty years after the conquest of Egypt by Nebuchadnezzar: but we are assured by [9] Berosus, that Nebuchadnezzar took several captives in Egypt, and carried them to Babylon; and from [1] Megasthenes we learn, that he transplanted and settled others in Pontus. So true it is, that they were "scattered among the nations, and dispersed through the countries," and might upon the dissolution of the Babylonian empire return to their native country.

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[7] Ἀπρίεω δὲ λέγεται εἶναι ἥδε ἡ διάνοια, μηδ᾽ ἂν θεόν μιν μηδένα δύνασθαι παῦσαι τῆς βασιληΐης· οὕτω ἀσφαλέως ἑωυτῷ ἱδρῦσθαι ἐδόκεε. *Fertur Apries ea fuisse persuasione, ne deum quidem ullum posse sibi adimere regnum: adeo videbatur sibi illud stabilisse.* Herod. l. 2. § 169.

[8] Herod. ibid. Diodorus Siculus, l. 1. c. 68.

[9] Berosus apud Josephum, l. 10. c. 11. § 1. καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ——— τῶν κατὰ τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἐθνῶν, συντάξας τισὶ τῶν φίλων ——— ἀνακομίζειν εἰς τὴν Βαβυλωνίαν ——— *ut et captivis — ex Ægypti populis, datoque in mandatis cuidam ex amicis, ut eos ——— in Babyloniam deportaret.*

[1] ——— ἀπόδασμον αὐτεών εἰς τὰ δεξιὰ τοῦ Πόντου κατοικίσαι. *colonias in dextram Ponti plagam deportasse."* Megasthenes apud Eusebium, Præp. Evang. l. 9. c. 41.

II. Not long after this was another memorable revolution, and the country was invaded and subdued by Cambyses and the Persians, which is the main subject of the 19th chapter of Isaiah. Some parts indeed of this prophecy have a near affinity with those of Jeremiah and Ezekiel concerning the conquest of Egypt by Nebuchadnezzar, and St. Jerome and others apply it to Nebuchadnezzar: but this prophecy as well as several others, might admit of a double completion, and be fulfilled at both those periods. For this prophecy of Isaiah is a general representation of the calamities of the nation; it includes various particulars; it is applicable to Nebuchadnezzar and the Babylonians, as well as to Cambyses and the Persians. They might therefore be both intended and comprehended in it: but the latter, I conceive, were principally intended, and for this reason; because the deliverance of the Egyptians by some great conqueror, and their conversion afterwards to the true religion, which are foretold in the latter part of this chapter, were events consequent to the dominion of the Persians, and not to that of the Babylonians.

The prophet begins with declaring that the conquest of Egypt should be swift and sudden, and that the idols of Egypt should be destroyed, (ver. 1.) "Behold the Lord rideth upon a swift cloud, and shall come into Egypt, and the idols of Egypt shall be moved at his presence, and the heart of Egypt shall melt in the midst of it." The same thing is foretold of Nebuchadnezzar by Jeremiah, (xliii. 11, &c.) "And when he cometh, he shall smite the land of Egypt—And I will kindle a fire in the houses of the gods of Egypt, and he shall burn them, and carry them away captives—He shall break also the images of Bethshemesh, that is in the land of Egypt; and the houses of the gods of the Egyptians shall he burn with fire:" and again by Ezekiel (xxx. 13.) "Thus saith the Lord God, I will also destroy the idols, and I will cause their images to cease out of Noph," or, *Memphis*. We are not furnished with ancient authors sufficient to prove these particulars (however probable) in the history of Nebuchadnezzar and the Babylonians; but we have ample proofs with relation to Cambyses and the Persians. The first attempt made by Cambyses was upon [2] Pelusium, a strong town at the entrance of Egypt, and the key of the kingdom; and he succeeded by the stratagem of placing before his army a great number of dogs, sheep, cats, and other animals, which being held sacred by the Egyptians, not one of them would cast a javelin, or shoot an arrow that way; and s the town was stormed and taken in a manner without resistance. He[3] treated the gods of Egypt with marvellous contempt, laughed at the people, and chastised the priests for worshipping such deities. He slew Apis, or the sacred ox which the Egyptians worshipped, with his own hand; and burnt and demolished their other idols and temples; and would likewise, if he had not been prevented, have destroyed the famous temple of Jupiter Ammon. Ochus too, who was another king of Persia, and subdued the Egyptians again after they had revolted, [4] plundered their temples, and caused Apis to be slain and served up in a banquet to him and his friends.

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[2] Polyæni Stratagem. l. 7. c. 9.

The prophet foretels, that they should also be miserably distracted with civil wars, (ver. 2.) "And I will set the Egyptians against the Egyptians; and they shall fight every one against his brother, and every one against his neighbour, city against city, and kingdom against kingdom;" *νόμος ἐπὶ νόμον,* as the Seventy translate it, province against province, Egypt being divided into *νόμοι,* prefectures or provinces. Vitringa and others apply this to the time of the [5] *δωδεκαρχία* or the reign of the twelve kings, the anarchy that preceded, and the civil wars that ensued, wherein the genius and fortune of Psammitichus prevailed over the rest. But it may perhaps be more properly applied to what agrees better in point of time with other parts of the prophecy, [6] the civil wars between Apries and Amasis at the time of Nebuchadnezzar's invasion, and the [7] civil wars between Tachos, Nectanebus, and the Mendesian, a little before the country was finally subdued by Ochus.

It is no wonder that in such distractions and distresses as these, the Egyptians being naturally a cowardly people, should be destitute of "counsel," and that "the spirit of Egypt should fail in the midst thereof," as the prophet foretels (ver. 3.); and that being also a very superstitious people, "they should seek to the idols, and to the charmers, and to them that have familiar spirits, and to the wizards." But their divination was all in vain; it was their fate to be subdued and oppressed by cruel lords and tyrants, (ver. 4.) "And the Egyptians will I give over into the hand of a cruel lord; and a fierce king shall rule over them, saith the Lord, the Lord of hosts." This is the most essential part of the prophecy; and this Grotius and others understand of Psammitichus: but it doth not appear from history, that Psammitichus was such a *fierce* and *cruel* tyrant; on the contrary he re-established the government,[8] and reigned long and prosperously for Egypt in many respects. It may with greater truth and propriety be understood of Nebuchadnezzar and the Babylonians, whose dominion was very grievous to the conquered nations: but with the greatest propriety and justice it may be applied to the Persians, and especially to Cambyses and Ochus; one of whom put the yoke upon the neck of the Egyptians, and the other rivetted it there; and who are both branded in history for cruel tyrants and monsters of men. The Egyptians said that Cambyses, after his killing of Apis, was stricken with madness; but his actions, saith [9] Dr. Prideaux after Herodotus, shewed him to have been mad long before. He could hardly have performed those great exploits, if he had been a downright madman: and yet it is certain that he was very much like one; there was a mixture of barbarity and madness in all his behaviour. Ochus was the cruellest and worst of all the kings of Persia, and was so destructive and oppressive to Egypt in particular, that his favourite eunuch [1] Bagoas, who was an Egyptian, in revenge of his injured country, poisoned him. The favours shewn to himself could not compensate for the wrongs done to his country. None other allegation is wanting to prove, that the Persian yoke was galling and intolerable to the Egyptians, than their frequent revolts and rebellions, which served still but to augment their misery, and enslave them more and more.

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[3] Herod. l. 3. § 27, &c. § 37, &c. Strabo, 1. 17. p. 1158. Justin. l. 1. c. 9.

[4] Diod. Sic. 1. 16. c. 51. Plutarch de Isid. et Osir. § 31.

[5] Herod. l. 2. § 147—154. Diod. Sic. l. 1. c. 66.

[6] Herod. l. 2. § 169. Diod. Sic. l. 1. c. 68.

[7] Plutarch. in Agesilao, § 37. 59. Diod. Sic. l. 15. c. 92.

[8] Herod. l. 2. § 153—157. Diod. Sic. l. 1. c. 66. Vide etiam Marshami Chron. Sæc. 17. p. 505.

The prophet then proceeds to set forth in figurative language (ver. 5—10.) the consequences of this subjection and slavery, the poverty and want, the mourning and lamentation, the confusion and misery, which should be intailed on them and their posterity: and afterwards he recounts (ver. 11—17.) the immediate causes of these evils, the folly of the princes and rulers who valued themselves upon their wisdom, and the cowardice and effeminacy of the people in general. These things will plainly appear to any one by perusing the history of the nation, but it would carry us beyond all bounds to prove them by an induction of particulars. In general it may be said, that Egypt would not have become a prey to so many foreign enemies, but through the excessive weakness of the Egyptians both in counsel and in action. They had not the courage even to defend themselves. They trusted chiefly to their Grecian and other mercenaries, who instead of defending, were often the first to betray them.

III. The next memorable revolution was effected by Alexander the Great, who subverted the Persian empire in Egypt as well as in all other places: and this event, I entirely agree with Vitringa, is pointed out to us in this same 19th chapter of Isaiah. It is also foretold, that about the same time several of the Egyptians should be converted to the true religion and the worship of the God of Israel. And as these events, which are the subjects of the latter part of the chapter, (ver. 18—25.) followed upon the subversion of the Persian empire; we may be satisfied, that our application of the former part of the chapter to the Persians in particular, was not a misapplication of the prophecy. "In that day," that is, after that day, after that time, as the phrase signifies, and should be translated in several passages of the prophets, "shall five cities in the land of Egypt speak the language of Canaan," profess the religion of the Hebrews; as in Zephaniah (iii. 9.) "I will turn to the people a pure language," signifies, I will restore to the people a pure religion, "that they may all call upon the name of the Lord, to serve him with one consent. And swear to the Lord of hosts: one shall be called the city of destruction," or of the sun, as it is in the margin of our Bibles, meaning Heliopolis, a famous city of Egypt. "In that day shall there be an altar to the Lord in the midst of the land of Egypt, and a pillar at the border thereof to the Lord," such as Jacob erected (Gen. xxviii. 18.) at Bethel. "And it shall be for a sign, and for a witness unto the Lord of hosts in the land of Egypt: for they shall cry unto the Lord because of the oppressors, and he shall send them a saviour and a great one, and he shall deliver them. And the Lord shall be known to Egypt, and the Egyptians shall know the Lord in that day, and shall do sacrifice and oblation; yea, they shall vow a vow unto the Lord, and perform it." The prophet describes the worship of future times, according to the rites and ceremonies of his own time: "And the Lord shall smite Egypt, he shall smite and heal it, and they shall return even to the Lord, and he shall be entreated of them, and shall heal them." The prophet then proceeds to show, that Assyria or Syria and Egypt, which used to be at great enmity with each other, shall be united in the same worship by the intermediation of Israel, and they three shall be a blessing in the earth: "In that day shall there be a highway out of Egypt to Assyria, and the Assyrian shall come into Egypt, and the Egyptian into Assyria, and the Egyptians shall serve with the Assyrians. In that day shall Israel be the third with Egypt, and with Assyria, even a blessing in the midst of the land: Whom the Lord of hosts shall bless, saying, Blessed be Egypt my people, and Assyria the work of my hands, and Israel mine inheritance."

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[9] Prid. Connect. part 1. b. 3. Anno 525. Cambyses 5. Herod. l. 3. § 30. Καμβύσης δὲ (ὡς λέγουσι Αἰγύπτιοι) αὐτίκα διὰ τοῦτο τὸ ἀδίκημα ἐμάνη ἐὼν οὐδὲ πρότερον φρενήρης. *Ob hoc scelus (ut Ægyptii aiunt) continuo Cambyses insaniit; quum ne prius quidem compos mentis fuisset.*

[1] Diod. Sic. l. 17. c. 5. Æliani Var. Hist. l. 6. c. 8.

Here it is clearly foretold, that a *great* prince, *a saviour sent by God,* from a foreign country, should *deliver* the Egyptians from their Persian *oppressors*, and *heal* their country, which was *smit-*

ten of God and afflicted: and who could this be but Alexander, who is always distinguished by the name of Alexander *the Great*, and whose first successor in Egypt was called *the great* Ptolemy, and Ptolemy Soter or *the saviour?* Upon Alexander's first coming into Egypt, the [2] people all cheerfully submitted to him out of hatred to the Persians, so that he became master of the country without any opposition. For this reason he treated them with humanity and kindness, built a city there which after his own name he called Alexandria, appointed one of their own country for their civil governor, and permitted them to be governed by their own laws and customs. By these changes and regulations, and by the prudent and gentle administration of some of the first Ptolemies, Egypt revived, trade and learning flourished, and for a while peace and plenty blessed the land.

But it is more largely foretold, that about the same time the true religion and the worship of the God of Israel should begin to spread and prevail in the land of Egypt: and what event was ever more unlikely to happen than the conversion of a people so sunk and lost in superstition and idolatry of the worst and grossest kind? It is certain that many of the Jews, after Nebuchadnezzar had taken Jerusalem, fled into Egypt, and carried along with them Jeremiah the prophet, (Jer. xliii. &c.) who there uttered most of his prophecies concerning the conquest of Egypt by Nebuchadnezzar. From thence some knowledge of God, and some notices of the prophecies might easily be derived to the Egyptians. It is said that this alteration should be effected principally in *five cities*. If a certain number be not here put for an uncertain, I should conclude with [3] Le Clerc, that the *five* cities, wherein the worship of the one true God was received, were *Heliopolis*, which is particularly named in the text, and the four others, which are mentioned in Jeremiah (xliv. 1.) as the places of the residence of the Jews, *Migdol* or Magdolum, *Tahpanhes* or Daphne, *Noph* or Memphis, and the fourth *in the country of Pathros* or Thebais, not mentioned by name, perhaps Amon-no or Diospolis. There the Jews chiefly resided at that time: and though they were generally very wicked men, and disobedient to the word of the Lord, and upon that account the prophet Jeremiah denounced the heaviest judgments against them; yet some good men might be mingled among them, who might open his prophecies to the Egyptians, and they themselves when they saw them fulfilled, might embrace the Jewish religion. But this is to be understood not of all the inhabitants of those places, but only of some; which is sufficient to justify the expression of "five cities speaking the language of Canaan, and swearing by the Lord of hosts."

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[2] Diod. Sic. l. 17. c. 49. Arrian. l. 3. c. 1, &c. Quint. Curtius, l. 4. c. 7. et 8.

[3] 'Si liceret conjicere de nominibus quinque [quatuor] aliarum urbium, dicerem eas esse, quæ memorantur Jeremiæ c. xliv. 2. Migdol (Herodoto Magdolus), Thachphanches (eidem Daphne), Noph sive Memphis, et quarta in terra Pathros seu Pathyride, quæ nomine non appellatur, forte Amon-no sive Diospolis. In iis habitarunt Judæi, qui Chaldæorum metu post captam Jerosolimam in Ægyptum migrarant, eoque invitum Jeremiam abduxerant. Quibus, improbis quippe, licet extrema mala iis propheta minetur, potuerunt tamen nonnulli pii admisti esse, qui vaticinia ejus Ægyptiis aperuerint, et ipsi, cum ea impleta vidissent, Judaicam religionem amplexi sint. Quod intelligi nolim de incolis omnibus eorum locorum; sed de nonnullis; quod satis est, ut dicentur quinque urbes "*lingua Chanahanitide loquuturæ, et per Jehovem juraturæ.*" Comment. in locum.

Alexander the Great[4] transplanted many of the Jews into his new city of Alexandria, and allowed them privileges and immunities equal to those of the Macedonians themselves. Ptolemy Soter[5] carried more of them into Egypt, who there enjoyed such advantages, that not a few of the other Jews went thither of their own accord, the goodness of the country and the liberality of Ptolemy alluring them. Ptolemy Philadelphus[6] redeemed and released the captive Jews! and in his reign or his father's, the books of Moses were translated into Greek, and afterwards the other parts of the Old Testament. The third Ptolemy,[7] called Euergetes, having subdued all Syria, did not sacrifice to the gods of Egypt in acknowledgment of his victory; but coming to Jerusalem, made his oblations to God after the manner of the Jews: and the king's example, no doubt, would influence many of his subjects. The sixth Ptolemy,[8] called Philometor, and his queen Cleopatra committed the whole management of the kingdom to two Jews, Onias and Dositheus, who were their chief ministers and generals, and had the principal direction of all affairs both civil and military. This Onias obtained a licence from the king and queen to build a temple for the Jews in Egypt like that at Jerusalem, alleging for this purpose this very prophecy of Isaiah, that there should "be an altar to the Lord in the midst of the land of Egypt:" and the king and queen in their rescript make honourable mention of the law and of the prophet Isaiah, and express a dread of sinning against God. The place, chosen for the building of this temple, was in the prefecture of Heliopolis or *the city of the sun*, which place is likewise mentioned in the prophecy. It was built after the model of the temple at Jerusalem, but not so sumptuous and magnificent. He himself was made high-priest; other priests and Levites were appointed for the ministration; and divine service was daily performed there in the same manner as at Jerusalem, and continued as long; for Vespasian, having destroyed the temple at Jerusalem, ordered this also to be demolished.

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[4] Joseph. de Bell. Jud. l. 2. c. 18. § 7. Contra Apion. l. 2. § 4.

[5] Joseph. Antiq. l. 12. c. 1. Hecatæus apud Joseph. Contra Apion. l. 1. § 22.

[6] Joseph. Antiq. l. 12. c. 2. Contra Apion. § 4. Hody de Vers. Græc. l. 2. c. 2.

[7] Joseph. Contra Apion. l. 2. § 5.

[8] Joseph Contra Apion. ibid. Antiq l. 13. c. 3. De Bell. Jud. l. 1. c. 1. § 1. l. 7. c. 10. § 2.

By these means *the Lord* must in some degree *have been known to Egypt, and the Egyptians must have known the Lord:* and without doubt there must have been many proselytes among them. Among those who came up to the feast of Pentecost (Acts ii. 10.) there are particularly mentioned "the dwellers in Egypt and in the parts of Libya about Cyrene, Jews and proselytes." Nay from the instance of Candace's eunuch (Acts viii. 27.) we may infer that there were proselytes even beyond Egypt, in Ethiopia. Thus were the Jews settled and encouraged in Egypt, insomuch that Philo[9] represents their number as not less than a hundred myriads or ten hundred thousand men. Nor were they less favoured or rewarded for their services, by the kings of Sysia. Seleucus Nicator[1] made them free of the cities which he built in Asia and the lower Syria, and of Antioch itself, the capital of his kingdom; and granted the same rights and privileges to them as to the Greeks and Macedonians. Antiochus the Great[2] published several decrees in favour of the Jews, both of those who inhabited Jerusalem, and of those who dwelt in Mesopotamia and Babylonia. Josephus[3] saith that the Jews gained many proselytes at Antioch. And thus by the means of the Jews and proselytes dwelling in Egypt and Syria, Israel, Egypt, and Syria were in some measure united in the same worship. But this was more fully accomplished, when these countries became Christian, and so were made members of the same body in Christ Jesus. And we piously hope and believe, that it will still receive its most perfect completion in the latter days, when Mohammedism shall be rooted out, and Christianity shall again flourish in these countries, "when the fulness of the Gentiles shall come in, and all Israel shall be saved."

IV. But there is a remarkable prophecy of Ezekiel, which comprehends in little the fate of Egypt from the days of Nebuchadnezzar to the present. For therein it is foretold, that after the desolation of the land and the captivity of the people by Nebuchadnezzar (xxix. 14, 15.), it "should be a base kingdom: it shall be the basest of the kingdoms, neither shall it exalt itself any more above the nations; for I will diminish them, that they shall no more rule over the nations:" and again in the next chapter (ver. 12, 13.), "I will sell the land into the hand of the wicked, and I will make the land waste, and all that is therein, by the hand of strangers: and there shall be no more a prince of the land of Egypt." Such general prophecies, like general rules, are not to be understood so strictly and

[9] *οὐκ ἀποδέουσι μυριάδων ἑκατὸν*—In Flaccum.

[1] Joseph. Antiq. l. 12. c. 3.

[2] Joseph. ibid.

[3] De Bell. Jud. l. 7. c. 3. § 3.

absolutely, as if they could not possibly admit of any kind of limitation or exception whatever. It is sufficient if they hold good for the most part, and are confirmed by the experience of many ages, though perhaps not without an exception of a few years. The prophets exhibit a general view of things, without entering into the particular exceptions. It was predicted (Gen. ix. 25.) that "Canaan should be a servant of servants unto his brethren;" and generally his posterity were subjected to the descendants of his brethren: but yet they were not always so; upon some occasions they were superior; and Hannibal and the Carthaginians obtained several victories over the Romans, though they were totally subdued at last. In like manner it was not intended by this prophecy, that Egypt should ever afterwards, in every point of time, but only that it should for much the greater part of time, be "a base kingdom," be tributary and subject to strangers. This is the purport and meaning of the prophecy; and the truth of it will best appear by a short deduction of the history of Egypt from that time to this.

Amasis was left king by Nebuchadnezzar; and as he held his crown by the permission and allowance of the Babylonians, there is no room to doubt that he paid them tribute for it. Berosus, the Chaldæan historian,[4] in a fragment preserved by Josephus, speaketh of Nebuchadnezzar's reducing Egypt to his obedience, and afterwards of his settling the affairs of the country, and carrying captives from thence to Babylon. By his constituting and settling the affairs of Egypt nothing less could be meant than his appointing the governors, and the tribute that they should pay to him: and by carrying some Egyptians captive to Babylon, he plainly intended not only to weaken the country, but also to have them as hostages to secure the obedience of the rest, and the payment of their tribute. If Herodotus hath given no account of these transactions, the reason is evident, according to the observation cited before from Scaliger; the Egyptian priests would not inform him of things, which were for the discredit of their nation. However we may, I think, confirm the truth of this assertion even by Herodotus's own narration. The Persians succeeded in right of the Babylonians: and it appears[5] by Cyrus's sending for the best physician in Egypt to Amasis, who was obliged to force one from his wife and children; and by Cambyses's demanding the daughter of Amasis, not for a wife but for a mistress; by these instances, I say, it appears that they considered him as their tributary and subject. And indeed no reason can be assigned for the strong resentment of the Persians against Amasis, and their horrid barbarity to his dead body, so probable and satisfactory, as his having revolted and rebelled against them. Herodotus himself[6] mentions the league and alliance, which Amasis made with Crœsus king of Lydia, against Cyrus.

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[4] Καὶ καταστήσας τὰ κατὰ τὴν Αἴγυπτον πράγματα καὶ τὴν λοιπὴν χώραν, καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους—τῶν κατὰ τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἐθνῶν. κ. τ. λ. *rebusq. in Ægypto et reliqua regione ordinatio, ut et captivis—ex Ægypti populis, &c.* Josephus Antiquit. l. 10. c. 11. § 1.

[5] Herod. l. 3. § 1.

Upon the ruins of the Babylonian empire Cyrus erected the Persian. Xenophon hath written the life of this extraordinary man: and he affims[7] both in the introduction and near the conclusion of his history, that Cyrus also conquered Egypt, and made it part of his empire; and there is not a more faithful, as well as a more elegant historian than Xenophon. But whether Cyrus did or not, it is universally allowed that his [8] son Cambyses did conquer Egypt, and deprived Psammenitus of his crown, to which he had newly succeeded upon the death of his father Amasis. Cambyses purposed to have made Psammenitus administrator of the kingdom under him, as it was the custom of the Persians to do to the conquered princes: but Psammenitus forming schemes to recover the kingdom, and being convicted thereof, was forced to drink bull's blood, and thereby put an end to his life. The Egyptians groaned under the yoke near forty years. Then they revolted[9] toward the latter end of the reign of Darius the son of Hystaspes: but his son and successor Xerxes, in the second year of his reign, subdued them again, and reduced them to a worse condition of servitude than they had been in under Darius, and appointed his brother Achæmenes governor of Egypt. About four and twenty years after this, when [1] the Egyptians heard of the troubles in Persia about the succession to the throne after the death of Xerxes, they revolted again at the instigation of Inarus king of Libya; and having drove away the Persian tribute-collectors, they constituted Inarus their king. Six years were employed in reducing them to obedience, and all Egypt submitted again to the king Artaxerxes Longimanus, except Amyrtæus who reigned in the fens, whither the Persians could not approach to take him: but Inarus, the author of these evils, was betrayed to the Persians, and was crucified. However they [2] permitted his son Thannyra to succeed his father in the kingdom of Libya; and Egypt continued in subjection all the remaining part of the long reign of Artaxerxes. In the [3] tenth year of Darius Nothus they revolted again under the conduct of Amyrtæus, who sallied out of the fens, drove the Persians out of Egypt, made himself master of the country, and reigned there six years; but his son Pausiris, [4] as Herodotus informs us, succeeding him in his kingdom by the favour of the Persians, this argues that the Persians had again subdued Egypt, or at least that the king was not established without their consent and approbation. It is certain, that after this, Egypt gave much trouble to the Persians. Artaxerxes Mnemon [5] made several efforts to reconquer it, but all in vain. It was not totally and finally subdued till the [6] ninth year of the following reign of Ochus, about 350 years before Christ; when Nectanebus the last king fled into Ethiopia, and Ochus became absolute master of the country, and having appointed one of his nobles, named Pherendates, to be his viceroy and governor of Egypt, he returned with great glory and immense treasures to Babylon. Egypt from that time hath never been able to recover its liberties. It hath always been subject to strangers. It hath never been governed by a king of its own. From this last revolt of the Egyptians in the tenth year of Darius Nothus, to their total subjugation in the ninth year of Ochus, I think there are computed sixty-four years: and this is the only exception of any significance to the general truth of the prophecy. But what are sixty-four years compared to two thousand three hundred and twenty-five? for so many years have passed from the conquest of Egypt by Nebuchadnezzar to this time. They are really as nothing, and not worth mentioning in comparison: and during these sixty-four years, we see, that the Egyptians were not entirely independent of the Persians; Pausiris succeeded his father Amyrtæus in the kingdom by their consent and favour: and during the rest of the time the Egyptians lived in continual fear and dread of the Persians, and were either at war with them, or with one another. And perhaps this part of the prophecy was not intended to take effect immediately: its completion might be designed to commence from this period, when the Persians had totally subdued Egypt, and then there should be "no more a prince of the land of Egypt."

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[6] Herod. l. 1. § 77.

[7] Xenophon. Cyropæd. l. 1. c. 1. § 4. et l. 8. c. 6. § 20.

[8] Herod. l. 3. § 10—15.

[9] Herod l. 7. § 1 et 7.

[1] Thucyd. l. 1. § 104—110. Diod. Sic. l. 11. c. 71.

[2] Herod. l. 3. § 15.

[3] Eusebius in Chronico, Usher's Annals, A. M. 3590. p. 146. Prideaux Connect. Part 1. b. 1. Anno 414

After the Persians, Egypt came into the hands of the Macedonians. It submitted to Alexander the Great without striking a stroke; made no attempts at that favourable juncture to recover its liberties, but was content only to change its master. After the death of Alexander it fell to the share of Ptolemy one of his four famous captains, and was governed by his family for several generations. The two or three first of the Ptolemies were wise and potent princes, but most of the rest were prodigies of luxury and wickedness. It is [7] Strabo's observation, that all after the third Ptolemy governed very ill, being corrupted by luxury; but they who governed worst of all were the fourth and the seventh, and the last called Auletes. The persons here intended by Strabo were [8] Ptolemy Philopater or *the lover of his father,* so called (as Justin conceives) by way of antiphrasis, or with a contrary meaning, because he was a parricide, and murdered both his father and his mother; and [9] Ptolemy Physcon or the big-bellied, who affected the title of *Euergetes* or *the benefactor,* but the Alexandrians more justly named him *Kakergetes* or *the malefactor;* and [1] Ptolemy Auletes or *the piper,* so denominated because he spent much of his time in playing on the pipe, and used to contend for the prize in the public shows. This kingdom of the Macedonians [2] continued from the death of Alexander 294 years, and ended in the famous Cleopatra, of whom it is not easy to say, whether she excelled more in beauty, or wit, or wickedness.

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[4] Herod. l. 3. § 15.

[5] Diod. Sic. l. 15. c. 41.

[6] Diod. Sic. l. 16. c. 51. Usher's Annals, A. M. 3654. p. 196. Prid. Connect. Part 1. b. 7. Anno 350.

[7] Ἅπαντες μὲν οὖν οἱ μετὰ τὸν τρίτον Πτολεμαῖον ὑπὸ τρυφῆς διεφθαρμένοι, χεῖρον ἐπολιτεύσαντο· χείριστα δ' ὁ τέταρτος, καὶ ὁ ἕβδομος, καὶ ὁ ὕστατος ὁ Αὐλητής. *Omnes post tertium Ptolemæum male regnum gesserunt,*

After the Macedonians Egypt fell under the dominion of the Romans. The Romans had either by virtue of treaties or by force of arms obtained great authority there, and were in a manner arbiters of the kingdom before, but after the death of Cleopatra, [3] Octavius Cæsar reduced it into the form of a Roman province, and appointed Cornelius Gallus, the friend of Virgil, to whom the tenth eclogue is inscribed, the first prefect or governor: and so it continued to be governed by a prefect or viceroy sent from Rome, or from Constantinople, when after the division of the Roman empire it fell to the share of the eastern emperors. It was first made a province of the Roman empire in the year 30 before Christ,[4] and in this state it remained without much variation till the year 641 after Christ, that is 670 years in the whole, from the reign of Augustus Cæsar to that of the emperor Heraclius.

Then it was that the [5] Saracens, in the reign of Omar their third emperor, and under the command of Amrou the son of Aas, invaded and conquered Egypt, took Misrah (formerly Memphis, now Cairo) by storm, and also Alexandria, after they had besieged it fourteen months, and had lost twenty-three thousand men before it: and the rest of the kingdom soon followed the fortune of the capital cities, and submitted to the conqueror. There is one thing which was effected partly in the

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luxu perditi: omnium vero pessime quartus, et septimus, et ultimus Auletes. Strab. l. 17. p. 1146.

[8] Justin. l. 29. c. 1. § 5. 'Ægyptum, patre ac matre interfectis, occupaverat Ptolemæus, cui ex facinoris crimine cognomentum *Philopatori* fuit.'

[9] Athenæus, l. 12. p. 549. Edit. Causabon.

[1] Strabo, l. 17. p. 1146.

[2] Clemens Alexan. Strom. l. 1. p. 396. Prideaux Connect, part. 2. b. 8. Anno 30. Herod. 8.

[3] Strabo, l. 17. p. 1147, et 1175. Dion Cass. l. 51. c. 17.

[4] See Usher, Prideaux, &c. under that year.

[5] Elmacini Hist. Saracen. l. 1. p. 23, 24. Abul-Pharajii Hist. Dyn. 9. p. 112. Vers. Pocock. Ockley's Hist. of the Saracens, vol. 1. p. 344, &c.

wars of the Romans, and partly by the Saracens, and which no lover of learning can pass over without lamentation; and that is the destruction of the library at Alexandria. This famous library was founded by the first Ptolemies, and was so much enlarged and improved by their successors, that it [6]amounted to the number of seven hundred thousand volumes. It consisted[7] of two parts, one in that quarter of the city called Bruchion, containing four hundred thousand volumes, and the other within the Serapeum, containing three hundred thousand volumes. It happened, that while Julius Cæsar was making war upon the inhabitants of Alexandria, [8]the library in Bruchion together with other buildings was burnt, and the [9]four hundred thousand volumes which were kept therein were all consumed. But this loss was in some measure repaired by the [1]Pergamean library, consisting of two hundred thousand volumes, which Antony presented to Cleopatra, and by the addition of other books afterwards, so that [2]this latter library was reckoned as numerous and as famous as the other ever was: and it came to the same fatal end, this being also destroyed by fire. For [3]John the Grammarian, a famous philosopher of Alexandria, being in great favour with Amrou the Saracen general, asked of him the royal library. Amrou replied, that it was not in his power to give it him, without leave first obtained from the emperor of the faithful. Amrou therefore wrote to Omar, and acquainted him with John's petition, to which the caliph returned this answer; that if what was contained in those books was agreeable to the book of God or the Koran, the Koran was sufficient without them; but if it was repugnant to the Koran, it was no ways useful; and therefore he commanded them to be destroyed. Amrou in obedience to the caliph's commands ordered them to be distributed among the baths of the city, and to be burnt in warming them, whereof there were no fewer at that time in Alexandria than four thousand: and yet there passed six months before the books were all consumed; which sufficiently evinces how great their number was, and what an inestimable loss not only Egypt, but all the learned world hath sustained. Egypt before this[4] was frequented by learned foreigners for the sake of this library, and produced several learned natives; but after this it became more and more "a base kingdom," and sunk into greater ignorance and superstition. Mohammedism was now established there instead of Christianity, and the government of the Caliphs and Sultans continued till about the year of Christ 1250.

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[6] Ammianus Marcellinus, l. 22. c. 16. ubi vide etiam quæ Valesius adnotavit. A. Gellius, l. 6. c. 17.

[7] Epiphanius de Mensuris et Ponderibus, c. 11. Chrysostom. vol. 1. advers. Judæos, Orat. 1.

[8] Plutarch in Julio Cæsare, § 49. Dion. Cassius, l. 42. c. 38.

[9] Seneca de Tranquill. animi. c. 9. Orosii Hist. l. 6. c. 15.

[1] Plutarch in Antonio, § 58.

[2] Tertull. Apol. c. 18.

[3] Abul-Pharajii Hist. Dyn. 9. p. 114. Versio Pocock. Ockley's Hist. of the Saracens, vol. 1. p. 359, &c. Prideaux Connect. part 2. b. 1. Anno 284. Ptolemy Philadelph. 1.

[4] Vide Amm. Marcellin. l. 22. c. 16.

About that time it was that the [5] Mamalucs usurped the royal authority. The [6] word in general signifies a slave bought with money, but is appropriated in particular to those Turkish and Circassian slaves, whom the Sultans of Egypt bought very young, trained up in military exercises, and so made them their choicest officers and soldiers, and by them controlled their subjects, and subdued their enemies. These slaves perceiving how necessary and useful they were, grew at length insolent and audacious, slew their sovereigns, and usurped the government to themselves. It is commonly said, that none but the sons of Christians were taken into this order; and there are other popular mistakes about them, which are current among European authors, and which [7] Sir William Temple among others hath adopted and expressed, as he doth every thing, in a lively and elegant manner: 'The sons of the deceased sultans enjoyed the estates and riches left by their fathers, but by the constitutions of the government no son of a sultan was ever either to succeed, or even to be elected sultan: So that in this, contrary to all others ever known in the world, to be born of a prince, was a certain and unalterable exclusion from the kingdom; and none was ever to be chosen sultan, that had not been actually sold for a slave, brought from Circassia, and trained up a private soldier in the Mamaluc bands.' But [8] they who are better versed in oriental authors, assure us that these are vulgar errors: and it appears from the [9] Arabian historians, that among the Mamalucs the son often succeeded the father in the kingdom. Their government is thus characterized by an [1] Arabic author quoted by Dr. Pococke; 'If you consider the whole time that they possessed the kingdom, especially that which was nearer the end, you will find it filled with wars, battles, injuries, and rapines.'

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[5] Abul-Pharajii Hist. Dyn. 9. p. 325, &c. et Pocockii Supplementum, p. 8, &c.

[6] Pocockii Supplem. p. 7. '*Mamluc* autem (et cum de pluribus dicitur *Mamalic*) servum emptitium denotat, seu qui pretio numerato in domini possessionem cedit.' Herbelot. Bibliotheque Orientale. p. 545. '*Mamlouk.* Ce mot dont le pluriel est Memalik, signifie en Arabe un esclave en general, mais en particulier, il a été appliqué a ces esclaves Turcs et Circassiens, &c.'

[7] Sir William Temple's Works, vol. 1. Miscellanea, part 2. Essay on Heroic Virtue, § 5. p. 224.

[8] Pocockii Supplem. p. 31. 'Ex his quæ dicta sunt facile patet, in errore esse eos qui Mamlucos Christianorum tantummodo filios fuisse autumant; nec non in aliis errasse, quæ de successionis apud eos jure eorumque disciplina tradunt.' Herbelot Bib. Orient. p. 545. 'Il paroît par ce que l'on vient de voir, qui les Mamelucs n'etoient pas fils de Chrétiens (si ce n'est peut être quelqu'un d'entr'eux) comme plusieurs de nos historiens l'ont avancé.'

[9] Pocockii Supplem. p. 8, 10, 11, 13, 18, 20, 22, 23, 24, 25.

[1] Al. Jannabius in Pocockii Supplem. p. 31. 'Si totum quo regnum occuparunt tempus respicias, præsertim quod fini propius, reperies illud bellis, pugnis, injuriis et rapinis refertum.'

Their government[2] began with Sultan Ibeg in the 648th year of the Hegira and the year of Christ 1250; and continued through a [3]series of twenty-four Circassian Mamaluc sultans, 275 Arabic and 267 Julian years; and [4]ended with Tumanbäi in the 923d year of the Hegira and the year of Christ 1517.

For at that time Selim[5] the ninth emperor of the Turks conquered the Mamalucs, hanged their last Sultan Tumanbäi before one of the gates of Cairo, put an end to their government; caused five hundred of the chiefest Egyptian families to be transported to Constantinople, as likewise a great number of Mamalucs' wives and children, besides the Sultan's treasure and other immense riches; and annexed Egypt to the Othman empire, whereof it hath continued a province from that day to this. It is governed, as prince Cantemir informs us, by a Turkish Basha,[6] with twenty-four *begs* or princes under him, who are advanced from servitude to the administration of public affairs; a superstitious notion possessing the Egyptians, that it is decreed by fate, that captives shall reign, and the natives be subject to them. But it cannot well be called a superstitious notion, being a notion in all probability at first derived from some tradition of these prophecies, that "Egypt should be a base kingdom," that "there should be no more a prince of the land of Egypt," and that Ham in his posterity "should be a servant of servants unto his brethren."

By this deduction it appears, that the truth of Ezekiel's prediction is fully attested by the whole series of the history of Egypt from that time to the present. And who could pretend to say upon human conjecture, that so great a kingdom, so rich and fertile a country, should ever afterwards become tributary and subject to strangers? It is now a great deal above two thousand years since this prophecy was first delivered; and what likelihood or appearance was there, that the Egyptians should for so many ages bow under a foreign yoke, and never in all that time be able to recover their liberties, and have a prince of their own to reign over them? But as is the prophecy, so is the event. For not long afterwards Egypt was conquered by the Babylonians, and after the Babylonians[7] by the Persians; and after the Persians it became subject to the Macedonians, and after the Macedonians to the Romans, and after the Romans to the Saracens, and then to the Mamalucs; and is now a province of the Othman empire.

Thus we see how Nineveh, Babylon, Tyre, and Egypt, the great adversaries and oppressors of the Jews, have been visited by divine vengeance for their enmity and cruelty to the people of God. Not that we must think God so partial as to punish these nations only for the sake of the Jews; they were guilty of other flagrant sins, for which the prophets denounced the divine judgments upon them. Egypt in particular was so severely threatened by the prophet Ezekiel, (chap. xxix. xxx. xxxi. xxxii.) for her idolatry, her pride, and her wickedness. And the Egyptians have generally been more wretched, as they have generally been more wicked, than other nations. Ancient authors describe them every where as superstitious and luxurious, as an [8]unwarlike and unserviceable people, as a [9]faithless and fallacious nation, always meaning one thing and pretending another, as [1]lovers of wine and strong drink, as [2]cruel in their anger, as [3]thieves and tolerating all kinds of theft, as [4]patient of tortures, and though put to the rack, yet choosing rather to die than to confess the truth. Modern authors paint them still in blacker colours. The famous Thevenot[5] is very strong and severe; 'The people of Egypt (generally speaking) are all swarthy, exceeding wicked, great rogues, cowardly, lazy, hypocrites, buggerers, robbers, treacherous, so very greedy of money, that they will kill a man for a *maidin*, or three halfpence.' Bishop Pococke's[6] character of them is not much more favourable, though not so harsh and opprobrious; 'The natives of Egypt are now a slothful people, and delight in sitting still, hearing tales, and indeed seem always to have been more fit for the quiet life, than for any active scenes.—They are also malicious and envious to a great degree, which keeps them from uniting and setting up for themselves; and though they are very ignorant, yet they have a natural cunning and artifice as well as falsehood, and this makes them always suspicious of travellers—The love of money is so rooted in them, that nothing is to be done without bribery—They think the greatest villanies are expiated, when once they wash their hands and feet.—Their words pass for nothing, either in relations, promises, or professions of friendship, &c.' Such men are evidently born not to command, but to serve and obey. They are altogether unworthy of liberty. Slavery is the fittest for them, as they are fittest for slavery. It is an excellent political aphorism of the wisest and best of kings, and all history will bear witness to the truth of it, that (Prov. xiv. 34.) "righteousness exalteth a nation, but sin is a reproach *and ruin* to any people."

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[2] Pocock. p. 8. Herbelot. p. 479.

[3] Pocock. p. 8—30. Herbelot. p. 545.

[4] Pocock. p. 30. Herbelot. p. 1031.

[5] Pocockii Supplem. p. 30. et. 49. Herbelot. Bibli. Orient. p. 545. et 802. et 1031. Savage's Abridgment of Knolles and Rycaut's Turkish Hist. vol. i. p. 241.

[6] Prince Cantemir's Hist. of the Othman Empire, part i. b. 3. p. 156. in the Notes.

[7] See Prideaux Connect. part 1. b. 1. Anno 589. Zedekiah 10.

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[8] Strabo, l. 17. p. 1175. Juvenal. Sat. xv. 126. 'imbelle et inutile vulgus.'

[9] Lucan. v. 58. 'non fidæ gentis.' Hirtius de Bell. Alexand. c. 16. 'fallacem gentem, semperque alia cogitantem, alia simulantem.'

[1] Athenæus ex Dione, l. i. p. 34. Edit. Casaubon. φιλοίνους και φιλοπότας. *vinosos ac bibaces*

[2] Polyb. l. 15. § 33. *Δεινὴ γάρ τις ἡ παρὰ τοὺς θυμοὺς ὠμότης γίγνεται τῶν κατὰ τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἀνθρώπων. Est enim hoc Ægyptiis hominibus innatum, ut dum fervent ira mirum in modum sint crudeles.*

[3] A. Gellius. l. 11. c. 18. Ex Aristone. 'furta omnia fuisse licita et impunita.' Diod. Sic. l. i. c. 80.

[4] Ælian. Var. Hist. l. 7. c. 18. Αἰγυπτίους φασὶ δεινῶς ἐγκαρτερεῖν ταῖς βασάνοις, καὶ ὅτι θᾶττον τεθνήξεται ἀνὴρ Αἰγύπτιος στρεβλούμενος, ἢ τ'ἀληθὲς ὁμολογήσει. *Ægyptios aiunt patientissime ferre tormenta; et citius mori hominem Ægyptium in quæstionibus, tortum examinatumque, quam veritatem prodere.* Ammianus Marcell. l. 22. c. 16.

[5] Thevenot in Harris's Collection. vol. 2. c. 8. p. 429.

[6] Pococke's Description of the East, vol. i. b. 4. c. 4. p. 177, &c.

XIII.—NEBUCHADNEZZAR'S DREAM OF THE GREAT EMPIRES.

WE have seen how it pleased God to reveal unto the prophets the future condition of several of the neighbouring countries; but there are other prophecies which extend to more remote nations, those nations especially and their transactions, wherein the church of God was particularly interested and concerned. It pleased God too to make these revelations, at a time when his people seemed in other respects abandoned and forsaken, and did not so much deserve, as stand in need of light and comfort. Isaiah and Jeremiah prophesied in the declension of the kingdoms of Israel and Judah. Ezekiel and Daniel prophesied during the time of the Babylonish captivity. And the prophecies of Daniel are so clear and exact, that in former as well as in latter times it hath confidently been asserted, that they must have been written after the events, which they are pretended to foretel.

The famous Porphyry (who flourished at the latter end of the third century after Christ) was I think the first who denied their genuineness and authority. He wrote [1] fifteen books against the Christian religion, the twelfth of which was designed to depreciate the prophecies of Daniel; and therein he affirmed, that they were not composed by Daniel whose name they bore, but by somebody who lived in Judea about the time of Antiochus Epiphanes; because all to that time contained true history, but all beyond that were manifestly false. This work of Porphyry, together with the answers of Eusebius, Apollinarius, and Methodius, is wholly lost, excepting a few fragments and quotations, which are preserved in Jerome and others of the fathers. But as [2] Jerome rightly observes, this method of opposing the prophecies is the strongest testimony of their truth. For they were fulfilled with such exactness, that to infidels the prophet seemed not to have foretold things future, but to have related things past.

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[1] Cave Hist. Lit. vol. 1. p. 156. Hieron. Præf. in Danielem.

[2] 'Cujus impugnatio testimonium veritatis est. Tanta enim dictorum fides fuit, ut propheta incredulis hominibus non videatur futura dixisse, sed narrasse præterita.' Hieron. ibid.

The celebrated author of *the Scheme of Literal Prophecy considered* hath followed the steps of Porphyry. He hath collected every thing, that in the course of his reading he thought could be turned to the disparagement of the book of Daniel. He hath framed all that he had collected into eleven objections against it; and upon the whole concludes with much positiveness and assurance, that it must be written in the days of the Maccabees. But his [3] two learned opponents, both of the same name, have solidly and clearly refuted his eleven objections, and shewn them all to be mere cavils or direct falsities, groundless assertions, wrong quotations, or plain contradictions.

And indeed it may be proved, it hath been proved to a demonstration, as much as any thing of this nature can be proved to a demonstration, by all the characters and testimonies both internal and external, that the prophecies of Daniel were written at the time the Scripture says they were written, and he *prospered* on account of these prophecies (Dan. vi. 28.) "in the reign of Darius the Mede, and in the reign of Cyrus the Persian:" that is, between five and six hundred years before Christ. It is very capricious and unreasonable in unbelievers to object, as Collins doth, to the prophecies of Daniel, sometimes that they are too plain, and sometimes that they are too obscure. But it will entirely overthrow the notion of their being written in the days of Antiochus Epiphanes or of the Maccabees, and will establish the credit of Daniel as a prophet beyond all contradiction, if it can be proved that there are several prophecies of his which have been fulfilled since the days of Antiochus Epiphanes and the Maccabees as well as before, nay that there are prophecies of his which are fulfilling in the world at this very time.

Daniel's first prophecy, and the groundwork as I may say of all the rest, was his interpretation of Nebuchadnezzar's dream. This monarch, "in the second year of his reign," (Dan. ii. i.) according to the Babylonian account, or the fourth according to the Jewish, that is in the second year of his reigning alone, or the fourth from his first reigning jointly with his father, having subdued all his enemies and firmly established his throne, was thinking *upon his bed,* (ver. 29.) *what should come to pass hereafter,* what should be the future success of his family and kingdom, and whether any or what families and kingdoms might arise after his own: and as our waking thoughts usually give some tincture to our dreams, he dreamed of something to the same purpose, which astonished him, but which he could not rightly understand. The dream affected him strongly at the time; but awaking in confusion, he had but an imperfect remembrance of it, he could not recollect all the particulars. He called therefore (ver. 2.) for " the magicians and astrologers;" and as absurdly as imperiously demanded of them (ver. 5.) upon pain of death and destruction, " to make known unto him both the dream and the interpretation thereof." They answered very reasonably, that no king had ever required such a thing, that it transcended all the powers and faculties of man, God alone or only beings like God could disclose it, (ver. 10, 11.) "There is not a man upon earth that can shew the king's matter; therefore there is no king, lord, nor ruler, that asked such things at any magician, astrologer, or Chaldæan: and it is a rare thing that the king requireth, and there is none other that can shew it before the king, except the God, whose dwelling is not with flesh." But the pride of absolute power cannot hear any reason, or bear any control; and the king greatly incensed presently ordered all the magicians and wise men of Babylon to be destroyed, (ver. 12.) " For this cause the king was angry and very furious, and commanded to destroy all the wise men of Babylon."

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[3] See Bp. Chandler's Vindication of his Defence of Christianity, and Mr. Sam. Chandler's Vindication of the Antiquity and Authority of Daniel's Prophecies, in answer to the Scheme of Literal Prophecy considered.

Daniel and his fellows would have been involved in the same fate as the rest; but by their joint and earnest prayers to the God of heaven, " the secret was revealed unto Daniel in a night vision (ver. 19.); and Daniel blessed the God of heaven." Daniel thus instructed was desirous to save the lives of the wise men of Babylon, who were unjustly condemned, as well as his own: and he "went unto Arioch, the captain of the king's guard, whom the king had ordained to destroy the wise men of Babylon: he went (ver. 24.) and said thus unto him, Destroy not the wise men of Babylon; bring me in before the king, and I will shew unto the king the interpretation." The captain of the guard immediately introduced him to the king, and said (ver. 25.) "I have found a man of the captives of Judah, that will make known unto the king the interpretation." "I have found a man," said he, though Daniel had voluntarily offered himself; where Jerome remarks the manner of courtiers, 'qui quum bona nunciant, sua videri volunt,' who when they relate good things, are willing to have them thought their own, and to have the merit ascribed to themselves. But Daniel was far from assuming any merit to himself, and said very modestly, that "this secret (ver. 27.) which the wise men, astrologers, magicians, and soothsayers could not shew unto the king, was not revealed to him (ver. 30.) for any wisdom that he had more than others: but there is a God in heaven (ver. 28.) that revealeth secrets and maketh known to the king Nebuchadnezzar, what shall be in the latter days," or *what shall come to pass hereafter*, as it is expressed (ver. 29. 45.) twice afterwards. The impious king, as Jerome justly observes, had a prophetic dream, that the saint interpreting it, God might be glorified, and the captives and those who served God in captivity might receive great consolation.[4] We read the same thing of Pharaoh, not that Pharaoh and Nebuchadnezzar deserved to see such things, but that Joseph and Daniel by interpreting them might be preferred to all others. And as St. Jerome farther observes, that Nebuchadnezzar might admire the grace of divine inspiration, Daniel not only told him what he saw in his dream, but also what he thought within himself before his dream, (ver. 29.) "As for thee, O king, thy thoughts came into thy mind, upon thy bed, what should come to pass hereafter: and he that revealeth secrets, maketh known unto thee what shall come to pass."

Nebuchadnezzar's dream was of a *great image*. "This great image (ver. 31.), whose brightness was excellent, stood before him, and the form thereof was terrible." It appears from ancient coins and medals, that cities and people were often represented by figures of men and women. A great terrible human figure was therefore not an improper emblem of human power and dominion; and the various metals of which it was composed, not unfitly typify the various kingdoms which should arise. It consisted of four different metals, gold and silver and brass and iron mixed with clay; and these four metals, according to Daniel's own interpretation, mean so many kingdoms: and the order of their succession is clearly denoted by the order of the parts, the [5]head and higher parts signifying the earlier times, and the lower the parts, the later the times. From hence,[6] as Calvin conceives, the poets drew their fables of the four ages of the world, the golden, the silver, the brazen, and the iron age; by which declension in this place it is signified, that the world always degenerates, and manners grow worse and worse. But Hesiod, who lived about 200 years before Daniel, mentioned the four ages of the world; so that this vision was formed agreeably to the common received notion, and the common received notion was not first propagated from hence. Whether this notion of the world's degenerating and growing worse and and worse be true or not, these different kingdoms will naturally constitute the different heads of our discourse. And we shall follow the best commentators from Josephus down to Sir Isaac Newton, but we shall regard no commentator so much as the truth of history, the evidence of reason, and the analogy of Scripture.

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[4] Hieron. Comment. in ver. 1. 'Vidit rex impius somnium futurorum, ut interpretante Sancto quod viderat, Deus glorificaretur; et captivorum Deoque in captivitate servientium sit grande solatium. Hoc idem in Pharaone legimus, non quod Pharao et Nabuchodonosor videre meruerint; sed quod Joseph et Daniel digni exstiterint, qui interpretatione eorum omnibus preferrentur.' Et postea in ver. 29. —'et ut Nabuchodonosor divinæ inspirationis miretur gratiam, non solum quid in somnio viderit, sed ante somnium quid tacitus cogitarit exponit.'

[5] 'Pars statuæ quo superior, eo priora, quo inferior, eo seriora tempora significat.' Grot. in loc.

[6] 'Ex hoc Danielis loco hauserunt poetæ fabulas suas de quatuor sæculis, aureo, argenteo, æneo, ferreo; qua declinatione h. l. significatur, mundum semper decidere, et mores prolabi in deterius. Calvin. apud Poli Synops.

I. "This image's head was of fine gold" (ver. 32.) which Daniel interprets (ver. 38.) "Thou art this head of gold," thou, and thy family, and thy representatives. The *Babylonian* therefore was the first of these kingdoms; and it was fitly represented by the head of fine gold," on account of its great riches; and Babylon for the same reason was called by Isaiah (xiv. 4.) "the golden city." The *Assyrian* is usually said to be the first of the four great empires; and the name may be allowed to pass, if it be not taken too strictly. For the Assyrian empire properly so called was dissolved before this time; the Babylonian was erected in its stead; but the Babylonians are sometimes called Assyrians in the best classic authors, Herodotus, Xenophon, Strabo, and others, as well as in the Holy Scriptures. Daniel addresseth Nebuchadnezzar, as if he was a very powerful king, and his empire very large and extensive, (ver. 37.) "Thou, O king, art a king of kings." He perhaps might think, like some of his predecessors, that his conquests were owing to his own fortitude and prudence, (Is. x. 13.) "By the strength of my hand I have done it, and by my wisdom, for I am prudent; and I have removed the bounds of the people, and have robbed their treasures, and I have put down the inhabitants like a valiant man." But the prophet assures him that his success must be primarily imputed to the God of heaven; (ver. 37, 38.) "For the God of heaven hath given thee a kingdom, power, and strength, and glory: And wheresoever the children of men dwell, the beasts of the field, and the fowls of the heaven hath he given into thine hand, and hath made thee ruler over them all."

All the ancient eastern histories almost are lost: but there are some fragments even of heathen historians yet preserved, which speak of this mighty conqueror and his extended empire. Berosus in Josephus[7] saith, that he held in subjection Egypt, Syria, Phœnicia, Arabia, and by his exploits surpassed all the Chaldæans and Babylonians who reigned before him. Josephus[8] subjoins, that in the archives of the Phœnicians there are written things consonant to those which are said by Berosus concerning this king of the Babylonians, that he subdued Syria and all Phœnicia: With these likewise agrees Philostratus in his history, and Megasthenes in the fourth book of his Indian history, throughout which he attempts to shew, that the forementioned king of the Babylonians exceeded Hercules in fortitude and greatness of exploits; for he affirms that he subdued the greatest part of Libya and Spain. Strabo likewise from the same Megasthenes[9] asserts, that this king among the Chaldæans was more celebrated than Hercules, and that he proceeded as far as to the pillars of Hercules, and led his army out of Spain into Thrace and Pontus. But his empire, though of great extent, was yet of no long duration; for it ended in his grandson Belshazzar,[1] not seventy years after the delivery of this prophecy, nor above twenty-three years after the death of Nebuchadnezzar; which may be the reason of Daniel's speaking of him as the only king, "thou art this head of gold," and "after thee shall arise, &c." the rest being to be considered as nothing; nor do we read of any thing good or great that was performed by them.

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[7] Κρατῆσαι δέ φησι τὸν Βαβυλώνιον, Αἰγύπτου, Συρίας, Φοινίκης, Ἀραϐίας, πάντας δὲ ὑπερβαλλόμενον ταῖς πράξεσι τοὺς πρὸ αὐτοῦ Χαλδαίων καὶ Βαβυλωνίων βεϐασιλευκότας. *Dicit insuper quod Babylonius tenuerit Ægyptum, Syriam, Phœniciam, Arabiam; quodque priores Chaldæorum, et Babyloniorum reges universos rebus a se* præclare gestis *superarit*. Apud. Joseph. Contra Apion. 1. § 19.

[8] —ἐν τοῖς ἀρχαίοις τῶν Φοινίκων σύμφωνα τοῖς ὑπὸ Βηρωσσοῦ λεγομένοις ἀναγέγραπται, περὶ τοῦ τῶν Βαϐυλωνίων ϐασιλέως, ὅτι καὶ τὴν Συρίαν καὶ τὴν Φοινίκην ἅπασαν ἐκεῖνος κατεστρέψατο. περὶ τούτων γοῦν συμφωνεῖ καὶ Φιλόστρατος ἐν ταῖς ἱστορίαις, — καὶ Μεγασθένης ἐν τῇ τετάρτῃ τῶν Ἰνδικῶν, δι᾽ ἧς ἀποφαίνειν πειρᾶται τὸν προειρημένον βασιλέα τῶν Βαϐυλωνίων, Ἡρακλέους ἀνδρείᾳ καὶ μεγέθει πράξεων διενηνοχέναι. καταστρέψασθαι γὰρ αὐτὸν φησὶ καὶ Λιβύης τὴν πολλὴν καὶ Ἰϐηρίαν.— *in archivis Phœnicum scripta reperiuntur,*

II. "His breast and his arms of silver" (ver. 32.), which Daniel interprets (ver. 39.) "And after thee shall arise another kingdom inferior to thee." It is very well known, that the kingdom which arose after the Babylonians, was the Medo-Persian. The two hands and the shoulders, saith [2]Josephus, signify that the empire of the Babylonians should be dissolved by two kings. The two kings were the kings of the Medes and Persians, whose powers were united under Cyrus, who was son of one of the kings and son-in-law of the other, and who besieged and took Babylon, put an end to that empire, and on its ruins erected the Medo-Persian, or the Persian as it is more usually called, the Persians having soon gained the ascendancy over the Medes. This empire is said to be *inferior* as being *less than* the former, 'minus te,' as the Vulgar Latin translates it, because neither Cyrus nor any of his successors ever carried their arms into Africa or Spain so far as Nebuchadnezzar is reported to have done; or rather *inferior* as being *worse* than the former,

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quæ cum iis conveniunt a Beroso narratis de rege Babyloniorum, Syriam scilicet et universam Phœniciam illum subegisse. His sane adstipulatur Philostratus in historiis. — et Megasthenes in quarto volumine rerum Indicarum, ubi ostendere contendit prædictum Babyloniorum regem et fortitudine Herculem et magnitudine præstitisse, dicit enim eum Libyæ bonam partem et Iberiam subjugasse. Joseph. ibid. § 20.

[9] Ναυοκοδρόσορον δὲ τὸν παρὰ Χαλδαίοις εὐδοκιμήσαντα Ἡρακλέους μᾶλλον, καὶ ἕως Στηλῶν ἐλάσαι, — καὶ ἐκ τῆς Ἰβηρίας εἰς τὴν Θρᾴκην καὶ τὸν Πόντον ἀγαγεῖν τὴν στρατιάν —— *Navocodrosorum autem qui magis a Chaldæis probatur quam Hercules, usque ad Columnas pervenisse,—et exercitum ex Hispania in Thraciam Pontumque duxisse.* Strab. l. 15. p. 1007.

[1] See Usher's Annals, A. M. 3466. p. 100. Prideaux Connect. part 1. b. 2. Anno. 539. Belshazzar 17.

[2] Αἱ δὲ δύο χεῖρες καὶ οἱ ὦμοι σημαίνουσιν ὑπὸ δύο καταλυθήσεσθαι βασιλέων τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ὑμῶν. *duæ vero manus et humeri indicant imperium vestrum a duobus regibus eversum iri.* Joseph. Antiq. l. 10. c. 10. § 4.

'deterius te,' as Castalio traslates it, for [3] Dr. Prideaux asserts, and I believe he may assert very truly, that the kings of Persia were 'the worst race of men that ever governed an empire.' This empire from its first establishment by Cyrus to the death of the last king Darius Codomannus lasted not much above 200 years. Thus far all critics and commentators are agreed, that the two first kingdoms represented in Nebuchadnezzar's dream were the Babylonian and the Persian. As to the rest there hath been some controversy, but with little reason or foundation for it, only that some persons are troubled with the spirit of contradiction, and will dispute about the plainest points.

III. "His belly and his thighs of brass" (ver. 32.), which Daniel interprets (ver. 39.) "And another third kingdom of brass which shall bear rule over all the earth." It is universally known, that Alexander the Great subverted the Persian empire. The kingdom therefore which succeeded to the Persian, was the Macedonian; and this kingdom was fitly represented by *brass;* for the Greeks were famous for their brazen armour, their usual epithet being χαλκοχίτωνες Ἀχαιοὶ, *the brazen-coated Greeks.* Daniel's interpretation in [4] Josephus is, that another coming from the west, completely armed in brass, shall destroy the empire of the Medes and Persians. This third kingdom is also said to "bear rule over all the earth" by a figure usual in almost all authors. Alexander himself commanded,[5] that he should be called *the king of all the world;* not that he really conquered, or near conquered the whole world, but he had considerable dominions in Europe, Asia, and Africa, that is in all the three parts of the world then known; and [6] Diodorus Siculus and other historians give an account of ambassadors coming from almost all the world to congratulate him upon his success, or to submit to his empire: and then especially, as [7] Arrian remarks, did Alexander himself appear to himself and to those about him to be *master both of all the earth and sea.*

That this third kingdom therefore was the Macedonian, every one allows, and must allow: but then it is controverted, whether this kingdom ended in the person of Alexander, or was continued in his successors. St. Jerome[8] saith expressly, that the third kingdom signifies Alexander, and the kingdom of the Macedonians, and of the successors of Alexander. Which is rightly named brazen, saith he: for among all metals brass is more vocal, and tinkles louder, and its sound is diffused far and wide, that it portended not only the fame and power of the kingdom, but also the eloquence of the Greek language. Another commentator observes,[9] that this kingdom is compared to the belly, to denote the drunkenness of Alexander, and the profuse luxury of his successors, especially of the Ptolemies. It was a strange wild conceit in Grotius and others, to think that the kingdom of Alexander and of his successors made two different kingdoms. Grotius was indeed a very great man, and for the most part a very able and useful commentator: but the greatest and ablest men have their weaknesses, and none hath betrayed more weakness, or committed more errors in chronology and history than he hath done, in explaining the prophecies. His notions here are as mean and contracted, as they are generous and enlarged in other instances.

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[3] Prideaux Connect. part 1. b. 2. Anno 559. Neriglissar 1.

[4] *τὴν δὲ ἐκείνων ἕτερός τις ἀπὸ δύσεως καθαιρήσει χαλκὸν ἠμφιεσμένος. illorum autem imperium alius quidam ab occidente veniens destruet, ære totus obductus.* Joseph. Antiq. l. 10. c. 10. § 4.

[5] 'Accepto deinde imperio, *regem se terrarum omnium ac mundi* appellari jussit.' Justin. l. 12. c. 16. § 9.

[6] *κατὰ δὲ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον, ἐξ ἁπάσης σχεδὸν τῆς οἰκουμένης ἧκον πρέσβεις κ. τ. λ. quo tempore è cunctis fere orbis terrarum partibus legati ad Alexandrum venerunt, &c.* Diod. Sic. l. 17. c. 113.

[7] *καὶ τότε μάλιστα αὐτόν τε αὑτῷ Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν φανῆναι γῆς τε ἁπάσης καὶ θαλάσσης κύριον. ac tum primum Alexandrum sibi ipsi et qui cum eo erant* universæ terræ ac maris dominum *visum esse.* Arrian. de Exped. Alex. l. 7. c. 15.

[8] '"Et regnum tertium aliud æneum,

The Seleucidæ who reigned in Syria, and the Lagidæ who reigned in Egypt, might be designed particularly by *the two thighs* of brass. Of all Alexander's successors they might be pointed out alone, because they alone had much connexion with the Jewish church and nation. But their kingdom was no more a different kingdom from that Alexander, than the parts differ from the whole. It was the same government still continued. They who governed were still Macedonians. The metal was the same, and the nation was the same: nor is the same nation ever represented by different metals, but the different metals always signify different nations. All ancient authors too speak of the kingdom of Alexander and of his successors as one and the same kingdom. The thing is implied in the very name by which they are usually called, *the successors of Alexander*. Alexander being dead,[1] saith Josephus, the empire was divided among his successors; he doth not say that so many new empires were erected. After the death of Alexander, saith Justin,[2] the kingdoms of the

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quod imperabit universæ terræ." Alexandrum significat, et regnum Macedonum successorumque Alexandri. Quod recte æneum dicitur: Inter omnia enim metalla æs vocalius est, et tinnit clarius, et sonitus ejus longè lateque diffunditur, ut non solum famam et potentiam regni, sed et eloquentiam Græci sermonis ostenderet.' Hieron. in loc.

[9] 'Confertur hoc ventri, ad notandum Alexandri crapulam, et successorum ejus præcipue Ptolemæorum effusam luxuriam.' Tirinus apud Poli Synops.

[1] Τελευτήσαντος δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρου, ἡ μὲν ἀρχὴ εἰς τοὺς διαδόχους ἐμερίσθη. *Alexandro autem vita defuncto, imperium inter successores divisum est.* Joseph. Antiq. l. 11. c. 8. § 7.

[2] 'Post mortem Alexandri magni, dum inter successores ejus orientis regna dividerentur, &c.' Justin. l. 41. c. 4. § 1. Speaking of the Parthians: 'Postremo *Macedonibus* triumphato oriente servierunt.' c. 1. § 5. 'Hi postea diductis *Macedonibus* in bellum civile,' &c. c. 4. § 2.

east were divided among his successors: and he still denominates them Macedonians, and their empire the Macedonian; and reckons Alexander the same to the Macedonians, as Cyrus was to the Persians, and Romulus to the Romans. Grotius himself[3] acknowledgeth, that even now the Hebrews call those kingdoms by one name, *the kingdom of the Grecians.* There is one insuperable objection against the kingdoms of the Lagidæ and of the Seleucidæ being a different kingdom from that of Alexander, because if they are not considered as parts of Alexander's dominion, they cannot be counted as one kingdom, they constitute properly two separate and distinct kingdoms.

IV. "His legs of iron, his feet part of iron, and part of clay" (ver. 33.), which is thus interpreted by Daniel (ver. 40—43.) "And the fourth kingdom shall be strong as iron; forasmuch as iron breaketh in pieces, and subdueth all things; and as iron that breaketh all these, shall it break in pieces and bruise. And whereas thou sawest the feet and toes, part of potter's clay, and part of iron; the kingdom shall be divided, but there shall be in it of the strength of the iron, forasmuch as thou sawest the iron mixed with miry clay. And as the toes of the feet were part of iron, and part of clay; so the kingdom shall be partly strong and partly broken. And whereas thou sawest iron mixed with miry clay, they shall mingle themselves with the seed of men; but they shall not cleave one to another, even as iron is not mixed with clay." Here are farther proofs that the kingdoms of the Seleucidæ and of the Lagidæ cannot possibly be the fourth kingdom, because the marks and characters here given of the fourth kingdom by no means agree with either of those kingdoms. This fourth kingdom is described as stronger than the preceding. As iron breaketh and bruiseth all other metals, so this breaketh and subdueth all the former kingdoms: but the kingdoms of the Lagidæ and of the Seleucidæ were so far from being stronger, that they were much weaker, and less than any of the former kingdoms. This kingdom too is represented as divided into ten toes: but when or where were the kingdoms of the Lagidæ and of the Seleucidæ divided into so many parts? Besides, the metal here is different, and consequently the nation should be different from the preceding. The four different metals must signify four different nations: and as the gold signified the Babylonians, and the silver the Persians, and the brass the Macedonians; so the iron cannot sig-

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Administratio gentis post defectionem *Macedonici imperii* sub regibus fuit.' c. 2. § 1. 'Sic Arsaces, quæsito simul constitutoque regno, non minus memorabilis Parthis, *quam Persis Cyrus, Macedonibus Alexander, Romanis Romulus,* matura senectute decedit.' c. 5. § 5.

[3] 'Etiam nunc Hebræi ista imperia uno nomine appellant *regnum Græcorum.*' Grot. in Dan. vii. 7.

nify the Macedonians again, but must necessarily denote some other nation: and we will venture to say that there is not a nation upon earth, to which this description is applicable, but the Romans.

The Romans succeeded next to the Macedonians, and therefore in course were next to be mentioned. The Roman empire was stronger and larger than any of the preceding. The Romans brake in pieces, and subdued all the former kingdoms. As Josephus said, that the two arms of silver denoted the kings of the Medes and Persians; so we might say in like manner, that the two legs of iron signified the two Roman consuls. "The iron was mixed with miry clay," and the Romans were defiled with a mixture of barbarous nations. The Roman empire was at length divided into ten lesser kingdoms, answering to the ten toes of the image, as we shall see hereafter. These kingdoms retained much of the old Roman strength, and manifested it upon several occasions, so that "the kingdom *was* partly strong and partly broken." They "*mingled* themselves with the seed of men;" they made marriages and alliances one with another, as they continue to do at this day: but no hearty union ensued; reasons of state are stronger than the ties of blood, and interest generally avails more than affinity. Some expound it of the secular and ecclesiastical powers, sometimes agreeing, sometimes clashing and interfering with each other, to the weakening of both, and endangering their breaking to pieces. Or if by "the seed of men" we are to understand the same as by "the daughters of men" (Gen. vi. 2.), those of a false and different religion, it may allude to the intermarriages, which several of the European nations, and particularly the French, Spanish, and Portuguese, have made with the Indians, Africans, and Americans. Thus some of the ten kingdoms who call themselves *sons of God* and the *only* sons of God by adoption, have mixed with "the seed of men," with strangers to him; and yet no solid union ensues. Which observation was suggested to me by an unknown correspondent, Mr. Hercules Younge, an ingenious clergyman of Carrick in Ireland. The Roman empire therefore is represented in a double state, first with the strength of iron, conquering all before it, "his legs of iron;" and then weakened and divided by the mixture of barbarous nations, "his feet part of iron, and part of clay." It subdued Syria, and made the kingdom of the Seleucidæ a Roman province in the year 65 before Christ;[4] it subdued Egypt, and made the kingdom of the Lagidæ a Roman province in the year 30 before Christ: and in the fourth century after Christ, it began to be torn in pieces by the incursions of the barbarous nations.

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[4] See Usher, Prideaux, and other chronologers.

St. Jerome lived to see the incursions of the barbarous nations: and his[5] comment is, that ‘the fourth kingdom, which plainly belongs to the Romans, is the iron that breaketh and subdueth all things; but his feet and toes are part of iron, and part of clay, which is most manifestly proved at this time: for as in the beginning nothing was stronger and harder than the Roman empire, so in the end of things nothing is weaker; since both in civil wars, and against divers nations, we want the assistance of other barbarous nations.’ He hath given the same interpretation in other parts of his works; and it seemeth that he had been blamed for it, as a reflection upon the government; and therefore he maketh this apology for himself. ‘If,’[6] saith he, ‘in explaining the statue and the difference of his feet and toes, I have interpreted the iron and clay of the Roman kingdom, which the Scripture foretels should first be strong, and then weak, let them not impute it to me, but to the prophet: for we must not so flatter princes, as to neglect the verity of the Holy Scriptures, nor is a general disputation an injury to a single person.’

All ancient writers, both Jewish and Christian, agree with Jerome in explaining the fourth kingdom to be the Roman. Porphyry, who was a heathen, and an enemy to Christ, was the first who broached the other opinion; which, though it hath been maintained since by some of the moderns, is yet not only destitute of the authority, but is even contrary to the authority of both Scripture and history. It is a just observation of Mr. Mede,[7] who was as able and consummate a judge as any in these matters: ‘The Roman empire to be the fourth kingdom of Daniel, was believed by the church of Israel both before and in our Saviour’s time; received by the disciples of the apostles, and the whole Christian church for the first 300 years, without any known contradiction. And I confess, having so good ground in Scripture, it is with me ‘tantum non articulus fidei,’ little less than an article of faith.’

V. Besides this image, Nebuchadnezzar saw (ver. 34, 35.) “till that a stone was cut out without hands, which smote the image upon his feet that were of iron and clay, and brake them to pieces: then was the iron, the clay, the brass, the silver and the gold broken to pieces together, and became like the chaff of the summer threshing-floors, and the wind carried them away, that no place was found for them; and the stone that smote the image became a great mountain, and filled the whole earth:" which is thus interpreted and explained by Daniel, (ver. 44, 45.) "And in the days of these kings shall the God of heaven set up a kingdom, which shall never be destroyed; and the kingdom shall not be left to other people, but it shall break in pieces, and consume all these kingdoms, and it shall stand for ever: for as much as thou sawest that the stone was cut out of the mountain without hands, and that it brake in pieces the iron, the brass, the clay, the silver, and the gold." They who maintain that the fourth kingdom was the kingdoms of the Seleucidæ and of the Lagidæ, do, many of them, maintain likewise that this fifth kingdom was the Roman. But how can these characters agree with the Roman empire? How was the Roman empire "cut out of the mountain without hands," or formed without human force and human policy? How was the Roman empire *of God's erection* more than any of the former kingdoms? How can the Roman empire which is *left to other people*, be said "not to be left to other people," and how can that which is *broken in pieces*, be said to "stand for ever?"

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[5] ‘Regnum autem quartum, quod perspicue pertinet ad Romanos, ferrum est quod comminuit et domat omnia: sed pedes ejus et digiti ex parte ferrei, et ex parte sunt fictiles, quod hoc tempore manifestissime comprobatur. Sicut enim in principio nihil Romano imperio fortius et durius fuit; ita in fine rerum nihil imbecillius: quando et in bellis civilibus, et adversum diversas nationes, aliarum gentium barbararum indigemus auxilio.’ Hieron. in loc.

[6] ‘Quod si in expositione statuæ pedumque ejus, et digitorum discrepantia, ferrum et testam super Romano regno interpretatus sum, quod primum forte, dein imbecillum scriptura portendit, non mihi imputent, sed prophetæ. Neque enim sic adulandum est principibus, ut sanctarum scripturarum veritas negligatur, nec generalis disputatio unius personæ injuria est.’ Præf. in Isaiæ, c. xxxvi.

[7] Mede’s Works, b. 4. epist. 6. p. 736.

This description can with propriety only be understood, as the ancients understood it, of the kingdom of Christ. "And in the days of these kings," that is, in the days of some of them. As "in the days when the judges ruled" (Ruth. i. 1.), signifies *in the day when* some of *the judges ruled;* so "in the days of these kings" signifies *in the days of* some of *these kingdoms:* and it must be during the days of the last of them, because they are reckoned *four* in succession, and consequently this must be the fifth kingdom. Accordingly the kingdom of Christ was set up during the days of the last of these kingdoms, that is the Romans. The *stone* was totally a different thing from the *image,* and the kingdom of Christ is totally different from the kingdoms of this world. "The stone was cut out of the mountain without hands," as our heavenly body is said (2 Cor. v. 1.) to be "a building of God, a house not made with hands;" that is spiritual, as the phrase is used in other places (Mark xiv. 58. compared with John ii. 21. See also Coloss. ii. 11.). This the fathers[8] generally apply to Christ himself, who was miraculously born of a virgin without the concurrence of a man: but it should rather be understood of the kingdom of Christ, which was formed out of the Roman empire, not by number of hands, or strength of armies, but without human means, and the virtue of second causes. This kingdom was "set up by the God of heaven;" and from hence the phrase of *the kingdom of heaven* came to signify the kingdom of the Messiah; and so it was used and understood by the Jews, and so it is applied by our Saviour in the New Testament. Other kingdoms were raised by human ambition and worldly power: but this was the work not of man but of God; this was truly as it is called *the kingdom of heaven,* and (John xviii. 36.) "a kingdom not of this world;" its laws, its powers, were all divine. The kingdom was "never to be destroyed," as the Babylonian, the Persian, and the Macedonian empires have been, and in great measure also the Roman. This kingdom was to "break in pieces and consume all the kingdoms," to spread and enlarge itself, so that it should comprehend within itself all the former kingdoms. This kingdom was to "fill the whole earth," to become universal, and to "stand for ever."

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[8] Justin Martyr. cum Tryphone, Dial. p. 301. Edit. Thirlb. Irenæi. l. 3. advers. Hæreses, c. 28. Hieron. Comment. in loc.

As the fourth kingdom or the Roman empire was represented in a twofold state, first strong and flourishing "with legs of iron," and then weakened and divided "with feet and toes part of iron and part of clay;" so this fifth kingdom or the kingdom of Christ, is described likewise in two states, which Mr. Mede [9] rightly distinguisheth by the names of 'regnum lapidiis,' *the kingdom of the stone,* and 'regnum montis,' *the kingdom of the mountain;* the first when "the stone was cut out of the mountain without hands," the second when it became itself "a mountain and filled the whole earth." "The stone was cut out of the mountain without hands," the kingdom of Christ was first set up, while the Roman empire was in its full strength "with legs of iron." The Roman empire was afterwards divided into ten lesser kingdoms, the remains of which are subsisting at present. The image is still standing upon his feet and toes of iron and clay; the kingdom of Christ is yet "a stone of stumbling, and a rock of offence:" but the stone will one day smite the image upon the feet and toes, and destroy it utterly, and will itself "become a great mountain, and fill the whole earth:" or in other words (Rev. xi. 15.) "the kingdoms of this world shall become the kingdoms of our Lord, and of his Christ, and he shall reign for ever and ever." We have therefore seen the kingdom of the *stone,* but we have not yet seen the kingdom of the *mountain.* Some parts of this prophecy still remain to be fulfilled: but the exact completion of the other parts will not suffer us to doubt of the accomplishment of the rest also in due season.

As we may presume to say that this is the only true and genuine interpretation of this passage, so likewise is it the most consonant to the sense of all ancient writers, both Jews

Mede's Works, b. 4. epist. 8. p. 743.

and Christians; and its antiquity will be a farther recommendation and confirmation of its truth. Jonathan Ben Uzziel, who made the Chaldee Targum or paraphrase upon the prophets,[1] lived a little before our Saviour. He made no Chaldee version of Daniel, the greater part of this book being originally written in Chaldee, or his version is lost: but however, he applies the prophecies of Daniel in his interpretation of other prophets. Thus in his paraphrase upon Habakkuk he speaketh of the four great kingdoms of the earth,[2] that they should in their turns be destroyed, and be succeeded by the kingdom of the Messiah. 'For the kingdom of Babylon shall not continue, nor exercise dominion over Israel; the kings of Media shall be slain, and the strong men of Greece shall not prosper; the Romans shall be blotted out, nor collect tribute from Jerusalem. Therefore because of the sign and redemption which thou shalt accomplish for thy Christ, and for the remnant of thy people, they who remain shall praise thee, &c.'

The sense of Josephus we will give in the words of Bishop Chandler[3] together with his reflections upon it. 'Josephus's exposition of this text is so full in the point, that it ought not to be omitted. Josephus was born while Jesus Christ lived, and was, as he says,[4] skilful in the knowledge of the sacred books of the prophets, being himself a priest, and the son of a priest, and exercised this way. Hear then his sense of that part of the dream we have been upon. Daniel foretold,[5] that the second kingdom should be taken out of the way, by one that should come from the west clothed with brazen arms: and also that the strength of this (empire) another should put an end to, that should be like to iron, which from the nature of the mineral is superior to gold, silver, and brass. Daniel added his interpretation of the stone; but I do not think fit to relate that; my business being only to give a history *of past and newly done things,* not to write *of future things.* Yet if there be any one that is eager after truth, and will not give over inquiring, in order to learn those obscure events that are to come, let him carefully read the book itself, which he will find among our sacred (or canonical) books. Upon this passage observe, that the fourth empire is the Roman, in his judgment; because the third kingdom, which he begins in Alexander, was destroyed, not by the Greek generals, but by the Romans. Again, the fourth empire he reckons to be past, i. e. to be set up in the room of the Greek, and therefore he gives an historical explication of that, among the past events. But the kingdom of the *stone* being future, he refuses to touch on that. But he had a better reason than he gave: he feared to offend the power in being, whose protection he needed, and which, he foresaw, must be offended, if he should publish the hope of his captive nation, one day to subdue their conquerors. We see however, in his excuse for stopping short, his sense of the prophecy that is yet unfulfilled, viz. that the kingdom of the God of heaven should break in pieces the Roman; and which he must consequently suppose will continue, till it gives place to the everlasting kingdom of the Messiah. And in this belief Christ confirmed the Jews, at the time he warned them of their own excision. "The kingdom of God," saith he, (Matth. xxii. 43, 44.) or all the advantages of the Messiah's coming, "shall be taken from you and given to a nation bringing forth the fruits thereof." "For whosoever shall fall against this stone (as one of your prophets predicted, Isa. viii. 14, 15.) shall be broken:" "but," I add from another prophet (Dan. ii. 34, 35.) something more grievous for those that shall break you, "on whomsoever it shall fall it will grind him to powder." The kingdom of the *stone* shall bruise the Jews that stumbled at Christ's first coming; but the kingdom of the *mountain,* when manifested, shall beat the feet of the monarchical statue to dust, and leave no remains of the fourth monarchy in its last and degenerate state.'

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[1] Waltoni Prolegom. XII. 10. Wolfii Biblioth. Hebr. l. 6. c. 2. § 2 Prideaux Connect. part 2. b. 8. Anno 27. Herod 1.

[2] Habak. iii. 17, 18. 'Etenim regnum Babel non-permanebit, nec exercebit dominium in Israel; trucidabuntur reges Mediæ, et fortes Greciæ non prosperabuntur; delebuntur Romani, nec colligent tributum de Jerusalem. Itaque propter signum et redemptionem quæ facies Christo tuo et reliquiis populi tui, qui remanebunt confitebuntur dicendo, &c.'

[3] Defence of Christianity, chap. 2. § 2. p. 104, &c. 3d. Edit.

[4] Joseph de Bell. Jud. l. 3. c. 7. § 3.

[5] Τὴν δὲ ἐκείνων ἕτερός τις ἀπὸ δύσεως καθαιρήσει χαλκὸν ἠμφιεσμένος, καὶ ταύτην ἄλλη παύσει τὴν ἰσχὺν ὅμοια σιδήρῳ, καὶ κατήσει δὲ εἰς ἅπασαν διὰ τὴν τοῦ σιδήρου φύσιν, εἶναι γὰρ αὐτὴν στεῤῥοτέραν τῆς τοῦ χρυσοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἀργύρου καὶ τοῦ χαλκοῦ. ἐδήλωσε δὲ καὶ περὶ τοῦ λίθου Δανιῆλος τῷ βασιλεῖ ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐκ ἔδοξε τοῦτο ἱστορεῖν, τὰ παρελθόντα καὶ τὰ γεγενημένα συγγράφειν, οὐ τὰ μέλλοντα ὀφείλοντι. ἐι δέ τις τῆς ἀληθείας γλιχόμενος οὐ περιΐσταται πολυπραγμονεῖν, ὡς καὶ περὶ τῶν ἀδήλων ἐι γενήσεται βούλεσθαι μαθεῖν, σπουδασέτω τὸ βιβλίον ἀναγνῶναι τοῦ Δανιήλου· εὑρήσει δὲ τοῦτο ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς γράμμασιν. *illorum autem imperium alius quidam ab occidente veniens destruet, ære totus obductus; atque hujus vires alia vis debellabit ferro similis, easque in universum imperio premet propter ferri naturam, quod ea sit auro et argento et ære validior. Quin et Danielus regi ostendit omnia de saxo; sed mihi ista narrare non libuit, cui id negotii datum est, ut præterita non futura literis consignarem. Si quis autem veritatis avidus nolit ab iis paulo curiosius inquirendis desistere, ut qui de incertis, an futura sint, scire desiderat, det operam ut Danieli librum perlegat, quem in sacrorum librorum codice inveniet.* Joseph. Antiq. l. 10. c. 10. § 4.

The same notion was prevalent among the ancient Christians, as well as among the Jews. St. Jerome and all the fathers, who have occasion to comment upon this passage, give the same interpretation: but we love not to multiply quotations; it will be sufficient to produce the testimonies of that eloquent preacher St. Chrysostom, and of that elegant historian Sulpicius Severus. St. Chrysostom is too copious to be quoted at large; we must content ourselves with some extracts out of him. 'For what reason,' saith he, 'doth he call Nebuchadnezzar's kingdom of gold, and that of the Persians of silver, and that of the Macedonians of brass, and that of the Romans of iron and clay?[6] See the materials rightly disposed; for gold represents riches; so likewise was that kingdom—and it occupies the head, because it appeared the first. But that of the Persians was not so wealthy, as neither was that of the Macedonians: but that of the Romans was both more useful and stronger, and later in time, wherefore it occupies the place of the feet. But some parts of this kingdom are weak, and other are stronger. "And in the days of those kings shall the God of heaven set up a kingdom, which shall never be destroyed; and the kingdom shall not be left to other people, but it shall break in pieces, and consume all these kingdoms, and it shall stand for ever." Bring hither to me the Jews. What will they say concerning this prophecy? for it is by no means right to say of any human kingdom, that it shall be everlasting or without end.—"In the days of those kings," to wit the Romans But if they say how can he break in pieces the gold, the kingdom of the Babylonians destroyed long ago? how the silver, the kingdom of the Persians? how the brass, the kingdom of the Macedonians? for these are past long ago, and are come to an end—how can he destroy kingdoms which are already destroyed? But to destroy others in which these are included, amounts to the same thing.'

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[6] *τίνας δ᾽ ἕνεκεν τὴν αὐτοῦ βασιλείαν καλεῖ χρυσῆν, τὴν δὲ τῶν Περσῶν ἀργύραν, καὶ τὴν Μακεδόνων χαλκῆν, καὶ τὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων σιδήραν καὶ ὀστρακινην; ὅρα καταλλήλους τὰς ὕλας. ὁ γὰρ χρυσος πλούτου μέν ἐστι ἐμφαντικὸν—— οὕτω καὶ ἐκείνη ἡ βασιλεία——κεφαλὴν δὲ ἐπέχει, ἐπειδὴ πρώτη ἐφάνη. ἡ δὲ Περσῶν οὐκ οὕτος εὔπορος, ὥσπερ οὖν οὐδὲ Μακεδόνων, ἡ δὲ Ῥωμαίων χρησιμώτερά τε καὶ ἐσχυρότερα, ὕστερα μὲν τοῖς χρόνοις, διὸ καὶ ϖοδῶν τάξιν ἐπέχει. ἔστι δὲ αὐτῆς τὰ μὲν ἀσθενῆ, τὰ δὲ ἰσχυρότερα. Quare autem regnum Nabuchodonosoris vocat aureum, Persarum autem argenteum, Macedonum æreum, Romanorum ferreum atque testaceum? Vide dispositas convenienter materias. Nam aurum divitias quidem repræsentat——Sic et regnum Babylonium——Caput autem occupat; quia regnum illud fuit primum. Persarum vero imperium non adeo opulentum fuit: sicut nec Macedonum: at Romanorum utilius ac fortius; tempore quidem posterius, quare et pedum locum obtinet. Porro sunt hujus regni quædam infirma, et quædam robustiora.——καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις τῶν βασιλέων ἐκείνων ἀναστήσει ὁ θεὸς τοῦ οὐρανοῦ βασιλείαν, ἥτις εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας οὐ διαφθαρήσεται. καὶ ἡ βασιλεία αὐτοῦ λαῷ ἑτέρῳ οὐχ ὑπολήφθήσεται λεπτύνει καὶ λικμήσει ϖάσας τὰς βασιλείας· καὶ αὐτὴ ἀναστήσεται εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. ἄγε μοι τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἐνταῦθα τί ἂν εἴποιεν ϖερὶ τῆς ϖροφητείας ταύτης; οὐ γὰρ δήπου περὶ ἀνθρωπίνης ταῦτα θέμις εἰπεῖν, ὅτι ἄπειρος ἔσται ἡ βασιλεία——ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις τῶν βασιλέων ἐκείνων, τῶν Ῥωμαίων δηλονότι. ἄλλως δὲ εἰ λέγοιεν, καὶ πῶς τὸν χρυσον συνέτριψε, τὴν Βαβυλωνίων βασιλείαν πάλαι κατασκευασθεῖσαν [κατασκεδασθεῖσαν]; πῶς δὲ τὸν ἄργυρον, τὴν Περσῶν; πῶς δὲ τὸν χαλκὸν, πὴν Μακεδόνων; ταῦτα γὰρ πάλαι ἐγένετο, καὶ τέλος ἔλαβεν.——πῶς τὰς ἤδη σβεσθείσας βασιλείας καθαιρεῖ; ἄλλα τὸ καθαιρεῖν ἑτέρας ἐν αἷς αἱ τοιαυταί εἰσιν, εἰκότως ἐμποιεῖ. 'Et in diebus regum illorum suscitabit Deus cæli regnum, quod in sæcula non corrumpeter: et regnum ejus populo alteri non relinqueter: comminuet et ventilabit universa regna: et ipsum exsurget in sæcula.' Adducito mihi huc Judæos. Quid de hac prophetia dicturi sunt? Neque enim profecto de humano regno hæc fas est dicere; scilicet regnum infinitum fore—'In diebus regum illorum;' Romanorum videlicet. Quod si dicant: quomodo aurum conterere potuit, nempe regnum Babyloniorum, quod jam olim erat destructum? Quomodo etiam argentum, nimirum regnum Persarum? Et quomodo æs, scilicet regnum Macedonum? Hæc enim quondam fuerant, et finem acceperant.——Quomodo jam extincta regna destruat? Quia nimirum destruit alia regna, in quibus hæc continentur.* S. Jo. Chrysost. in Danielem, p. 214 et 216. tom. 6.

Sulpicius Severus having given an account of Nebuchadnezzar's dream, and of all the particulars relating to it, subjoins an exposition[7] of it, agreeable to Daniel's interpretation. 'The image is an emblem of the world. The golden head is the empire of the Chaldæans: forasmuch as that was the first and most wealthy. The breast and arms of silver signify the second kingdom: For Cyrus, the Chaldæans and Medes being overcome, transferred the empire to the Persians. In the brazen belly the third kingdom is declared to be portended; and that we see fulfilled: Forasmuch as the empire taken from the Persians Alexander vindicated to Macedonia. The iron legs are the fourth kingdom: and that is the Roman, the strongest of all the kingdoms before it. But the feet part of iron and part of clay, prefigure the Roman empire to be so divided as that it should never unite again: which is equally fulfilled—Forasmuch as the Roman territory is occupied by foreign nations or rebels :—and we see (saith he, and he lived at the beginning of the fifth century[8]) barbarous nations mixed with our armies, cities, and provinces—But in the stone cut out without hands, which brake in pieces the gold, the silver, the brass, the iron, and the clay, we have a figure of Christ. For he shall reduce this world, in which are the kingdoms of the earth, to nothing, and shall establish another everlasting kingdom. Of which alone the faith of some is still dubious, and they will not credit future things, when they are convinced of the past.'

Nay Grotius himself the great patron of the other opinion, that the fifth kingdom is the Roman empire, commenting upon those words (ver. 45.) "it brake in pieces the iron, the brass, the clay, the silver, and the gold," cannot but acknowledge that[9] the sublimer sense is, that Christ will put an end to all earthly empires, according to 1 Cor. xv. 24. that "he shall put down all rule, and all authority, and power."

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[7] 'Igitur, secundum prophetæ interpretationem, imago visa figuram mundi gerit. Caput aureum, Chaldæorum imperium est: siquidem id primum et opulentissimum fuisse accepimus. Pectus et brachia argentea secundum regnum annunciant. Cyrus enim, victis Chaldæis atque Medis, imperium ad Persas contulit. In ventre æreo tertium regnum portendi pronunciatur; idque impletum videmus. Siquidem Alexander ereptum Persis imperium Macedoniæ vindicavit. Crura ferrea, imperium quartum: idque Romanum intelligitur, omnium ante regnorum validissimum. Pedes vero partim ferrei, partim fictiles, dividendum esse Romanum regnum, ita ut nunquam inter se coeat, præfigurant: quod æque impletum est,——Siquidem Romanum solum ab exteris gentibus aut rebellibus occupatum;—exercitibusque nostris, urbibus atque provinciis permixtas barbaras nationes—videmus.——In lapide vero sine manibus abscisso, qui aurum, argentum, æs, et ferrum testamque comminuit, Christi figuram esse. Is enim mundum istum, in quo sunt regna terrarum, in nihilum rediget, regnumque aliud incorruptum confirmabit. De quo uno adhuc quorundam fides in ambiguo est, non credendum de futuris, cum de præteritis convincantur.' Sulpicii Sacr. Hist. l. 2. p. 66, 67. Edit. Elzevir. 1656.

[8] Cave, Hist. Litt. vol. i. p. 374.

[9] 'Sensus sublimior, Christum finem impositurum omnibus imperiis terrestribus, 1 Cor. xv. 24.' Grot in locum.

Thus it pleased God to reveal unto Daniel, and by Daniel unto Nebuchadnezzar, the greatest and most signal events of this world. As Daniel said unto Nebuchadnezzar, (ver. 45.) "The great God hath made known to the king what shall come to pass hereafter; and the dream is certain, and the interpretation thereof is sure." The king hearing his dream related with such exactness, might be better assured of the truth of the interpretation, and of the great events which should follow. And from hence we are enabled in some measure to account for Nebuchadnezzar's prophesying a little before he died. Abydenus wrote the history of the Assyrians. It is not well known in what age he lived, and his history is lost: but there is a fragment of it preserved by Eusebius, wherein it is asserted upon the authority of Megasthenes, that Nebuchadnezzar was divinely inspired and prophesied in this manner[1]: 'I Nebuchadnezzar foretel unto you, O Babylonians, an imminent calamity, which neither Belus my progenitor, nor queen Beltis can persuade the fates to avert: A Persian mule shall come, assisted by your demons, and impose servitude upon you; whose coadjutor shall be a Mede, the boast of the Assyrians.' And soon after he died. Herodotus, who was a much older historian than Megasthenes, relates that a Delphic oracle was given to Crœsus king of Lydia, that[2] when a mule should rule over the Medes, then he should not be ashamed to fly away. Which oracle was afterwards thus interpreted by the Pythian priestess; Cyrus[3] was this mule; for he was born of parents of different nations, the mother the better, and the father the meaner; for she was a Mede, and a daughter of the king of the Medes, but he was a Persian and subject to the Medes. If any credit is to be given to these stories, if any such prophecy was uttered by Nebuchadnezzar a little before his death, if any such oracle was received and believed of Cyrus and the Persians subduing Asia, the notion, the tradition may very well be supposed to have been derived originally from this prophecy of Daniel, which being so solemnly delivered to a great king, and published in Chaldee, might come to be generally known in the east; and the event soon afterwards evinced the truth of it.

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[1] ἐγω Ναβουκοδρόσορος, ὦ Βαβυλώνιοι, τὴν μέλλουσαν ὑμῖν προαγγέλλω συμφορὴν, τὴν ὅ τε Βῆλος ἐμὸς πρόγονος, ἥ τε βασίλεια Βῆλτις ἀποτρέψαι μοίρας πεῖσαι ἀσθενοῦσιν. ἥξει Πέρσης ἡμίονος, τοῖσιν ὑμετέροισι δαίμοσι χρεώμενος συμμάχοισιν· ἐπάξει δὲ δουλοσύνην. οὗ δὴ συναίτιος ἔσται Μήδης, τὸ Ἀσσύριον αὔχημα. *Ego Nabuchodrosorus, O Babylonii, imminentem vobis calamitatem prænuncio, quam Parcis uti averruncent, nec Belus generis nostri auctor, nec regina Beltis persuadere unquam poterunt. Persicus veniet mulus, qui dæmonum vestrorum usus auxilio, durum cervicibus vestris jugum imponet. Atque hujus cladis auctor etiam Medus quidam erit, quo ante Assyrii magnopere gloriabantur.* Euseb. Præp. Evang. l. 9. c. 41.

[2] Ἀλλ' ὅταν ἡμίονος βασιλεὺς Μήδοισι γένηται.
Καὶ τότε κ. τ. λ.
Regis apud Medos mulo jam sede potito,
Lyde fugam, &c.—Herod. l. i. c. 55.

[3] ἦν γὰρ δὴ ὁ Κῦρος οὗτος ἡμίονος· ἐκ γὰρ δυοῖν οὐκ ὁμοεθνέων ἐγεγόνεε, μητρος. ἀμείνονος, πατρὸς δὲ ὑποδεεστέρου, ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἦν Μηδὶς, καὶ Ἀστυάγεος θυγάτηρ τοῦ Μήδων βασιλέως· ὁ δὲ Πέρσης τε ἦν, καὶ ἀρχόμενος ὑπ' ἐκείνοισι. *Nam mulus hic Cyrus erat: quippe qui duobus diversarum gentium parentibus ortus sit, generosiore matre quam patre. Nam illa quidem Medea erat, Astyagis Medorum regis filia; hic autem Persa, et Medis subjectus.* Herod. ib. c. 91.

It was from this prophecy too, that the distinction first arose of the four great empires of the world, which hath been followed by most historians and chronologers in their distribution of times. These four empires, as they are the subject of this prophecy, are likewise the subject of the most celebrated pens both in former and in latter ages. The histories of these empires are the best writ, and the most read of any; they are the study of the learned, and the amusement of the polite; they are of use both in schools, and in senates; we learn them when we are young, and we forget them not when we are old; from hence examples, instructions, laws and politics are derived for all ages; and very little in comparison is known of other times or of other nations. Not but there have been empires as great or greater than some of these, as those of the Tartars for instance, and of the Saracens, and of the Turks; and you may think perhaps, that they are as well deserving of a place in this succession of kingdoms, and were equally worthy to be made the objects of prophecy, being as eminent for the wisdom of their constitutions, the extent of their dominions, and the length of their duration. But these four empires had a particular relation to the church and people of God, who were subject to each of them in their turns. They were therefore particularly predicted; and we have in them, without the intermixture of others, a line of prophecy (as I may say) extending from the reign of Nebuchadnezzar to the full and complete establishment of the kingdom of the Messiah. He who is arbiter of kingdoms, and governor of the universe, can reveal as much of their future revolutions as he pleaseth: and he hath revealed enough to manifest his providence, and to confirm the truth of religion. What Daniel said upon the first discovery of these things, well may we say after the completion of so many particulars: (ver. 20, 21, 22.) " Blessed be the name of God for ever and ever; for wisdom and might are his. And he changeth the times and the seasons: he removeth kings, and setteth up kings: he giveth wisdom unto the wise, and knowledge to them that know understanding. He revealeth the deep and secret things: he knoweth what is in the darkness, and the light dwelleth with him.

XIV.—DANIEL'S VISION OF THE SAME.

WHAT was revealed unto Nebuchadnezzar in the second year of his reign concerning the four great empires of the world, was again revealed unto Daniel (chap. vii.) with some enlargements and additions in the first year of Belshazzar, that is about eight and forty years afterwards. But there is this difference, that what was exhibited to Nebuchadnezzar in the form of a great image, was represented to Daniel in the shape of great wild beasts. The reason of which is ingeniously assigned by Grotius, and after him by [1] Mr. Lowth, 'that this image appeared with a glorious lustre in the imagination of Nebuchadnezzar, whose mind was wholly taken up with admiration of worldly pomp and splendour; whereas the same monarchies were represented to Daniel under the shape of fierce and wild beasts, as being the great supporters of idolatry and tyranny in the world.'

Daniel dreamed, and the angel interpreted. "These great beasts, which are four, (says the angel, ver. 17.) are four kings," or kingdoms, as it is translated in the Vulgar Latin, and the Greek and Arabic versions, and as the angel himself explains it, (ver. 23.) "The fourth beast shall be the fourth kingdom upon earth." They arise out of a stormy and tempestuous sea, that is out of the wars and commotions of the world: and they are called *great* in comparison of other lesser states and kingdoms, as they are denominated *beasts* for their tyrannical and cruel oppressions and depredations. These beasts are indeed monstrous productions; a lion with eagle's wings, a bear with three ribs in the mouth of it, a leopard with four wings and four heads, and a beast with ten horns: but such emblems and hieroglyphics were usual among the eastern nations; a winged lion and such like fictitious animals may still be seen in the [2] ruins of Persepolis; horns are attributed to beasts, which naturally have none; and these figures were, as I may say, the arms and symbols of such and such nations, and are no stranger than several which are still used in modern heraldry. We will consider them in order, and take notice only of such interpretations as carry in them something probable and plausible, to the end that we may establish what is more certain. To recite all the various opinions of commentators would be but heaping up a monument of the absurdities of former ages. We may collect something from one, and something from another, and yet in all respects perfectly agree with none.

I. The first kingdom is represented by a beast (ver. 4.), that was "like a lion, and had eagle's wings: and I beheld till the wings thereof were plucked, and it was lifted up from the earth, and made stand upon the feet as a man, and a man's heart was given to it." This is the kingdom of the Babylonians: and the king of Babylon is in like manner compared to a lion by Jeremiah, (iv. 7.) "The lion is come up from his thicket, and the destroyer of the Gentiles is on his way;" and he is said to fly as an eagle, (xlviii. 40.) "Behold, he shall fly as an eagle, and shall spread his wings over Moab;" and he is also compared to an eagle by Ezekiel, (xvii. 3. 12.) "Thus saith the Lord God, A great eagle with great wings, &c." The lion is esteemed the king of beasts, and the eagle the king of birds: and therefore the kingdom of Babylon, which is described as the first and noblest kingdom, and was the kingdom then in being, is said to partake of the nature of both. Instead of a *lion*, the Vulgar Latin, and the Greek, and Arabic versions have a *lioness;* and it is [3]Jerome's observation, that the kingdom of Babylon for its cruelty is compared not to a lion, but to a lioness, which naturalists say is the fiercer of the two.

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[1] Lowth's Comment. on chap. ii. 31. Grotius ibid.

[2] See Sir John Chardin and other travellers.

The "eagle's wings" denote its swiftness and rapidity: and the conquests of Babylon were very rapid, that empire being advanced to the height within a few years by a single person, by the conduct and arms of Nebuchadnezzar. It is farther said, "The wings thereof were plucked, and it was lifted up from the earth," that is, it was taken away from the earth, as it is commonly understood, and as it is translated in almost all the [4]ancient versions: or it may be rendered thus, *the wings thereof were plucked* wherewith *it was lifted up from the earth*, as [5]Grotius explains it, and as we read it in the margin of our Bibles, the conjunction copulative sometimes supplying the place of a relative. Its wings were beginning to be plucked at the time of the delivery of this prophecy; for at this time the Medes and Persians were incroaching upon it; Belshazzar the king now reigning was the last of his race; and in the [6]seventeenth year of his reign Babylon was taken, and the kingdom was transferred to the Medes and Persians.

"And it was made stand upon the feet as a man, and a man's heart was given to it." It is not easy to say what is the precise meaning of this passage; unless it be an allusion to the case of Nebuchadnezzar, when in his madness (iv. 6.) "a beast's heart was given unto him," and after he was restored to his senses, "a man's heart was given to him" again. What appears most probable is, that after the Babylonian empire was subverted, the people became more humane and gentle; their minds were humbled with their fortune; and they who vaunted as if they had been gods, now felt themselves to be but men. They were brought to such a sense as the Psalmist wisheth such persons to have, (Psal. ix. 20.) "Put them in fear, O Lord; that the nations may know themselves to be but men."

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[3] 'Regnum Babylonium propter sævitiam et crudelitatem,—non leo, sed læana appellatur. Aiunt enim hi qui de bestiarum scripsere naturis leænas esse ferociores, &c.' Hieron. Comment. in locum.

[4] '"Et sublata est (inquit) de terra;" subverso videlicet impio [imperio] Chaldæorum.' Hieron. ibid. καὶ ἐξήρθη ἀϖὸ τῆς γῆς. Sept. "Videbam evulsas esse alas ejus, et ab humo sublatam." Syriac. "et egressa est de terra." Arab.

[5] "Et sublata est de terra." Verte: *per quas efferebatur supra terram*. Sæpe enim Chaldæis, ut et Hebræis, copula vim habet relativa.' Grot. in locum.

[6] Joseph. Antiq. l. 10. c. 11. § 4. p. 462. Usher, Prideaux, and other chronologers.

II. The second kingdom is represented (ver. 5.) by "another beast like to a bear, and it raised up itself on one side, and it had three ribs in the mouth of it between the teeth of it: and they said thus unto it, Arise, devour much flesh." This is the kingdom of the Medes and Persians: and for their cruelty and greediness after blood they are compared to a *bear*, which is a most voracious and cruel animal. The very learned [7] Bochart recounts several particulars, wherein the Persians resembled bears: but the chief likeness consisted in what I have mentioned; and this likeness was principally intended by the prophet, as I think we may infer from the words of the text itself, "Arise, devour much flesh." A bear, saith Aristotle, is an all-devouring animal: and so, saith [8] Grotius, the Medo-Persians were great robbers and spoilers according to Jeremiah (li. 48. 56.).

"And it raised up itself on one side," or as it is in the margin, *it raised up one dominion;* for the Persians were subject to the Medes at the conquest of Babylon, but soon after raised up themselves above them. "And it had three ribs in the mouth of it between the teeth of it:" these [9] Jerome understands of the three kingdoms of the Babylonians, Medes, and Persians, which were reduced into one kingdom; and so likewise Vatablus and Grotius: but [1] Sir Isaac Newton and Bishop Chandler with greater propriety explain them to signify the kingdoms of Babylon, Lydia, and Egypt, which were conquered by it, but were not properly parts and members of its body. They might be called *ribs,* as the conquest of them much strengthened the Persian empire; and they might be said to be *between the teeth of the bear,* as they were much grinded and oppressed by the Persians.

"And they said thus unto it, Arise, devour much flesh:" this was said, as it was before observed, to denote the cruelty of the

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[7] Bocharti Hierozoic. Pars prior. l. 3. c. 9. col. 816, &c.

[8] 'Ursus ζωον παμφαγον [animal omnia vorans] ait Aristoteles VIII. 5. Sic Medopersæ raptores magni, prædones, Jeremiæ LI. 48, 56.' Grot. in locum.

[9] Ergo tres ordines in ore regni Persarum, et in dentibus ejus, tria regna debemus accipere, Babyloniorum, Medorum, atque Persarum; quæ in unum redacta sunt regnum.' Hieron. Comment. in loc. Vatablus et Grot. in locum.

[1] Sir Isaac Newton's Observations on Daniel, c. 4. p. 29. Bishop Chandler's Vindication, book 1. c 2. § 2. p. 198.

Medes and Persians. They are also represented very cruel by the prophet Isaiah, (xiii. 18.) "Their bows also shall dash the young men to pieces, and they shall have no pity on the fruit of the womb; their eye shall not spare children." Cambyses, Ochus, and others of their princes were indeed more like bears than men. Instances of their cruelty abound in almost all the historians, who have written of their affairs from Herodotus down to Ammianus Marcellinus,[2] who decribes them proud, cruel, exercising the power of life and death over slaves and obscure plebeians. They pull off the skins, says he, from men alive by pieces or all together: and they have abominable laws, by which for one man's offence all the neighbourhood is destroyed. Well therefore might a learned [3] French commentator say, that the Persians have exercised the most severe, and the most cruel dominion that we know of. The punishments used among them beget horror in those who read of them.

III. The third kingdom is represented (ver. 6.) by "another beast like a leopard, which had upon the back of it four wings of a fowl; the beast had also four heads; and dominion was given to it." This is the kingdom of the Macedonians or Grecians, who under the command of Alexander the Great overcame the Persians, and reigned next after them: and it is fitly compared to a *leopard* upon several accounts. The leopard is remarkable for swiftness; "their horses (saith the prophet Habbakkuk, i. 8.) are swifter than the leopards:" and Alexander and the Macedonians were amazingly swift and rapid in their conquests. The leopard is a spotted animal: and so was a proper emblem, according to [4] Bochart, of the different manners of the nations which Alexander commanded; or, according to [5] Grotius, of the various manners of Alexander himself, who was sometimes merciful, and sometimes cruel; sometimes temperate, and sometimes drunken; sometimes abstemious, and sometimes incontinent. The leopard, as [6] Bochart observes, is of small stature, but of great courage, so as not to be afraid to engage with the lion and the largest beasts; and so Alexander, a little king in comparison, of small stature too, and with a small army, dared to attack the king of kings, that is Darius, whose kingdom was extended from the Ægean sea to the Indies. Others have pursued the comparison further, but with more subtilty than solidity; for I conceive the principal point of likeness was designed between the swiftness and impetuosity of the one and the other.

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[2] 'Superbi, crudeles, vitæ necisque potestatem in servos et plebeios vindicantes obscuros. Cutes vivis hominibus detrahunt particulatim vel solidas. — Leges apud eos — abominandæ — per quas ob noxam unius omnis propinquitas perit.' Amm. Marcell. l. 23. c. 6.

[3] 'Les Perses ont exercé la domination la plus sevére, et la plus cruelle que l'on connoisse. Les supplices usitez parmi eux font horreur à ceux qui les lisent.' Calmet in Dan.

[4] 'Maculas pardi referunt gentium, quibus imperavit, diversi mores.' Bochart. Hierozoic. pars prior, l. 3. c. 7. col. 789.

[5] 'Pardus varium animal. Sic Alexander moribus variis; modo clemens, modo crudelis; modo victus temperati, modo ebriosus; modo abstinens, modo indulgens amoribus.' Grot. in locum.

[6] 'Ut pardus statura parvus est, sed animo et robore maxime præstans, ita ut cum leone et procerissimis quibusque feris congredi non vereatur: sic Alexander pene regulus, et cum exiguo apparatu, regem regum aggredi ausus est, id est, Darium, cujus regnum a mari Ægæo usque ad Indos extendebatur.' Bochart. Hieroz. pars prior. l. 3. c. 7. col. 789.

For the same reason the beast "had upon the back of it four wings of a fowl." The Babylonian empire was represented with *two* wings, but this is described with *four*. For, as Jerome saith,[7] nothing was swifter than the victories of Alexander, who ran through all the countries from Illyricum and the Adriatic sea to the Indian ocean and the river Ganges, not so much fighting as conquering, and in *six* years (he should have said in *twelve*) subjugated part of Europe, and all Asia to himself. "The beast had also four heads:" to denote the four kingdoms into which this same third kingdom should be divided, as it was divided into four kingdoms after the death of Alexander,[8] his four captains Cassander reigning over Macedon and Greece, Lysimachus over Thrace and Bithynia, Ptolemy over Egypt, and Seleucus over Syria. "And dominion was given to it;" which sheweth, as Jerome saith,[9] that it was not owing to the fortitude of Alexander, but proceeded from the will of the Lord. And indeed unless he had been directed, preserved, and assisted by the mighty power of God, how could Alexander with thirty thousand men have overcome Darius with six hundred thousand, and in so short a time have brought all the countries from Greece as far as to India into subjection?

IV. The fourth kingdom is represented (ver. 7.) by a "fourth beast, dreadful and terrible; and strong exceedingly; and it had great iron teeth; it devoured, and brake in pieces, and stamped the residue with the feet of it, and it was divers from all the beasts that were before it." Daniel was curious to know particularly what this might mean, (ver. 19.) "Then I would know the truth of the fourth beast, which was divers from all the others, exceeding dreadful, whose teeth were of iron, and his nails of brass, which devoured, brake in pieces, and stamped the residue with his feet." And he was answered thus by the angel, (ver. 23.) "The fourth beast shall be the fourth kingdom upon earth, which shall be divers from all kingdoms, and shall devour the whole earth, and shall tread it down, and break it in pieces." This fourth kingdom can be none other than the Roman empire; for it is as absurd, as it is singular, to pretend to reckon the kingdoms of the Seleucidæ in Syria and of the Lagidæ or Ptolemies in Egypt as the fourth kingdom. Calmet himself acknowledgeth,[1] that this is usually explained of the Roman empire; and though for reasons of church, as well as reasons of state, he may prefer the other hypothesis, yet it is 'without pretending to destroy the system which understands the fourth empire of the Roman, and which, as he confesseth, is the most commonly received among interpreters.'

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[7] 'Nihil enim Alexandri victoria velocius fuit, qui, ab Illyrico et Adriatico mari usque ad Indicum oceanum et Gangen fluvium, non tam præliis, quam victoriis percurrit, et in sex annis partem Europæ et omnem sibi Asiam subjugavit.' Hieron. Comment. in loc.

[8] See Prideaux Connect. part 1. b. 8. Anno 301. Ptolemy Soter 4.

[9] 'Quodque additur, "Et potestas data est ei," ostendit, non Alexandri fortitudinis, sed Domini voluntatis fuisse.' Hieron. Comment. in loc.

The kingdoms of the Seleucidæ and of the Lagidæ can in no respect answer to this description of the fourth beast or kingdom. It is described as "dreadful, and terrible, and strong exceedingly:" but the kingdoms of the Lagidæ and of the Seleucidæ were *less* terrible, and *less* strong than any of the former kingdoms. It "devoured, and brake in pieces, and stamped the residue," that is, the remains of the former kingdoms, "with the feet of it:" but the Lagidæ and the Seleucidæ were almost continually at war with each other; and instead of subduing other kingdoms, tore to pieces their own. It was "divers from all kingdoms," that is of a different nature and constitution of government: but Egypt and Syria were governed much in the same manner as the former kingdoms, and were equally absolute monarchies. Of the fourth kingdom it is said, "that it shall devour the whole earth, and shall tread it down, and break it in pieces:" but this can never be applied to the kings of Egypt and Syria, who were so far from enlarging their dominions, that they could not preserve what was left them by their ancestors.

Wherefore Jerome rightly concluded,[2] that 'the fourth empire which now possesseth the world, is the Roman, whereof it is said in the statue, "his legs of iron, his feet part of iron, and part of clay;" and yet he mentions now the iron in part, attesting that it had great iron teeth. And I greatly wonder, saith he, that when he had before placed a lion, and a bear, and a leopard in three kingdoms, he should compare the Roman empire to no beast: unless perhaps that he might make the beast more formidable, he concealed the name; so that whatsoever we could imagine the most fierce in beasts, that we should understand the Romans to be.' The fourth beast was so great and horrible, that it was not easy to find an adequate name for it: and the Roman empire was "dreadful, and terrible, and strong exceedingly," beyond any of the former kingdoms. It was "divers from all kingdoms," not only in its republican form of government, but likewise in strength, and power, and greatness, length of duration, and extent of dominion. "It devoured, and brake in pieces, and stamped the residue with the feet of it;" it reduced Macedon into a Roman province [3] about 168 years, the kingdom of Pergamus about 133 years, Syria about 65 years, and Egypt about 30 years before Christ. And besides the remains of the Macedonian empire, it subdued many other provinces and kingdoms, so that it might by a very usual figure be said, to *devour the whole earth, and to tread it down, and break it in pieces;* and became in a manner, what the Roman writers delighted to call it, 'terrarum orbis imperium,' *the empire of the whole world.*

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[1] 'On l'explique ordinairement de l'empire Romain.——sans pretendre pour cela détruire le systême qui entend le quatriéme empire, de l'empire Romain, et qui est le plus communément reçu parmi les interprétes.' Calmet. in locum.

[2] 'Quartum quod nunc orbem tenet terrarum, imperium Romanum est, de quo in statua dicitur: "Tibiæ ejus ferreæ: pedum quædam pars ferrea, quædam fictilis;" et tamen ipsius ferri ex parte nunc meminit, dentes ejus ferreos et magnos esse contestans. Satisque mirror, quod quum supra leænam, et ursum, et pardum, in tribus regnis posuerit, Romanum regnum nulli bestiæ compararit; nisi forte ut formidolosam faceret bestiam, vocabulum tacuit; ut quicquid ferocius cogitaverimus in bestiis hoc Romanos intelligamus.' Hieron. Comment in loc.

A Greek writer too, and he a grave and judicious historian, who flourished in the reign of Augustus Cæsar, hath a remarkable passage, which is very pertinent to our present purpose. Speaking of the great superiority of the Roman empire to all former empires he saith, that the Persian was succeeded by the Macedonian, and the Macedonian by the Roman; so that he had no conception of Alexander's erecting one kingdom, and his successors another, but considered them both as one and the same kingdom. His words are,[4] 'The Macedonian empire hav-

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See Usher, Prideaux, and other chronologers.

[4] ἡ δὲ Μακεδονικὴ δυναστεία, τὴν Περσῶν καθελοῦσα ἰσχὺν, μεγέθει μὲν ἀρχῆς ἁπάσας ὑπερεβάλετο τὰς ϖρὸ αὐτῆς· χρόνον δὲ οὐδὲ αὐτὴ ϖολὺν ἤνθησεν, ἀλλὰ μετὰ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου τελευτὴν ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον ἤρξατο φέρεσθαι. διασπασθεῖσα γὰρ εἰς πολλοὺς ἡγεμόνας [εἰς πολλὰς ἡγεμονίας Sylb.] εὐθὺς ἀπὸ [ὑπὸ] τῶν διαδόχων, καὶ μετ' ἐκείνους ἄχρι τῆς δευτέρας ἢ τρίτης ἰσχύσασα προελθεῖν γενεᾶς, ἀσθενὴς αὐτὴ δι' ἑαυτῆς ἐγένετο, καὶ τελευτῶσα ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἠφανίσθη. καὶ οὐδὲ αὐτὴ μέντοι πᾶσαν ἐποιήσατο γῆν τε καὶ θάλασσαν ὑπήκοον. οὔτε γὰρ Λιβύης, ὅτι μὴ τῆς πρὸς Αἰγύπτῳ, ϖολλῆς οὔσης ἐκράτησεν, οὔτε τὴν Εὐρώπην ὅλην ὑπηγάγετο, ἀλλὰ τῶν μὲν βορείων αὐτῆς μερῶν μέχρι Θρᾴκης προῆλθε, τῶν δὲ ἑσπερίων ἄχρι τῆς Ἀδριανῆς κατέβη θαλάσσης.—ἡ δὲ Ῥωμαίων πόλις ἁπάσης μὲν ἄρχει γῆς, ὅση μὴ ἀνέμβατός ἐστιν, ἀλλ' ὑπ' ἀνθρώπων κατοικεῖται· πάσης δὲ κρατεῖ θαλάσσης, οὐ μόνον τῆς ἐντὸς Ἡρακλείων στηλῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς Ὠκεανίτιδος, ὅση πλεῖσθαι μὴ ἀδύνατός ἐστι, πρώτη καὶ μόνη τῶν ἐκ τοῦ ϖαντὸς αἰῶνος μνημονευομένων, ἀνατολὰς καὶ δύσεις ὅρους ποιησαμένη τῆς δυναστείας· χρόνος τε αὐτῇ τοῦ κράτους οὐ βραχὺς, ἀλλ' ὅσος οὐδεμιᾷ τῶν ἄλλων οὔτε πόλεων οὔτε βασιλείων. *Imperium vero Macedonicum, fractis Persarum opibus, imperii amplitudine omnia quotquot ante fuerant, superavit: sed ne ipsum quidem diu floruit, at post Alexandri obitum in pejus cœpit ruere. Statim enim in multos principes a successoribus distractum, et post illos ad secundam usque tertiamve ætatem progressum, ipsum per se debilitatum est, tandemque a Romanis deletum. Verum, ne ipsum quidem omnes terras omniaque maria in suam ditionem redegit. Neque enim Africæ, quæ late patet, nisi partis Ægypto proximæ, potitum est: neque totam Europam subegit, sed ab ejus septentrionalibus partibus ad Thraciam usque processit; ab occidentalibus vero usque ad Adriaticum mare descendit.——At respublica Romana totius terræ, quæ non est deserta, sed ab hominibus incolitur, imperium habet: et*

ing overturned the force of the Persians, in greatness indeed of dominion exceeded all the kingdoms which were before it: but yet it did not flourish a long time, but after the death of Alexander it began to grow worse and worse. For being immediately distracted into several principalities by his successors, and after them having strength to go on to the second or third generation, it was weakened by itself, and at last was destroyed by the Romans. And yet it did not reduce all the earth and sea to its obedience. For neither did it possess Africa, except that part adjoining to Egypt; neither did it subdue all Europe, but only northwards it proceeded as far as Thrace, and westwards it descended to the Adriatic sea. But the city of Rome ruleth over all the earth, as far as it is inhabited; and commands all the sea, not only that within the pillars of Hercules, but also the ocean, as far as it is navigable, having first and alone of all the most celebrated kingdoms, made the east and west the bounds of its empire: and its dominion hath continued not a short time, but longer than that of any other city or kingdom.

2. Another remarkable property of this beast is (ver. 7.) that "it had ten horns:" and according to the angel's interpretation (ver. 24.) "the ten horns out of this kingdom are ten kings (or, *kingdoms*) that shall arise." "Four kings" a little before (ver 17.) signified *four kingdoms:* and so here "ten kings" are *ten kingdoms,* according to the usual phraseology of Scripture. And this is a farther argument, that the kingdoms of the Lagidæ and of the Seleucidæ cannot possibly be the fourth kingdom, because they were never divided into so many parts. The Macedonian empire was divided a few years after the death of Alexander into four kingdoms, whereof Egypt and Syria were two; but these two were never again subdivided into ten lesser kingdoms. Porphyry, therefore, who made two separate kingdoms of the kingdom of Alexander and his successors, contrary to the received interpretation of *kings* for *kingdoms,* reckons down to Antiochus Epiphanes, whom he supposeth to be the "little horn," ten kings who were most cruel: but these kings, as Jerome[5] observes, were not all of one kingdom, of Macedonia for instance, or Syria, or Asia, or Egypt; but the list was made up out of the different kingdoms.

Grotius[6] indeed, and Collins after him, form their catalogue

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totius maris est domina. non solum ejus quod est intra columnas Herculis sed et Oceani quacunque navigari potest, primaque et sola post hominum memoriam ortu et occasu fines imperii sui terminavit: ejusque potentia non ad exiguum tempus duravit, sed quantum nulli alii vel reipublicæ vel regno contigit. Dionysius Halicarnass. Antiq. Rom. l. 1. c. 2. et 3.

[5] ——'et deinde usque ad Antiochum cognomento Epiphanen, decem reges enumerat, qui fuerunt sævissimi: ipsosque reges non unius ponit regni verbi gratia, Macedoniæ, Syriæ, Asiæ, et Ægypti; sed de diversis regnis unum efficit regum ordinem.' Hieron. Comment. in loc.

[6] Grotius in locum. Scheme of Literal Prophecy, &c. p. 162.

of the ten kings, who were very oppressive and cruel to the Jews, out of the kings of Egypt and Syria: and they thus enumerate them, five out of one kingdom, and five out of the other, Ptolemy the son of Lagus, Seleucus Nicator, Ptolemy Eupator [I suppose they meant Ptolemy Philadelphus, for he reigned next after Ptolemy the son of Lagus, and next before Ptolemy Euergetes, being the son of the former, and the father of the latter], Ptolemy Euergetes, Seleucus Callinicus, Antiochus the Great, Ptolemy Philopator, Ptolemy Epiphanes, Seleucus Philopator, and Antiochus Epiphanes. But it happens, that some of these kings did not persecute the Jews at all, as Seleucus Callinicus. Others were so far from persecuting them, that they were their patrons and protectors. Such were Ptolemy the son of Lagus, Seleucus Nicator, Ptolemy Philadelphus, Ptolemy Euergetes, and Antiochus the Great: and such they are reckoned by Josephus[7] himself. So that out of the ten kings only *four* were persecutors and oppressors of the Jews. The ten horns too are represented as existing all at once; they shoot out and appear upon the head of the beast all together: but these kings were not all contemporaries, many of them were successive, and one fell before another arose. So forced and arbitrary is this exposition, and so contrary to the truth of history.

We must therefore look for the ten kings or kingdoms, where only they can be found, amid the broken pieces of the Roman empire. The Roman empire, as the Romanists[8] themselves allow, was by means of the incursions of the northern nations, dismembered into ten kingdoms: and Machiavel,[9] little thinking what he was doing (as Bishop Chandler observes), hath given us their names; 1. the Ostrogoths in Mœsia, 2. the Visigoths in Pannonia, 3. the Sueves and Alans in Gascoigne and Spain, 4. the Vandals in Africa, 5. the Franks in France, 6. the Burgundians in Burgundy, 7. the Heruli and Turingi in Italy, 8. the Saxons and Angles in Britain, 9. the Huns in Hungary, 10. the Lombards at first upon the Danube, afterwards in Italy.

Mr. Mede, whom a certain writer[1] esteemed as a man divinely inspired for the interpretation of the prophecies,[2] reckons up the ten kingdoms thus in the year 456, the year after Rome was sacked by Genseric king of the Vandals: 1. the Britons, 2. the Saxons in Britain, 3. the Franks, 4. the Burgundians in France, 5. the Wisigoths in the south of France and part of Spain, 6. the Sueves and Alans in Gallicia and Portugal, 7. the

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[7] Vide Antiq. l. 12. c. 1—3. Contra Apion. l. 2. § 4 et 5.

[8] Calmet upon Rev. xiii. 1. and he refers likewise to Berengaud, Bossuet, and Du Pin.

[9] Machiavel Hist. Flor. l. 1. Bishop Chandler's Vindication, &c. b. 1. c. 2. § 3. p. 263.

[1] Mons. Jurieu, in the Preface to his Accomplishment of the Scripture Prophecies.

[2] Mede's Works, b. 3. p. 661.

Vandals in Afric, 8. the Alemanes in Germany, 9. the Ostrogoths whom the Longobards succeeded, in Pannonia, and afterwards in Italy, 10. the Greeks in the residue of the empire.

That excellent chronologer Bishop Lloyd exhibits the following[3] list of the ten kingdoms with the time of their rise: 1. Huns about A. D. 356. 2. Ostrogoths 377. 3. Wisigoths 378. 4. Franks 407. 5. Vandals 407. 6. Sueves and Alans 407. 7. Burgundians 407. 8. Herules and Rugians 476. 9. Saxons 476. 10. Longobards began to reign in Hungary A. D. 526. and were seated in the northern parts of Germany about the year 483.

Sir Isaac Newton enumerates them thus,[4] 1. the kingdom of the Vandals and Alans in Spain and Africa, 2. the kingdom of the Suevians in Spain, 3. the kingdom of the Visigoths, 4. the kingdom of the Alans in Gallia, 5. the kingdom of the Burgundians, 6. the kingdom of the Franks, 7. the kingdom of the Britons, 8. the kingdom of the Huns, 9. the kingdom of the Lombards, 10. the kingdom of Ravenna.

The few variations in these accounts must be ascribed to the great disorder and confusion of the times, one kingdom falling, and another rising, and scarce any subsisting for a long while together. As a learned writer[5] remarks, 'all these kingdoms were variously divided either by conquest or inheritance. However, as if that number of *ten* had been fatal in the Roman dominions, it hath been taken notice of upon particular occasions. As about A. D. 1240 by Eberard bishop of Saltsburg in the diet at Ratisbon. At the time of the Reformation they were also ten. So that the Roman empire was divided into *ten* in a manner, first and last.' Mr. Whiston, who published his essay on the Revelation of St. John in the year 1706, farther observes,[6] 'that as the number of the kingdoms, into which the Roman empire in Europe, agreeably to the ancient prophecies, was originally divided A. D. 456, was exactly *ten:* so it is also very nearly returned again to the same condition; and at present is divided into ten grand or principal kingdoms or states.—For though there are many more great kingdoms and dominions in Europe besides, yet are they out of the bounds of the old Roman empire, and so not so directly within our present inquiry.'

We would, for reasons which will hereafter appear to the attentive reader, fix these ten kingdoms at a different æra from any of the foregoing; and let us see how they stood in the eighth century. The principal states and governments then were, 1. of the senate of Rome, who revolted from the Greek emperors, and claimed and exerted the privilege of choosing a new western emperor; 2. of the Greeks in Ravenna; 3. of the Lombards in Lombardy; 4. of the Huns in Hungary; 5. of the Alemanes in Germany; 6. of the Franks in France; 7. of the Burgundians in Burgundy; 8. of the Goths in Spain; 9. of the Britons; 10. of the Saxons in Britain. Not that there were constantly *ten* kingdoms; they were sometimes more, and sometimes fewer: but as [7] Sir Isaac Newton says, 'whatever was their number afterwards, they are still called the *ten kings* from their first number.'

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[3] Addenda to Lowth's Comment. p. 524.

[4] Sir Is. Newton's Observ. on Daniel, c. 6. p. 47.

[5] Daubuz on Rev. xiii. 1. p. 559.

[6] Essay on the Rev. Part 3. Vision 4.

3. Besides these ten horns or kingdoms of the fourth empire, there was to spring up among them another little horn. "I considered the horns (saith Daniel, ver. 8.) and behold there came up among them another little horn, before whom there were three of the first horns plucked up by the roots." Daniel was eager to know (ver. 20.) as "of the ten horns," so likewise "of the other which came up, and before whom three fell." And he was informed by the angel, (ver. 24.) that as "the ten horns out of this kingdom were ten kings (or, kingdoms) that should arise," so likewise that "another shall rise after them, and he shall subdue three kings," or *kingdoms*. One absurdity generally produceth another: and [8] Grotius, in consequence of his former supposition that the fourth kingdom was the kingdoms of the Seleucidæ and Lagidæ, supposeth also, that the "little horn" was Antiochus Epiphanes, and that "the three horns which were plucked up before him" were his elder brother Seleucus, and Demetrius the son of Seleucus, and Ptolemy Philopator king of Egypt: and Collins adopts the same notion after Grotius, for Collins was only a retailer of scraps, and could not advance any thing of this kind of his own. But surely it is very arbitrary to reckon Antiochus Epiphanes as one of the ten horns, and at the same time as the little horn, when the prophet hath plainly made the little horn an *eleventh* horn, distinct from the former ten. There were "three of the first horns" to be plucked up by the roots before the little horn; but the three kings mentioned by Grotius are not all in his first catalogue of ten kings, neither Ptolemy Philometor (if Philometor be meant) nor Demetrius being of the number. Neither were they "plucked up by the roots" by Antiochus, or by his order. Seleucus was [9] poisoned by his treasurer Heliodorus, whose aim it was to usurp the crown to himself, before Antiochus returned from Rome, where he had been detained a hostage several years. Demetrius [1] lived to dethrone and murder the son of Antiochus, and succeeded him in the kingdom of Syria. Ptolemy Philopator died king of Egypt almost thirty

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[7] Sir Isaac Newton's Observations on Daniel. c. 6. p. 73.

[8] Grotius and Collins, ibid.

[9] Appian in Syriac. § 45.

[1] Appian. ibid. § 47. Justin. l. 34. c. 3. Joseph. Antiq. l. 12. c. 10. § 1.

years before Antiochus came to the throne of Syria:[2] or if Ptolemy Philometor (as is most probable) was meant by Grotius, Philometor, though he suffered much in his wars with Antiochus, yet survived him [3] about eighteen years, and died in possession of the crown of Egypt, after the family of Antiochus had been set aside from the succession to the crown of Syria. Neither doth Antiochus Epiphanes answer to the character of the little horn in other respects, and particularly in this. The little horn continues (ver. 21, 22. 26.) to reign till the second coming of Christ in glory; but Antiochus Epiphanes died about 164 years before his first coming in the flesh. These are all farther arguments to prove, that the *fourth beast* must needs signify the Roman empire, and that "the ten horns" represent the ten kingdoms into which that empire was divided, and therefore we must look for the "little horn" among them, and no where else: and that we may not be led away by modern prejudices, let us see whether the ancients will not afford us some light and direction.

Irenæus, a father who flourished in the second century, treating of the fraud, pride, and tyranny of Antichrist, asserts that [4] Daniel, respecting the end 'of the last kingdom, that is, the last ten kings, among whom that kingdom should be divided, upon whom the son of perdition shall come, saith that ten horns shall grow on the beast, and another little horn shall grow up among them, and three of the first horns shall be rooted out before him. Of whom also Paul the apostle speaketh in his second epistle to the Thessalonians, calling him "the son of perdition," and "the wicked one." St. John, our Lord's disciple, hath in the Apocalypse still more plainly signified of the last time, and of these ten kings, among whom the empire that now reigneth shall be divided, explaining what the ten horns shall be, which were seen by Daniel.'

St. Cyril of Jerusalem, who flourished about the middle of the fourth century, speaking of Antichrist's coming in the latter times of the Roman empire, [5] saith, 'We teach these things not of our own invention, but having learned them out of the divine Scriptures, and especially out of the prophecy of Daniel which was just now read; even as Gabriel the archangel interpreted saying thus; *the fourth beast shall be the fourth kingdom upon earth, which shall exceed all the kingdoms:* but that this is the empire of the Romans, ecclesiastical interpreters have delivered. For the first that was made famous, was the kingdom of the Assyrians; and the second, was that of the Medes and Persians together; and after these the third, was that of the Macedonians; and the fourth kingdom, is now that of the Romans. Afterwards Gabriel interpreting saith, *Its ten horns are ten kings that shall arise; and after them shall arise another king, who shall exceed in wickedness all before him;* not only the ten he saith, but also all who were before him. *And he shall depress three kings:* but it is manifest that of the first ten he shall depress three, that he himself may reign the eighth: and he shall speak words, saith he, against the Most High.'

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[2] Ptolemy Philopator died Anno 204, Antiochus became king Anno 175 before Christ. See Usher, Prideaux, &c.

[3] Antiochus Epiphanes died Anno 164, Ptolemy Philometor Anno 146 before Christ. See Usher, Prid. &c.

[4] 'Daniel autem novissimi regni finem respiciens, id est, novissimos decem reges, in quos divideretur regnum illorum, super quos filius perditionis veniet, cornua dicit decem nasci bestiæ: ei alterum cornu pusillum nasci in medio ipsorum, et tria cornua de prioribus eradicare a facie ejus—— De quo et apostolus Paulus in secunda ad Thessalonicenses, &c. Manifestius adhuc etiam de novissimo tempore, et de his qui sunt in eo decem regibus, in quos dividetur quod nunc regnat imperium, significavit Joannes Domini discipulus in Apocalypsi, edisserens quæ fuerint decem cornua, quæ a Daniele visa sunt, &c.' Iren. l. 5. c. 25, 26.

[5] Ταῦτα δὲ διδάσκομεν, οὐκ εὑρεσιλογοῦντες, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν θείων ἐκκλησιαζομένων γραφῶν, καὶ μάλιστα ἐκ τῆς ἀρτίως ἀναγνωσθείσης τοῦ Δανιὴλ προφητείας μεμαθηκότες· καθὼς καὶ Γαβριὴλ ὁ Ἀρχάγγελος ἑρμήνευσε λέγων οὕτω· Το θηρίον τό τέταρτον, βασιλεία τετάρτη ἔσται ἐν τῇ γῇ, ἥτις ὑπερέξει πάσας τὰς βασιλείας· ταύτην δὲ εἶναι τῶν Ῥωμαίων οἱ ἐκκλησίαστικοὶ παραδεδώ-

St. Jerome having refuted Porphyry's notion of Antiochus Epiphanes being the little horn (where by the way the passage appears to want much emendation), [6]concludes thus: 'Therefore let us say what all ecclesiastical writers have delivered, that in the latter days, when the empire of the Romans shall be destroyed, there will be ten kings, who shall divide it between them, and an eleventh shall arise, a little king, who shall subdue three of the ten kings, and the other seven shall submit their necks to the conqueror.' Theodoret speaketh much to the same purpose in his comment upon Daniel: and [7]St. Austin expressly

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κασιν εξηγηταί. πρώτης γὰρ ἐπισήμου γενομένης, τῆς Ἀσσυρίων βασιλείας· καὶ δευτέρας, τῆς Μήδων ὁμοῦ καὶ Περσῶν· καί μετὰ ταύτας, τῆς Μακεδόνων, τριτης· ἡ τετάρτη βασιλεία νῦν ἡ Ῥωμαίων ἐστίν. εἶτα ἑξῆς ὁ Γαβριὴλ ἑρμενεύων φησί· Τὰ δέκα κέρατα αὐτοῦ, δέκα βασιλεῖς ἀναστήσονται· καὶ ὀπίσω αὐτῶν ἀναστήσεται βασιλεύς ἕτερος, ὃς ὑπεροίσει κακοῖς πάντας τοὺς ἔμπροσθεν· οὐ μόνον φησὶ τοὺς δέκα, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντας τοὺς προγεγονότας. Καὶ τρεῖς βασιλεῖς ταπεινώσει. δῆλον καὶ [δὲ] ἀπὸ τῶν δέκα τῶν προτέρων, ἀπὸ τῶν δέκα τούτων τοὺς τρεῖς ταπεινῶν, πάντως ὅτι αὐτὸς ὄγδοος βασιλεύσει· καὶ λόγους, φησὶ, πρὸς τὸν ὕψιστον λαλήσει. *Hæc autem docemus, non comminiscentes, sed e scripturis divinis colligentes, et ex ea maxime, quæ nuper lecta est, ex Daniele propheta edocti: sicut Gabriel Archangelus interpretatus est, dicens sic: 'Quarta bestia, quartum est regnum in terra, quod majus erit aliis omnibus regnis?' hoc autem esse Romanorum, ecclesiastici interpretes tradiderunt. Primum enim erat regnum Assyriorum: alterum Medorum simul et Persarum: tertium postea Macedonum: quartum est nunc regnum Romanorum. Deinceps vere Gabriel interpretans dicit: 'Decem cornua ipsius, decem regna consurgent: post ista alter consurget, qui omnes ante se malis vincet:' neque solum illos decem reges, sed omnes qui ante se fuerunt. 'Et tres reges deprimet.' Manifestum autem est, quod ex istis decem tres opprimet, prorsus et ipsemet octavus regnet: et verba faciet contra Altissimum.* Cyrill. Hieros. Catech. 15. c. 6.

[6] 'Ergo dicamus quod omnes scriptores ecclesiastici tradiderunt: in consummatione mundi, quando regnum destruendum est Romanorum, decem futuros reges, qui orbem Romanum inter se dividant: et undecimum surrecturum esse regem parvulum, qui tres reges de decem regibus superaturus sit — Quibus interfectis, etiam septem alii reges victori colla submittent.' Hieron. Comment. in loc.

[7] 'Quatuor illa regna exposuerunt quidam Assyriorum, Persarum, Macedonum, et Romanorum. Quam vero convenienter id fecerint, qui nosse desiderant, legant presbyteri Hieronymi librum in Danielem, satis diligenter eruditeque conscriptum.' Aug. de Civ. Dei, l. 10. c. 23.

approveth of Jerome's interpretation. 'Those four kingdoms,' saith he, 'some have expounded to be the Assyrian, Persian, Macedonian, and Roman. How properly they have done that, those who are desirous of knowing, may read the presbyter Jerome's book upon Daniel, which is very accurately and learnedly written.'

The fathers, it appears by these instances, conceived that the fourth empire was the Roman, that the Roman empire was to be divided between ten kngs, and that among them would arise Antichrist, who should root up three of the ten kings, and domineer over the other seven. At the same time it must be confessed, that these same fathers entertained strange wild notions concerning this Antichrist,[8] that he should be a Jew, that he should descend from the tribe of Dan, that he should come from Babylon, that he should fix his residence in the temple at Jerusalem, that he should first subdue Egypt, and afterwards Libya and Ethiopia, which were the three horns that should fall before him. But it is no wonder that the fathers, nor indeed that any one should mistake in particularly applying prophecies, which had not then received their completion. The fathers might understand the prophecies so far as they were fulfilled, and might say with certainty which were the four great kingdoms of the world, that the fourth was the Roman, and that the Roman would be divided in the same manner that Daniel had foretold. So far was plain and obvious, and so far they might proceed with safety: but when they ventured farther, and would define particularly who were the ten kings, and who was Antichrist, and who were the three kings that should fall before him, then they plunged out of their depth, and were lost in the abyss of error. Such prophecies can be explained only by the events, and these events were yet in the womb of time. Some other mistaken prophecies might lead the fathers into this interpretation. There is not the least foundation for it in this prophecy. On the contrary this prophecy might have instructed them better, and have taught them that as the western empire was to be divided into ten kingdoms, so the little horn should arise among them, and subdue three of them: and consequently the little horn could not arise in the east, he could not be a Jew, he could not come from Babylon, and neither could Egypt, Libya, and Ethiopia be the three kingdoms which should fall before him.

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[8] Irenæi, l. 5. c. 25. et 30. Cyrilli Hieros. Catech. 15. c. 7.——'tres reges de decem regibus superaturus sit, id est, Ægyptiorum regem, et Africæ et Æthiopiæ.' Hieron. Comment. in loc. ——'nasciturus est de populo Judæorum, et de Babylone venturus, primum superaturus est regem Ægypti, &c. et postea Libyas et Æthiopas superaturus, quæ de decem cornibus tria contrita cornua supra legimus.' Idem in c. 11. 'Cum Jacob filios suos benediceret, talia dixit de isto Dan, ut de ipsa tribu existimetur exsurrecturus Antichristus.' Augustin. Quæstiones in Jos. l. 6. Quæst. 22.

Antichrist then (as the fathers delight to call him) or the little horn is to be sought among the ten kingdoms of the western Roman empire. I say of the western Roman empire, because that was properly the body of the fourth beast; Greece and the countries which lay eastward of Italy belonged to the third beast; for the former beasts were still subsisting, though their dominion was taken away. "As concerning the rest of the beasts (saith Daniel, ver. 12.), they had their dominion taken away; yet their lives were prolonged for a season and a time." 'And therefore,' as Sir Isaac Newton[9] rightly infers, 'all the four beasts are still alive, though the dominion of the three first be taken away. The nations of Chaldæa and Assyria are still the first beast. Those of Media and Persia are still the second beast. Those of Macedon, Greece, and Thrace, Asia Minor, Syria, and Egypt, are still the third. And those of Europe, on this side Greece, are still the fourth. Seeing therefore the body of the third beast is confined to the nations on this side the river Euphrates, and the body of the fourth beast is confined to the nations on this side Greece; we are to look for all the four heads of the third beast, among the nations on this side the river Euphrates; and for all the eleven horns of the fourth beast, among the nations on this side of Greece. And therefore, at the breaking of the Greek empire into four kingdoms of the Greeks, we include no part of the Chaldæans, Medes and Persians in those kingdoms, because they belonged to the bodies of the two first beasts. Nor do we reckon the Greek empire seated at Constantinople, among the horns of the fourth beast, because it belonged to the body of the third.' For the same reason, neither can the Saracen nor the Turk be the little horn or Antichrist, as some have imagined them to be; and neither do they come up to the character in other respects.

Let us therefore look for the little horn, as the prophecy itself directs us, among the other ten horns of the western Roman empire. If indeed it be true, as the Romanists pretend, that this part of the prophecy is not yet fulfilled, and that Antichrist will come only for a little time before the general judgment, it would be in vain to inquire who or what he is; we should split upon the same rock as the fathers have done; it would better become us to say with [1]Calmet, that 'as the reign of Antichrist is still remote, we cannot shew the accomplishment of the prophecies with regard to him; we ought to content ourselves with considering the past, and comparing it with the words of the prophet, the past is an assurance of the future.' But perhaps upon examination we shall see reason to conclude with the generality of the Protestants, that this part of the prophecy is fulfilled. We have seen already that the Roman empire was divided into ten horns or kingdoms, and among them possibly we may find another little horn or kingdom answering in all respects to the character here given. Machiavel himself will lead us by the hand; for having shewn how the Roman empire was broken and divided by the incursions of the northern nations, he says,[2] 'About this time the bishops of Rome began to take upon them, and to exercise greater authority than they had formerly done. At first the successors of St. Peter were venerable and eminent for their miracles, and the holiness of their lives; and their examples added daily such numbers to the Christian church, that to obviate or remove the confusions which were then in the world, many princes turned Christians, and the emperor of Rome being converted among the rest, and quitting Rome, to hold his residence at Constantinople; the Roman empire (as we have said before) began to decline, but the church of Rome augmented as fast.' And so he proceeds to give an account how the Roman empire declined, and the power of the church of Rome increased, first under the Goths, then under the Lombards, and afterwards by the calling in of the Franks.

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[9] Sir Is. Newton's Observ. on Daniel, c. 4. p. 31, 32.

[1] 'Comme le regne de l'Antichrist est encore eloigné, on ne peut pas montrer l'accomplissement de prophéties à son egard. On doit se contenter de considérer le passé, et de le comparer avec les paroles du prophéte. Le passé est une assurance de ce qui doit arriver un jour.' Calmet. in locum.

Here then is a *little horn* springing up among the other *ten horns*. The bishop of Rome was respectable as a bishop long before, but he did not become a *horn* properly (which is an emblem of strength and power) till he became a temporal prince. He was to "rise after" the other, that is, *behind them*, as the Greek translates it ὀπίσω αὐτῶν, and as Mr. Mede explains it,[3] so that the ten kings were not aware of the growing up of the *little horn*, till it overtopped them; the word in the original signifying as well *behind* in place, as *after* in time; as also 'post' in Latin is used indifferently either of place or time. "Three of the first horns," that is, three of the first kings or kingdoms, were to be "plucked up by the roots," and to "fall before him." And these three, according to Mr. Mede, 'were those whose dominions extended into Italy, and so stood in his light: first, that of the *Greeks*, whose emperor Leo Isaurus, for the quarrel of image-worship, he excommunicated, and made his subjects of Italy revolt from their allegiance: secondly, that of the *Longobards* (successor to the Ostrogoths) whose kingdom he caused by the aid of the Franks to be wholly ruined and extirpated, thereby to get the exarchate of Ravenna (which since the revolt from the Greeks the Longobards were seized on) for a patrimony to St. Peter: thirdly, the last was the kingdom of the *Franks* itself, continued in the empire of Germany; whose emperors from the days of Henry the Fourth he excommunicated, deposed and trampled under his feet, and never suffered to live in rest, till he made them not only to quit their interest in the election of popes and investitures of bishops, but that remainder also of jurisdiction in Italy, wherewith together with the Roman name he had once infeoffed their predecessors. These were the kings by displanting or (or as the Vulgar hath it) *humbling* of whom the pope got elbow-room by degrees, and advanced himself to that height of temporal majesty and absolute greatness, which made him so terrible in the world.'

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[2] Machiavel's Hist. of Florence, b. 1. p. 6. of the English translation

[3] Mede's Works, b. 4. epist. 24. p. 778, &c.

Sir Isaac Newton reckons them up with some variation. 'Kings,'[4] saith he, 'are put for kingdoms, as above; and therefore the little horn is a little kingdom. It was a horn of the fourth beast, and rooted up three of his first horns; and therefore we are to look for it among the nations of the Latin empire, after the rise of the ten horns.——In the eighth century, by rooting up and subduing the exarchate of *Ravenna*, the kingdom of the *Lombards*, and the senate and dukedom of *Rome*, he acquired Peter's patrimony out of their dominions; and thereby rose up as a temporal prince or king, or horn of the fourth beast.' Again, 'It was certainly by the victory of the see of Rome over the *Greek* emperor, the king of *Lombardy*, and the senate of *Rome*, that she acquired Peter's patrimony, and rose up to her greatness.'

In both these schemes there is something to be approved, and something perhaps to be disapproved. In Mr. Mede's plan it is to be approved, that the three kingdoms which he proposeth, are mentioned in his first table of the ten kingdoms; but then it may be questioned, whether the kingdom of the Franks or Germans in Italy can be said properly to have been "plucked up by the roots" through the power or policy of the popes. There were indeed long struggles and contests between the popes and emperors; but did the pope ever so totally prevail over the emperors, as to *extirpate* and *eradicate* them out of Italy (for so the original word signifies),[5] and to seize and annex their dominions to his own? If all history answers in the affirmative, as it hath been said, it would be easy to point out the time or times. But for my part, I recollect no period when the pope dispossessed the emperor of all his Italian dominions, and united them to the estates of the church, and enjoyed them as such for any time. The emperor possesseth dominions in Italy to this day. In Sir Isaac Newton's plan it is to be approved, that the three kingdoms which he proposeth, were "plucked up by the roots," were totally subdued by the popes, and possessed as parts of Peter's patrimony: but then it may be objected, that only two of the three are mentioned in his first catalogue of the ten kingdoms, the senate and dukedom of Rome being not included in the number. There were not only *three horns* to be plucked up before the *little horn*, but "three of the first horns." We have therefore exhibited a catalogue of the ten kingdoms, as they stood in the eighth century; and therein are comprehended the three states or kingdoms, which constituted the pope's dominions, and which we conceive to be the same as Sir Isaac Newton did, the *exarchate* of *Ravenna*, the *kingdom* of the *Lombards*, and the *state* of *Rome*.

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[4] Sir Isaac Newton's Observ. on Daniel, chap. 7. p. 74, et 75, et. 76.

[5] עקר *Evellere, exstirpare, eradicare.* Buxtorf.

First, the *exarchate* of *Ravenna*, which of right belonged to the Greek emperors, and which was the capital of their dominions in Italy, having revolted at the instigation of the pope, was unjustly seized by Aistulphus king of the Lombards,[6] who thereupon thought of making himself master of Italy. The pope in this exigency applied for help to Pipin king of France, who marched into Italy, besieged the Lombards in Pavia, and forced them to surrender the exarchate and other territories, which were not restored to the Greek emperor as in justice they ought to have been, but at the solicitation of the pope were given to St. Peter and his successors for a perpetual succession. Pope Zachary had acknowledged Pipin, usurper of the crown of France, as lawful sovereign; and now Pipin in his turn bestowed a principality, which was another's properly, upon Pope Stephen II., the successor of Zachary. 'And so,' as Platina says,[7] 'the name of the exarchate, which had continued from the time of Narses to the taking of Ravenna by Aistulphus an hundred and seventy years, was extinguished.' This was effected in the year 755, according to Sigonius. And henceforward the popes, being now become temporal princes, did no longer date their epistles and bulls by the years of the emperor's reign, but by the years of their own advancement to the papal chair.

Secondly, the *kingdom* of the *Lombards* was often troublesome to the popes: and now again [8] king Desiderius invaded the territories of Pope Adrian I. So that the pope was obliged to have recourse again to the king of France, and earnestly invited Charles the Great, the son and successor of Pipin, to come into Italy to his assistance. He came accordingly with a great army, being ambitious also himself of enlarging his dominions in Italy, and conquered the Lombards, and put an end to their kingdom, and gave great part of their dominions to the pope. He not only confirmed the former donations of his father Pipin, but also made an addition of other countries to them, as Corsica, Sardinia, Sicily, the Sabine territory, the whole tract between Lucca and Parma, and that part of Tuscany which belonged to the Lombards: and the tables of these donations he signed himself, and caused them to be signed by the bishops, abbots, and other great men then present, and laid them so signed upon the altar of St. Peter. And this [9] was the end of the kingdom of the Lombards, in the 206th year after their possessing Italy, and in the year of Christ 774.

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[6] Sigonius de regno Ital. l. 3. Ann. 753—755. Abregé Chronologique par Mezeray, Pepin, Roy 22. Platina's Lives of the Popes translated and continued by Sir Paul Rycaut in Stephen II. Sir Isaac Newton's Observations on Daniel, chap. 7. Voltaire of *the origin of the power of the popes*, in the first part of his General History of Europe.

[7] Platina, ibid. p. 140.

[8] Sigonius de regno Ital. l. 3. Ann. 772—774. Platina in Adrian I. Abregé Chronologique par Mezeray, Charlemagne, Roy 23. Ann. 772—774. Sir Isaac Newton's Observations on Daniel, chap. 7. p. 80.

Thirdly, the *state of Rome*, though subject to the popes in things spiritual, was yet in things temporal governed by the senate and people, who after their defection from the eastern emperors, still retained many of their old privileges, and elected both the western emperor and the popes. After [1] Charles the Great had overthrown the kingdom of the Lombards, he came again to Rome, and was there by the pope, bishops, abbots, and people of Rome, chosen Roman patrician, which is the degree of honour and power next to the emperor. He then settled the affairs of Italy, and permitted the pope to hold under him the duchy of Rome with other territories: but after a few years, the [2] Romans, desirous to recover their liberty, conspired against Pope Leo III., accused him of many great crimes, and imprisoned him. His accusers were heard on a day appointed before Charles and a council of French and Italian bishops: but the pope, without pleading his own cause or making any defence, was acquitted, his accusers were slain or banished, and he himself was declared superior to all human judicature. And thus the foundation was laid for the absolute authority of the pope over the Romans, which was completed by degrees; and Charles in return was chosen emperor of the west. However, [3] after the death of Charles the Great, the Romans again conspired against the pope; but Lewis the Pious, the son and successor of Charles, acquitted him again. In the mean while Leo was dangerously ill: which as soon as the Romans his enemies perceived, they rose again, burnt and plundered his villas, and thence marched to Rome to recover what things they complained were taken from them by force; but they were repressed by some of the emperor's troops. The same[4] emperor Lewis the Pious, at the request of Pope Paschal, confirmed the donations which his father and grandfather had made to the see of Rome. Sigonius has recited the confirmation; and therein are mentioned Rome and its duchy, containing part of Tuscany and Campania, Ravenna with the exarchate and Pentapolis, and the other part of Tuscany and the countries taken from the Lombards: and all these are granted to the pope and his successors to the end of the world, 'ut in suo detineant jure, principatu, atque ditione,' *that they should hold them in their own right, principality, and dominion.* These, as we conceive, were *the three horns,* "three of the first horns," which fell before the little horn: and the pope hath in a manner pointed himself out for the person by wearing *the triple crown.*

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[9] 'Atque hic quidem finis regni Longobardorum in Italia fuit, anno postquam Italiam occupaverant, ducentesimo sexto, Christi vero septingentesimo septuagesimo quarto.' Sigonius in fine libri tertii.

[1] Sigonius de regno Ital. l. 4. Ann. 774. Mezeray, ibid.

[2] Sigonius, ibid. Ann. 798—801. Platina in Leo III. Mezeray, ibid. Ann. 799, &c. Sir Isaac Newton, ibid. Voltaire *of the revival of the empire of the west*, in the first part of his General History of Europe.

[3] Sigonius, ibid. Anno 814, 815.

4. In other respects too the pope fully answers the character of the little horn; so that if exquisite fitness of application may assure us of the true sense of the prophecy, we can no longer doubt concerning the person. He is a *little horn:* and the power of the popes was originally very small, and their temporal dominions were little and inconsiderable in comparison with others of the ten horns.——"He shall be divers from the first" (ver. 24.). The Greek and Arabic translate it, that[5] he shall exceed in wickedness all before him; and so most of the fathers, who made use only of the Greek translation, understood it; but it rather signifies that his kingdom shall be of a different nature and constitution: And the power of the pope differs greatly from that of all other princes, being an ecclesiastical and spiritual, as well as a civil and temporal authority.——"And behold in this horn were eyes like the eyes of a man" (ver. 8.). To denote his cunning and foresight, his looking out and watching all opportunities to promote his own interests: And the policy of the Roman hierarchy hath almost passed into a proverb; the pope is properly an *overlooker* or *overseer, ἐπίσκοπος* or bishop in the literal sense of the word.——"He had a mouth speaking very great things" (ver. 8. 20.). And who hath been more noisy and blustering than the pope, especially in former ages, boasting of his supremacy, thundering out his bulls and anathemas, excommunicating princes, and absolving subjects from their allegiance?——"His look was more stout than his fellows" (ver. 20.). And the pope assumes a superiority not only over his fellow bishops but even over crowned heads, and requires his foot to be kissed, and greater honours to be paid to him than to kings and emperors themselves.—"And he shall speak great

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[4] Sigonius, ibid. Ann. 817. Sir Isaac Newton's Observations on Daniel, c. 7. p. 88.

[5] ὃς ὑπεροίσει κακοῖς πάντας τοὺς ἔμπροσθεν. Gr. "qui malis omnes prædecessores suos superabit." Arab.

words against the Most High" (ver. 25.), or as [6] Symmachus interprets it, *he shall speak great words* as *the Most High;* setting up himself above all laws divine and human, arrogating to himself godlike attributes and titles of *holiness* and *infallibility*, exacting obedience to his ordinances and decrees in preference to, and open violation of reason and Scripture, insulting men, and blaspheming God. In Gratian's decretals the pope hath the title of *God* given to him.—"And he shall wear out the saints of the Most High;" by wars and massacres and inquisitions, persecuting and destroying the faithful servants of Jesus and the true worshippers of God, who protest against his innovations, and refuse to comply with the idolatry practised in the church of Rome.—"And he shall think to change times and laws:" appointing fasts and feasts, canonizing saints, granting pardons and indulgences for sins, instituting new modes of worship, imposing new articles of faith, enjoining new rules of practice, and reversing at pleasure the laws both of God and men.—"And they shall be given into his hand, until a time, and times, and the dividing of time." "A time," all agree, signifies a year; and "a time, and times, and the dividing of time," or *half a time,* are three years and a half. So long and no longer, as the Romanists conceive, the power of Antichrist will continue; but it is impossible for all the things, which are predicted of Antichrist, to be fulfilled in so short a space of time; and neither is Antichrist or the little horn a single man, but a kingdom. Single men are not the subjects of this prophecy, but kingdoms. The *four kings* (ver. 17.) are not four single kings, but kingdoms; and so the *ten horns* or *kings* (ver. 24.) are not ten single kings, but kingdoms; and so likewise the *little horn* is not a single king, but a kingdom, not a single man, but a succession of men, exercising such powers, and performing such actions, as are here described. We must therefore compute the time according to the nature and genius of the prophetic language. *A time*, then, *and times, and half a time*, are three years and a half: and the ancient Jewish year consisting of twelve months, and each month of thirty days, *a time and times and half a time*, or three years and a half, are reckoned in the Revelation (xi. 2, 3. xii. 6, 14.) as equivalent to "forty and two months," or "a thousand two hundred and threescore days;" and a day in the style of the prophets is a year; "I have appointed thee each day for a year," saith God to Ezekiel (iv. 6.); and it is confessed, that *the seventy weeks* in the ninth chapter of Daniel are weeks of years; and consequently 1260 *days* are 1260 *years*. So long Antichrist or the little horn will continue: but from what point of time the commencement of these

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[6] 'Sive ut interpretatus est Symmachus: *sermones quasi Deus loquetur.*' Hieron. Comment. in loc.

1260 years is to be dated, is not so easy to determine. It should seem that they are to be computed from the full establishment of the power of the pope, and no less is implied in the expression "given into his hand." Now the power of the pope, as a horn or temporal prince, it hath been shewn, was established in the eighth century: and 1260 years from that time will lead us down to about the year of Christ 2000, or about the 6000th year of the world: and there is an [7] old tradition both among Jews and Christians, that at the end of six thousand years the Messiah shall come, and the world shall be renewed, the reign of the wicked one shall cease, and the reign of the saints upon earth shall begin. But as [8] Irenæus saith in a like case, it is surer and safer to wait for the completion of the prophecy, than to conjecture and to divine about it. When the end shall come, then we shall know better whence to date the beginning.

V All these kingdoms will be succeeded by the kingdom of the Messiah. "I beheld (saith Daniel, ver. 9, 10.) till the thrones were cast down (or rather [9] *till the thrones were set*), and the Ancient of days did sit, whose garment was white as snow, and the hair of his head like the pure wool; his throne was like the fiery flame, and his wheels as burning fire. A fiery stream issued and came forth from before him; thousand thousands ministered unto him: and ten thousand times ten thousand stood before him: the judgment was set (or *the judges did sit*), and the books were opened." These metaphors and figures are borrowed from the solemnities of earthly judicatories, and particularly of the great Sanhedrim of the Jews, where the father of the consistory sat, with his assessors seated on each side of him in the form of a semicircle, and the people standing before him: and from this description again was borrowed the description of the day of judgment in the New Testament.

"I beheld then because of the voice of the great words which the horn spake; I beheld, even till the beast was slain, and his body destroyed, and given to the burning flame" (ver. 11.). The beast will be destroyed "because of the great words which the horn spake," and the destruction of the beast will also be the destruction of the horn; and consequently the horn is a part of the fourth beast, or of the Roman empire. "As concerning the rest of the beasts, they had their dominion taken away, yet their lives were prolonged for a season and time" (ver. 12.). When the dominion was taken away from the other beasts, their bodies were not destroyed, they were suffered to continue still in being: but when the dominion shall be taken away from this beast, his body shall totally be destroyed; because other kingdoms succeeded to those, but none other earthly kingdom shall succeed to this.

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[7] S. Barnabæ Epist. c. 15. cum notis Cotelerii. Burnet's Theory, b. 3. c. 5.

[8] ἀσφαλέστερον οὖν καὶ ἀκινδυνότερον, τὸ περιμένειν τὴν ἔκβασιν τῆς προφητείας, ἢ τὸ καταστοχάζεσθαι καὶ καταμαντεύεσθαι. *Certius ergo et sine periculo est, sustinere ad impletionem prophetiæ, quam suspicari et divinare.* Iren. l. 5. c. 30.

[9] "Donec throni posita sunt." Vulg. ἕως ὅτου οἱ θρόνοι ἐτέθησαν. Sept. "Videbam subsellia posita esse." Syr. "sedes posita fuerunt." Arab. and the same word is used in the Chaldee paraphrase of Jer. i. 15. *they shall* set *every one his throne.*

"I saw in the night-visions, and behold, one like the Son of man, came with the clouds of heaven, and came to the Ancient of days, and they brought him near before him" (ver. 13.). How strange and forced, how absurd and unworthy of Grotius is it to apply this to the Romans, which hath always been, and can only be properly understood of the Messiah? From hence *the Son of man* came to be a [1] known phrase for the Messiah among the Jews. From hence it was taken and used so frequently in the Gospels: and our Saviour intimates himself to be this very Son of man in saying (Matt. xxvi. 64, 65.) "Hereafter shall ye see the Son of man sitting on the right hand of power, and coming in the clouds of heaven;" and thereupon he was charged by the high-priest with having "spoken blasphemy."

"And there was given him dominion, and glory, and a kingdom, that all people, nations, and languages should serve him: his dominion is an everlasting dominion, which shall not pass away, and his kingdom that which shall not be destroyed" (ver. 14.). All these kingdoms shall in their turns be destroyed, but the kingdom of the Messiah shall stand for ever: and it was in allusion to this prophecy, that the angel said of Jesus before he was conceived in the womb, (Luke i. 33.) "He shall reign over the house of Jacob for ever, and of his kingdom there shall be no end."

After what manner these great changes will be effected, we cannot pretend to say, as God hath not been pleased to reveal it. We see the remains of the ten horns, which arose out of the Roman empire. We see the little horn still subsisting, though not in full strength and vigour, but as we hope upon the decline, and tending towards a dissolution. And having seen so many of these particulars accomplished, we can have no reason to doubt that the rest also will be fulfilled in due season, though we cannot frame any conception how Christ will be manifested in glory, how the little horn with the body of the fourth beast will be given to the burning flame, or how the saints will take the kingdom, and possess it for ever and ever. It is the nature of such prophecies not to be perfectly understood, till they are fulfilled. The best comment upon them will be their completion.

It may yet add some farther light to these prophecies, if we compare this and the former together; for comparing Scripture with Scripture is the best way to understand both the one and the other. What was represented to Nebuchadnezzar in the form of a *great image*, was represented again to Daniel by *four great wild beasts:* and the beasts degenerate, as the metals in the image grow worse and worse, the lower they descend.

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[1] See Jewish authors cited even by Grotius and Bp. Chandler in his Defence of Christianity, c. 2. § 1. p. 108. 3d Edit.

"This image's head was of fine gold," and "the first beast was like a lion with eagle's wings;" and these answer to each other; and both represented the powers then reigning, or the kingdom of the Babylonians: but it appeared in splendour and glory to Nebuchadnezzar, as it was then in its flourishing condition; the *plucking* of its *wings*, and its humiliation were shewn to Daniel, as it was then drawing near to its fatal end.

"The breast and arms of silver," and "the second beast like a bear," were designed to represent the second kingdom, or that of the Medes and Persians. The "two arms" are supposed to denote the two people; but some farther particulars were hinted to Daniel, of the one people rising up above the other people, and of the conquest of three additional kingdoms. To Nebuchadnezzar this kingdom was called "inferior," or worse than the former; and to Daniel it was described as very cruel, "Arise, devour much flesh."

The third kingdom, or that of the Macedonians, was represented by "the belly and thighs of brass," and by "the third beast like a leopard with four wings of a fowl." It was said to Nebuchadnezzar, that "it should bear rule over all the earth;" and in Daniel's vision, "dominion was given to it." The "four heads" signify Alexander's four successors; but the "two thighs" can only signify the two principal of them, the Seleucidæ and Lagidæ, the Syrian and Egyptian kings.

"The legs of iron," and "the fourth beast with great iron teeth" correspond exactly; and as "iron breaketh in pieces" all other metals, so the fourth beast "devoured, and brake in pieces, and stamped the residue with the feet of it;" and they were both therefore equally proper representatives of the fourth kingdom, or the Roman, which was stronger and more powerful than all the former kingdoms. The "ten toes" too and the "ten horns" were alike fit emblems of the ten kingdoms, which arose out of the division of the Roman empire; but all that relates to "the little horn" was revealed only to Daniel, as a person more immediately interested in the fate of the church.

The "stone, *that was* cut out of the mountain without hands, and became *itself* a mountain, and filled the whole earth," is explained to be a kingdom, which shall prevail over all other kingdoms, and become universal and everlasting. In like manner, "one like the Son of man came to the Ancient of days," and was advanced to a kingdom, which shall prevail likewise over all other kingdoms and become universal and everlasting.

Such concord and agreement is there between these prophecies of Daniel, which remarkable as they are in many things, are in nothing more remarkable than that they comprehend so many distant events, and extend through so many ages, from the reign of the Babylonians to the consummation of all things. They are truly, as [9] Mr. Mede called them, '*the sacred calendar and great almanack of prophecy*, a prophetical chronology of times, measured by the succession of four principal kingdoms, from the beginning of the captivity of Israel, until the mystery of God should be finished.' They are as it were the great outlines, the rest mostly are filling up the parts: and as these will cast light upon the subsequent prophecies, so the subsequent prophecies will reflect light upon them again.

Daniel was "much troubled (ver. 28.), and his countenance changed in him" at the foresight of the calamities to be brought upon the church by the little horn: "but he kept the matter in his heart." Much more may good men be grieved at the sight of these calamities, and lament the prevalence of popery and wickedness in the world: but let them *keep it in their heart*, that a time of just retribution will certainly come. The proof may be drawn from the moral attributes of God, as well as from his promise, (ver. 26, 27.) "The judgment shall sit, and they shall take away his dominion, to consume and to destroy it unto the end. And the kingdom, and dominion, and the greatness of the kingdom under the whole heaven shall be given to the people of the saints of the Most High, whose kingdom is an everlasting kingdom, and all dominion shall serve and obey him."

INTRODUCTION TO THE LECTURE FOUNDED BY THE HONOURABLE ROBERT BOYLE, JAN. 5, 1756.

THERE is not a stronger or more convincing proof of divine revelation, than the *sure word of prophecy*. But to the truth of prophecy it is objected, that the predictions were written after the events; and could it be proved as well as asserted, it would really be an insuperable objection. It was thought therefore that a greater service could not be done to the cause of Christianity, than by an induction of particulars to shew, that the predictions were prior to the events, nay that several prophecies have been fulfilled in these latter ages, and are fulfilling even at this present time: And for the farther prosecution and the better encouragement of this work, I have been called to preach these lectures, by the favour and recommendation of *the great prelate*, who having himself written most excellently *of the use and intent of prophecy,* is also willing to reward and encourage any one who bestows his time and pains upon the same subject. The ready and gracious concurrence of the other trustees[1] was an additional honour and favour, and is deserving of the most grateful acknowledgments. Engaging in this service may indeed have retarded the publication of these discourses longer than was intended: but perhaps they may be the better for the delay, since there have been more frequent occasions to review and reconsider them; and time corrects and improves works as well as generous wines, at least affords opportunities of correcting and improving them.

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[9] Mede's Works, b. 3. p. 654.

This work hath already been deduced to the prophecies of Daniel: and as some time and pains have been employed in explaining some parts of his prophecies, and more will be taken in explaining other parts; it may be proper, before we proceed, to consider the principal objections which have been made to the genuineness of the book of Daniel. It was before asserted, that the first who called in question the truth and authenticity of Daniel's prophecies, was the famous Porphyry, who maintained that they were written about the time of Antiochus Epiphanes: but he was amply refuted by Jerome,[2] and hath been and will be more amply refuted still in the course of these dissertations. A modern infidel hath followed Porphyry's example, and his *Scheme of Literal Prophecy* hath heaped together all that he could find or invent against the book of Daniel, and hath comprised the whole in eleven objections, in order to shew that the book was written about the time of the Maccabees: but he likewise hath been refuted to the satisfaction of every intelligent and impartial reader; as indeed there never were any arguments urged in favour of infidelity, but better were always produced in support of truth. The substance of his[3] objections and of the answers to him may with truth and candour be represented in the following manner.

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[1] The trustees appointed by Mr. Boyle himself, were Sir John Rotheram, serjeant at law, Sir Henry Ashurst of London, Knt. and Bart. Thomas Tenison, D.D. afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, and John Evelyn, Esq.—Archbishop Tenison, the survivor of these, nominated and appointed for trustees Richard Earl of Burlington; Dr. Edmund Gibson, then Archdeacon of Surrey, afterwards Lord Bishop of London; Dr. Charles Trimnel, then Bishop of Norwich, afterwards Bishop of Winchester; Dr. White Kennet, then Dean, afterwards Bishop of Peterborough; and Dr. Samuel Bradford, then Rector of St. Mary le Bow, afterwards Bishop of Rochester. The Earl of Burlington, being the only surviving trustee, appointed to succeed him in the said trust, William, then Marquis of Hartington, now Duke of Devonshire, Dr. Thomas Sherlock, Lord Bishop of London, Dr. Martin Benson, Lord Bishop of Glocester, Dr. Thomas Secker, Lord Bishop of Oxford, now Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Honourable Richard Arundell, Esq.; of whom Bishop Benson died before, and Mr. Arundell since the appointment of the present lecturer.

[2] Hieron. Comment. in Dan.

[3] See Collins's Scheme of Literal Prophecy, p. 149—157. Bishop Chandler's Vindication, p. 4—157. Sam. Chandler's Vindication, p. 5—60.

1. It is objected, that the famous Daniel, mentioned by Ezekiel, could not be the author of the book of Daniel; because Ezekiel, who prophesied in the *fifth year of Jehoiakim* king of Judah, implies Daniel at that time to be a person in years; whereas the book of Daniel speaks of Daniel at that time as a youth. But here the objector is either ignorantly or wilfully guilty of gross misrepresentation. For Ezekiel did not prophesy *in the fifth year of Jehoiakim,* nor in the reign of Jehoiakim at all; but he began to prophesy in the "fifth year of king Jehoiachin's captivity," the son and successor of Jehoiakim, (Ezek. i. 2.) that is eleven years after. When Daniel was first carried into captivity, he might be a youth about eighteen:[4] but when Ezekiel magnified his piety and wisdom, (chap. xiv. and xxviii.) he was between thirty and forty: and several years before that he had interpreted Nebuchadnezzar's dream, and was advanced (Dan. ii. 48.) to be "ruler over the whole province of Babylon, and chief of the governors over all the wise men of Babylon;" and was therefore very fit and worthy to be celebrated by his fellow-captive Ezekiel.

2. His second objection is, that Daniel is represented in the book of Daniel as living chiefly at the courts of the kings of Babylon and Persia; and yet the names of the several kings of his time are all mistaken in the book of Daniel. It is also more suited to a fabulous writer than to a contemporary historian, to talk of *Nebuchadnezzar's dwelling with the beasts of the field, and eating grass like oxen,* &c. and then returning again to the government of his kingdom. Here are two objections confounded in one. As to the mistake of the kings' names, there are only four kings mentioned in the book of Daniel, Nebuchadnezzar, Belshazzar, Darius the Mede, and Cyrus. Of the first and last there was never any doubt; and the other two may be rightly named, though they are named differently by the Greek historians, who yet differ as much one from another as from Daniel. It is well known that the eastern monarchs had several names; and one might be made use of by one writer, another by another. It is plainly begging the question, to presume without farther proof, that Daniel was not the oldest of these writers, and had not better opportunities of knowing the names than any of them. As to the case of Nebuchadnezzar, it is related indeed in the prophetic figurative style. It is the interpretation of a dream, and stript of its figures the plain meaning is, that Nebuchadnezzar should be punished with madness, should fancy himself a beast and live like a beast, should be *made to eat grass as oxen,* be obliged to

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[4] Prideaux's Connection, part 1. b. 1.

live upon a vegetable diet, but after some time should recover his reason, and resume the government. And what is there fabulous or absurd in this? The dream was not of Daniel's inditing, but was told by Nebuchadnezzar himself. The dream is in a poetic strain, and so likewise is the interpretation, the better to shew how the one corresponded with the other, and how the prophecy and event agreed together.

3. He objects that the book of Daniel could not be written by that Daniel who was carried captive in the Babylonish captivity, because it abounds with derivations from the Greek, which language was unknown to the Jews till long after the captivity. The assertion is false that the book of Daniel *abounds* with derivations from the Greek. There is an affinity only between some few words in the Greek and the Chaldee language: and why must they be derived the one from the other? or if derived, why should not the Greeks derive them from the Chaldee, rather than the Chaldees from the Greek? If the words in question could be shewn to be of Greek extraction, yet there was some communication between the eastern kingdoms and the colonies of the Greeks settled in Asia Minor before Nebuchadnezzar's time; and so some particular terms might pass from the Greek into the oriental languages. But on the contrary, the words in question are shewn to be not of Greek but of eastern derivation; and consequently passed from the east to the Greeks, rather than from the Greeks to the east. Most of the words are names of musical instruments; and the Greeks[5] acknowledge that they received their music from the eastern nations, from whence they themselves originally descended.

4. It doth not appear, says the objector, that the book of Daniel was translated into Greek, when the other books of the Old Testament were, which are attributed to the Seventy; the present Greek version, inserted in the Septuagint, being taken from Theodotion's translation of the Old Testament made in the second century of Christ. But it doth appear, that there was an ancient Greek version of Daniel, which is attributed to the Seventy, as well as the version of the other books of the Old Testament. It is cited by Clemens Romanus, Justin Martyr, and many of the ancient fathers. It was inserted in Origen, and filled a column of his Hexapla. It is quoted several times by Jerome; and he saith expressly that the version of the Seventy was repudiated by the doctors of the church, and that of Theodotion substituted in the room of it, because it came nearer

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[5] Καὶ τῷ Διονύσῳ τὴν Ἀσίαν ὅλην καθιερώσαντες μέχρι τῆς Ἰνδικῆς, ἐκεῖθεν καὶ τὴν πολλὴν μουσικὴν μεταφέρουσι. *Et cum Baccho totam Asiam ad Indiam usque consecraverint, magnam quoque musicæ partem inde transferunt.* Strabo, l. 10. p. 722. Vide etiam Athenæi, l. 14. p. 625, &c.

to the Hebrew verity.[6] This version hath also been lately published from an ancient MS. discovered in the Chighian library at Rome.

5. It is objected that divers matters of fact are spoken of with the clearness of history, to the times of Antiochus Epiphanes, who is very particularly dwelt upon, and that with great and seeming fresh resentment for his barbarous usage of the Jews: and this clearness determined Porphyry, and would determine any one to think, that the book was written about the times of Antiochus Epiphanes, the author appearing to be well acquainted with things down to the death of Antiochus but not farther. But what an argument is this against the book of Daniel? His prophecies are clear, and therefore are no prophecies: as if an all-knowing God could not foretel things clearly; or as if there were not many predictions in other prophets, as clear as any in Daniel. If his prophecies extend not lower than the times of Antiochus Epiphanes, his commission might be limited there, and he would not go beyond his commission. But it hath been shewn, and will be shewn, that there are several prophecies in Daniel relating to times long after the death of Antiochus, and these prophecies are as clear as those before the death of Antiochus. Neither is Antiochus so very particularly dwelt upon as is commonly imagined; neither is he spoken of with greater resentment, than other prophets express towards the kings of Assyria and Babylon. All honest men, who love liberty and their country, must speak with indignation of tyrants and oppressors.

6. His sixth objection is, that Daniel is omitted among the prophets recited in Ecclesiasticus, where it seems proper to have mentioned him, as a Jewish prophet-author, had the book under his name been received as canonical, when Ecclesiasticus was published. It might have been proper to have mentioned him, had the author been giving a complete catalogue of the Jewish canonical writers. But that is not the case. He mentions several who never pretended to be inspired writers, and omits others who really were so. No mention is made of Job and Ezra, and of the books under their names, as well as of Daniel: and who can account for the silence of authors in any particular at this distance of time? Daniel is proposed (1 Macc. ii. 60.) as a pattern by the father of the Maccabees, and his wisdom is highly recommended by Ezekiel: and these are sufficient testimonies of his antiquity, without the confirmation of a later writer

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[6] 'Danielem prophetam juxta Septuaginta interpretes Domini Salvatoris ecclesiæ non legunt, utentes Theodotionis editione:—quod multum a veritate discordet, et recto judicio repudiatus sit.' Hieron. Præf. in Dan. 'Judicio magistrorum ecclesiæ editio eorum [LXX] repudiata est, et Theodotionis vulgo legitur, quæ et Hebræo, et cæteris translatoribus congruit' &c. Comm. in Dan. iv. col. 1088.

7. It is objected, that Jonathan, who made the Chaldee paraphrases on the prophets, has omitted Daniel: from whence it should seem, the book of Daniel was not of that account with the Jews, as the other books of the prophets were. But there are other books, which were always accounted canonical among the Jews, and yet have no Chaldee paraphrases extant, as the books of Ezra and Nehemiah. Jonathan might perhaps not make a Targum or Chaldee paraphrase on Daniel, because half of the book is written in Chaldee. Or he might have made a Targum on Daniel, and that Targum may have been lost, as other ancient Targums have been destroyed by the injury of time: and there are good proofs in the Misna and other writers cited by Bishop Chandler, that there was an ancient Targum on Daniel. But though Jonathan made no Targum on Daniel, yet in his interpretation of other prophets, he frequently applies the prophecies of Daniel, as fuller and clearer in describing the same events; and consequently Daniel was in his esteem a prophet, and at least of equal authority with those before him. The ranking of Daniel among the Hagiographa, and not among the prophets, was done by the Jews since Christ's time for very obvious reasons. He was always esteemed a prophet by the ancient Jewish church. Our Saviour calleth him *Daniel the prophet:* and Josephus[7] speaketh of him as one of the greatest of the prophets.

8. That part of Daniel, says the objector, which is written in Chaldee, is near the style of the old Chaldee paraphrases; which being composed many hundred years after Daniel's time, must have a very different style from that used in his time, as any one may judge from the nature of language, which is in a constant flux, and in every age deviating from what it was in the former: and therefore that part could not be written at a time very remote from the date of the eldest of those Chaldee paraphrases. But by the same argument Homer cannot be so ancient an author, as he is generally reputed, because the Greek language continued much the same many hundred years after his time. Nay the style of Daniel's Chaldee differs more from that of the old Chaldee paraphrases, than Homer doth from the latest of the Greek classic writers: and when it was said by Prideaux and Kidder, whose authority the objector alleges, that the old Chaldee paraphrases came near to the Chaldee of Daniel, it was not said absolutely but comparatively, with respect to other paraphrases, which did not come near to Daniel's purity.

9. It is objected that the Jews were great composers of books under the names of their renowned prophets, to do themselves honour, and particularly under the name of Daniel: and the

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[1] Joseph. Antiq. l. 10. c. 10, et 11.

book of Daniel seems composed to do honour to the Jews, in the person of Daniel, in making a Jew superior to all the wise men of Babylon. If there is any force in this objection, it is this. There have been books counterfeited under the names of men of renown, therefore there can be no genuine books of the same men. Some pieces in Greek have been forged under the name of Daniel, and therefore he wrote no book in Chaldee and Hebrew long before those forgeries. In like manner some poems have been ascribed to Homer and Virgil, which were not of their composing; and therefore the one did not compose the Iliad, nor the other the Æneid. Some false writings have been attributed to St. Peter and St. Paul; and therefore there are no true writings of those apostles. Such arguments sufficiently expose and refute themselves. One would think the inference should rather lie on the other side. Some books have been counterfeited in the name of this or that writer; and therefore that there were some genuine books of his writing, is a much more probable presumption than the contrary.

10. The tenth objection is, that the author of the book of Daniel appears plainly to be a writer of things past, after a prophetical manner, by his uncommon punctuality, by not only foretelling things to come, like other prophets, but fixing the time when the things were to happen. But other prophets and other prophecies have prefixed the time for several events; as 120 years for the continuance of the antediluvian world; 400 years for the sojourning of Abraham's seed in a strange land; 40 years for the peregrination of the children of Israel; 65 years for Ephraim's continuing a people; 70 years for the desolation of Tyre; 70 years for Judah's captivity; and the like: and therefore the fixing of the times cannot be a particular objection against the prophecies of Daniel. Daniel may have done it in more instances than any other prophet: but why might not God, if he was so pleased, foretel the dates and periods of any events, as well as the events themselves? Josephus, whom the objector hath quoted upon this occasion, differs totally from him. He[8] ascribes this punctuality to divine revelation, not like the objector, to the late composition of the book. He infers from it that Daniel was one of the greatest prophets, not like the objector, that he was no prophet at all.

Lastly it is objected, that the book of Daniel sets forth facts very imperfectly, and often contrary to other historical relations, and the whole is written in a dark and emblematical style, with images and symbols, unlike the books of other prophets, and taken from the schools of the Greeks. As to Daniel's setting forth facts very imperfectly, he is perfect enough for his design, which was not to write a history but prophecies, and history only so far as it relates to his prophecies. As to his writing contrary to other historical relations, it is false. For most of the main facts related by him are confirmed even by heathen historians: but if he contradicted them, yet he would deserve more credit, as he was more ancient than any of them, and lived in the times whereof he wrote. As to his emblems being unlike the books of other prophets, and taken from the schools of the Greeks, this is also false. For the like emblems are often used by other prophets, and are agreeable to the style and genius of all the eastern writers of his time. They were so far from being taken from the schools of the Greeks, that on the contrary, if they were ever used by the Greeks, the Greeks borrowed them from the oriental writers. But after all how doth this last objection consist and agree with the fifth and tenth? There 'divers matters of fact were spoken of with the clearness of history,' and the author was convicted of forgery by 'his uncommon punctuality.' Here 'all is dark and emblematical, imperfect and contrary to other histories.' Such objections contradict and destroy one another. Both may be false, both cannot be true.

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[8] Τὰ γὰρ βιβλία, ὅσα δὴ συγγραψάμενος καταλέλοιπεν, ἀναγινώσκεται παρ' ἡμῖν ἔτι καὶ νῦν· καὶ πεπιστεύκαμεν ἐξ αὐτῶν, ὅτι Δανιῆλος ὡμίλει τῷ Θεῷ. οὐ γὰρ τὰ μέλλοντα μόνον προφητεύων διετέλει, καθάπερ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι προφῆται, ἀλλὰ καὶ καιρὸν ὥριζεν, εἰς ὃν ταῦτα ἀποβήσεται. *Libri enim, quotquot a se conscriptos reliquit, leguntur hodieque apud nos: atque ii nobis fidem faciunt, Danielum cum Deo colloquia habuisse. Non enim futura solum, quemadmodum et alii vates, prædicere solebat, sed et tempus, quo hæc eventura erant, præfinivit.* Joseph. Antiq. l. 10. c. 11. § 7.

These objections being removed, what is there wanting of external or internal evidence to prove the genuineness and authenticity of the book of Daniel? There is all the external evidence that can well be had or desired in a case of this nature; not only the testimony of the whole Jewish church and nation, who have constantly received this book as canonical; but of Josephus particularly, who commends him as the greatest of the prophets; of the Jewish Targums and Talmuds, which frequently cite and appeal to his authority; of St. Paul and St. John, who have copied many of his prophecies; of our Saviour himself, who citeth his words, and styleth him *Daniel the prophet;* of ancient historians, who relate many of the same transactions; of the mother of the seven sons and of the father of the Maccabees, who both recommend the example of Daniel to their sons; of old Eleazar in Egypt, who, praying for the Jews then suffering under the persecution of Ptolemy Philopater, (3 Macc. vii. 6, 7.) mentions the deliverance of Daniel out of the den of lions, together with the deliverance of the three men out of the fiery furnace; of the Jewish high-priest, who shewed Daniel's prophecies to Alexander the Great, while he was at Jerusalem; and still higher, of Ezekiel, a contemporary writer, who greatly extols his *piety* and *wisdom.* Nor is the internal less powerful and convincing than the external evidence; for the language, the style, the manner of writing, and all other internal marks and characters are perfectly agreeable to that age; and he appears plainly and undeniably to have been a prophet by the exact accomplishment of his prophecies, as well those which have already been fulfilled, as those which are now fulfilling in the world.

The genuineness and authenticity of the book of Daniel being therefore established beyond all reasonable contradiction, we may now proceed in our main design: and the vision of the ram and he-goat, and the prophecy of the things noted in the Scripture of truth, and the transactions of the kings of the north and the south, will find sufficient matter for our meditations this year. Another year will be fully employed on our Saviour's prophecies of the destruction of Jerusalem and the dispersion of the Jews, together with St. Paul's prophecies of the Man of Sin, and of the apostacy of the latter times. The last and most difficult task of all will be an analysis or explication of the Apocalypse or Revelation of St. John. It is a hazardous attempt, in our little bark, to venture on that dangerous ocean, where so many stouter vessels and abler pilots have been shipwrecked and lost: but possibly we may be the better able to sail through it, coming prepared, careened and sheathed, as I may say, for such a voyage, by the assistance of the former prophets, having particularly Daniel and St. Paul as our pole-star and compass, and begging withal of God's Holy Spirit to steer and direct our course. The conclusion will consist of reflections and inferences from the whole. In this manner, with the Divine assistance, shall be employed the three years, which is the period usually allotted to these exercises; and it is hoped that the design of the honourable founder will in some measure be answered by proving the truth of revelation from the truth of prophecy. It was indeed a noble design, after a life spent in the study of philosophy, and equally devoted to the service of religion, to benefit posterity not only by his own useful and numerous writings, theological as well as philosophical, but also by engaging the thoughts and pens of others in defence of natural and revealed religion; and some of the best treatises on these subjects in the English language, or indeed in any language, are owing to his institution. This is continuing to do good even after death; and what was said of Abel's faith, may also be said of his, that "by it he being dead, yet speaketh."

From the instance of this excellent person, and some others who might be mentioned, it appears that there is nothing inconsistent in science and religion, but a great philosopher may be a good Christian. True philosophy is indeed the handmaid to true religion: and the knowledge of the works of nature will lead one to the knowledge of the God of nature, " the invisible things of him being clearly seen by the things which are made ; even his eternal power and Godhead." They are only minute philosophers, who are sceptics and unbelievers. Smatterers in science, they are but smatterers in religion. Whereas the most eminent philosophers, those who have done honour to the nation, done honour to human nature itself, have also been believers and defenders of revelation, have studied Scripture as well as nature, have searched after God in his word as well as in his works, and have even made comments on several parts of Holy Writ. So just and true is the observation of the Lord Bacon,[9] one of the illustrious persons here intended; 'A little philosophy inclineth man's mind to atheism, but depth in philosophy bringeth men's minds about to religion.'

XV.—DANIEL'S VISION OF THE RAM AND HE-GOAT.

HITHERTO the prophecies of Daniel, that is from the fourth verse of the second chapter to the eighth chapter, are written in Chaldee. As they greatly concerned the Chaldæans, so they were published in that language. But the remaining prophecies are written in Hebrew, because they treat altogether of affairs subsequent to the times of the Chaldæans, and no ways relate to them, but principally to the church and people of God. Which is a plain proof, that the Scriptures were originally written in such a manner as they might be best understood by the people : and consequently it is defeating the very end and design of writing them, to "take away the key of knowledge," and to keep them locked up in an unknown tongue. We may observe too that in the former part of the book of Daniel he is generally spoken of in the third person, but in the latter part he speaketh of himself in the first person, which is some kind of proof that this part was written by himself if the other was not, but probably this diversity might arise from the different dates, the one being written some time after the other.

Daniel's former vision of the four great beasts, representing the four great empires of the world, was (vii. 1.) " in the first year of Belshazzar king of Babylon." He had another vision in the *third* year of the reign of the same king Belshazzar, that is about 553 years before Christ,[1] (viii. 1.) " In the third year of the reign of king Belshazzar, a vision appeared unto me, even unto me Daniel, after that which appeared unto me at the first." It was exhibited to him (ver. 2.) at the palace in Shushan, and by the side of the river *Ulai*, or *Eulæus*, as it is called by the Greeks and Romans. "And I saw in a vision, (and it came to pass when I saw, that I was at Shushan in the palace, which is in the province of Elam) and I saw in a vision, and I was by the river Ulai." So likewise the prophet Ezekiel saw visions by the river Chebar; as if the Holy Spirit had delighted to manifest himself in such retired scenes: and the gift and graces of the Spirit are often in scripture-language described by the metaphors of springs and streams of water, than which nothing was more agreeable and refreshing in hot and dry countries.

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[9] Lord Bacon's Essays, xvii.

[1] See Usher, Prideaux, and other chronologers.

Such was the time and place of the vision. The vision itself was of a ram and he-goat. And we may observe with the learned Bochart,[2] that others also have had like visions, portending future events. So Plutarch reports in the life of Sylla, that two great goats were seen fighting in Campania, and suddenly the vision vanished: nor long afterwards in that very place Sylla having routed and slain seven thousand men besieged the consul in Capua. In the Brutus of Accius, which is cited by Cicero in his first book of Divination, Tarquinus Superbus relates his dream, "that a shepherd drove his flock to him; two rams of the same breed were selected from thence, both choice and beautiful, and he killed the finer of them; the other rushed upon him with his horns, and cast him down and wounded him." These rams of the same breed signified Lucius Junius Brutus and his brother; one of whom was slain by Tarquin, and the other rose against Tarquin, and despoiled him of his kingdom. So that the probabilities of the poets and historians bear some resemblance to the realities of holy writ. Or rather, in this instance of prophecy, as in the ceremonials of religion and the modes of government, God was pleased to condescend and conform to the customs and manners of the age, to make thereby a stronger impression on the minds of the people. Nor is such a condescension unworthy of the Deity, nor unsuitable to the other methods of his providence, but is rathe. an argument of his infinite goodness.

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[2] 'Observemus etiam aliis apparuisse visiones hujusmodi, quæ futura portenderent. Ita, Plutarcho teste in vita Syllæ, 'In Campania, circa Tiphaton montem (qui aliis Tifata) interdiu visi sunt confligere magni hirci duo, et ea omnia facere et pati, quæ viri in pugna solent.' Spectrum autem, eterra sensim elatum, paulo post dissipatum, et ex oculis elapsum, est. Nec multo post Sylla, Mario Juniore et Norbano consule, in eo ipso loco fusis, et profligatis, et cæsis hominum septem millibus, consulem inclusit Capuæ. Et in Accii Bruto, qui a Cicerone citatur libro primo De Divinatione, Tarquinius superbus suum hoc somnium narrat,

'Visum est in somnis pastorem ad me appellere
Pecus lanigerum eximia pulchritudine,
Duos consanguineos arietes inde eligi,
Præclarioremque alterum immolare me:
Deinde ejus germanum cornibus connitier
In me arietare, eoque me ad casum dari:
Exin prostratum terra graviter saucium,
Resupinum, in cœlo contueri maximum,' &c.

Hi arietes consanguinei L. Junium Brutum, et fratrem ejus a Tarquinio cæsum significabant; quorum ille, in Tarquinium insurgens, eum regno suo spoliavit.' Bocharti Hierozoic. Pars Prior, l. 2. c. 46. col. 527.

In the former vision there appeared four beasts, because ther four empires were represented : but here are only two, because here we have a representation of what was transacted chiefly within two empires. The first of the four empires, that is the Babylonian, is wholly omitted here, for its fate was sufficiently known, and it was now drawing very near to a conclusion. The second empire in the former vision, is the first in this; and what was there compared to a bear, is here prefigured by a ram. "Then I lifted up mine eyes (saith Daniel, ver. 3.), and saw, and behold, there stood before the river, a ram which had two horns, and the two horns were high; but one was higher than the other, and the higher came up last." This ram with two horns, according to the explication of the angel Gabriel, was the empire of the Medes and Persians, (ver. 20.) "The ram which thou sawest having two horns, are the kings (or *kingdoms*) of Media and Persia." The source of this figure of *horns* for *hingdoms*, as a [3]learned writer observes, must be derived from the oriental languages, in which the same word signifies a *horn*, and a *crown*, and *power*, and *splendour*. Whence a *horn* was an ensign of royalty among the Phœnicians, and the Hebrew word קרן *keren* or a *horn*, is several times by the Chaldee paraphrasts rendered מלכותא *malchutha* or a *kingdom;* and *horns* are frequently used for *kings* and *kingdoms* in the Old Testament. This empire, therefore, which was formed by the conjunction of the Medes and Persians, and is often called the Medo-Persian, was not unfitly represented by a ram *with two horns.* Cyrus, the founder of this empire, was [4]son of Cambyses king of Persia, and by his mother Mandane was grandson of Astyages king of Media; and afterwards marrying the daughter and only child of his uncle Cyaxares king of Media, he succeeded to both crowns, and united the kingdoms of Media and Persia. It was a coalition of two very formidable powers, and therefore it is said that "the two horns were high: but one," it is added, "was higher than the other, and the higher came up last." The kingdom of Media was the more ancient of the two, and more famous in history; Persia was of little note or account till the time of Cyrus: but under Cyrus the Persians gained and maintained the ascendant; some [5]authors say that

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[3] 'Quam melius itaque ex linguis orientis potuisset hujus rei fons erui? quibus, ut id est jam contritum, eadem voce *cornu*, *corona*, *potentia*, ac *splendor* nuncupantur. Unde *cornu*, regium insigne apud Phœnices, et Hebræorum קרן seu *cornu*, Chaldæis interpretibus aliquoties מלכיתא seu *regnum* redditur, ut vidit illustris Grotius; et *cornua* pro *regno* et *regibus* passim in veteri fœdere.' Spanheim. de Usu Numismatum, vol. 1. Dissert. 7. p. 400.

[4] Xenophon. Cyropæd. l. 1. c. 2. § 1. et 8. c. 5. § 17. sqq.

[5] Herod. l. 1. § 130. Strabo, l. 15. p. 1062. Justin. l. 1. c. 6.

Cyrus subdued the king of the Medes by force of arms; and his son [6]Cambyses upon his death-bed earnestly exhorted the Persians not to suffer the kingdom to return again to the Medes. But a question still remains, why that empire, which was before likened to a *bear* for its cruelty, should now be represented by a *ram?* Mr. Mede's conjecture is ingenious and plausible enough,[7] that the Hebrew word for a *ram,* and the Hebrew word for *Persia,* both springing from the same root, and both implying something of strength, the one is not improperly made the type of the other. The propriety of it appears from hence, as is suggested likewise by another writer in the general preface to Mr. Mede's works, that it was usual for the king of Persia to wear a ram's head made of gold, and adorned with precious stones, instead of a diadem; for so [8]Ammianus Marcellinus describes him. Bishop Chandler and others farther [9]observe, that 'rams heads with horns, one higher and the other lower, are still to be seen on the pillars at Persepolis.'

The great exploits of the ram are recapitulated in the next verse, (ver. 4.) "I saw the ram pushing westward, and north ward, and southward, so that no beasts might stand before him, neither was there any that could deliver out of his hand, but he did according to his will, and became great." Under Cyrus himself, the Persians pushed their conquests *westward* [1] as far as the Ægean sea and the bounds of Asia: *northward* they subdued [2] the Armenians, Cappadocians, and various other nations: *southward* they conquered Egypt, if not under Cyrus as [3] Xenophon affirms, yet most certainly under [4] Cambyses, the son and successor of Cyrus. Under Darius they subdued [5] India, but in the prophecy no mention is made of their conquests in the *east,* because those countries lay very remote from the Jews, and were of little concern or consequence to them. The ram was strong and powerful, "so that no beasts might stand before him, neither was there any that could deliver out of his hand;" that is, none of the neighbouring kingdoms were able to contend with the Persians, but all fell under their dominion. "He did according to his will, and became great:" and the Persian empire was increased and enlarged to such a degree, that it extended (Esther i. 1.) "from India even unto Ethiopia, over an hundred and seven and twenty provinces;" so that seven provinces were added to the hundred and twenty (Dan. vi. 1.) which it contained in the time of Cyrus.

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[6] Herod. l. 3. § 65.

[7] —'quis suspicari possit, etiam *arietis* de rege Persarum in eadem visione typum, ad nominis *Elam* (quod alterum duorum est quo ea gens appelletur) significatum alludere. איל enim Hebræis (unde nomen איל *aries*) et אלם atque עלם Chaldæis, idem significant nempe *fortem* seu *robustum esse.* Forte igitur עילם *Elam* istis, ut illis איל *arietem* sonabat, indeque rex *Elam* hoc typo Danieli figuratur.' Mede's Works, b. 3. Com. Apoc. p. 474.

[8] —'aureum capitis arietini sigmentum interstinctum lapillis pro diademate gestans.' Ammian. Marcell. l. 19. c. 1.

[9] Bp. Chandler's Vindication, c. 1. § 4. p. 154. 'Aries item bicornis inter rudera Persepoleos.' Wetstein. in Rev. xiii. 11.

[1] Herod. l. 1. c. 169. Xenoph. Cyropæd. l. 7. c. 4.

[2] Xenoph. ibid. lib. 3. c. 2. et 7. c. 4. § 16.

[3] Xenoph. ibid. lib. 1. c. 1. § 4. et 8. c. 6. § 20.

[4] Herod. l. 3. c. 39.

[5] Herod. l. 4. c. 44.

After the ram the he-goat appears next upon the scene. "And as I was considering (saith Daniel, ver. 5.) behold, an he-goat came from the west on the face of the whole earth, and touched not the ground: and the goat had a notable horn between his eyes." Which is thus interpreted by the angel Gabriel, (ver. 21.) "The rough goat is the king of Grecia, and the great horn that is between his eyes, is the first king," or *kingdom*. A *goat* is very properly made the type of the Grecian or Macedonian empire, because the Macedonians at first, about two hundred years before Daniel, were denominated *Ægeadæ* or *the goat's people;* and upon this occasion, as heathen authors report: Caranus, their first king, going with a great multitude of Greeks to seek new habitations in Macedonia, was commanded by the oracle to take the goats for his guides to empire: and afterwards seeing a herd of goats flying from a violent storm, he followed them to Edessa, and there fixed the seat of his empire, made the goats his ensigns or standards, and called the city *Ægeæ* or *the goat's town,* and the people *Ægeadæ* or *the goat's people.* This observation is likewise owing to the most excellent Mr. Mede:[6] and to this may be added that the city Ægeæ or Ægæ was the usual burying-place[7] of the Macedonian kings. It is also very remarkable, that Alexander's son by Roxana was named Alexander *Ægus,* or *the son of the goat;* and [8] some of Alexander's successors are represented in their coins with *goat's horns.* This he-goat "came from the west:" and who is ignorant that Europe lieth westward of Asia? He came "on the face of the whole earth," carrying every thing before him in all the three parts of the world then known: "and he touched not the ground," his marches were so swift and his conquests so rapid, that he might be said in a manner to fly over the ground without touching it. For the same reason the same empire in the former vision was likened to *a leopard,* which is a swift nimble animal, and to denote the greater quickness and impetuosity, to *a leopard with four wings.* "And the goat had a notable horn between his eyes;" this horn, saith the angel, "is the first king," or kingdom of the Greeks in Asia, which was erected by Alexander the Great, and continued for some years in his brother Philip Aridæus and his two young sons Alexander Ægus and Hercules. Dean Prideaux, speaking of the swiftness of Alexander's marches, hath a passage [9] which is very pertinent to our present purpose. 'He flew with victory swifter than others can travel, often with his horse pursuing his enemies upon the spur whole days and nights, and sometimes making long marches for several days one after the other, as once he did in pursuit of Darius of near forty miles a day for eleven days together. So that by the speed of his marches he came upon his enemy before they were aware of him, and conquered them before they could be in a posture to resist him. Which exactly agreeth with the description given of him in the prophecies of Daniel some ages before, he being in them set forth under the similitude of a panther or leopard with four wings: for he was impetuous and fierce in his warlike expeditions, as a panther after his prey, and came on upon his enemies with that speed, as if he flew with a double pair of wings. And to this purpose he is in another place of those prophecies compared to an he-goat coming from the west, with that swiftness upon the king of Media and Persia, that he seemed as if his feet did not touch the ground. And his actions, as well in this comparison as in the former, fully verified the prophecy.'

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[6] 'Nec deesse videtur hujusmodi allusionis exemplum apud Danielem, c. 8. ubi Macedones, qui tunc temporis *Ægeades* (hoc est, *Caprini*) dicebantur, typo *caprarum,* rexque hirci figura designatur. "Ecce," inquit, "hircus caprarum (id est, caprarum maritus) venit ab occidente, &c." Innuit autem Alexandrum magnum, *Ægeadum* regem. Illi Macedones sunt. Ita enim gens ista vocabatur qua prima regni sedes erat, a Carano conditore, ducentis plus minus ante Danielem annis. Occasionem nominis ex Trogo refert epitomator Justinus l. 7. c. 1. cujus verba ascribere non gravabor. 'Caranus,' inquit, 'cum magna multitudine Græcorum, sedes in Macedonia responso oraculi jussus quærere, cum in Æmathiam venisset, urbem Edessam non sentientibus oppidanis propter imbrium et nebulæ magnitudinem, gregem caprarum imbrem fugientium secutus, occupavit: revocatusque in memoriam oraculi, quo jussus erat ducibus capris imperium quærere, regni sedem statuit; religioseque postea observavit, quocunque agmen moveret, ante signa easdem capras habere, cæptorum duces habiturus quas regni habuerat authores. Urbem Edessam ob memoriam muneris *Ægeas,* populum *Ægeadas* vocavit.' Vide cætera. Mede's Works, b. 3. Comment. Apoc. p. 473, 474.

[7] Plin. l. 4. c. 10. § 17. Vide etiam notas Harduini.

[8] Spanheim. de Usu Numismatum, vol. 1. Dissert. 7. p. 389, et 399.

In the two next verses we have an account of the Grecians overthrowing the Persian empire, (ver. 6, 7.) "And he came to the ram that had two horns, which I had seen standing before the river, and ran unto him in the fury of his power. And I saw him come close unto the ram, and he was moved with choler against him, and smote the ram, and brake his two horns, and there was no power in the ram to stand before him, but he cast him down to the ground, and stamped upon him; and there was none that could deliver the ram out of his hand." The ram had before *pushed westward,* and the Persians in the reigns of Darius Hystaspis and Xerxes [1] had poured down with great armies into Greece; but now the Grecians in return carried their arms into Asia, and the he-goat invaded the ram that had invaded him. "And he came to the ram that had two horns, which I had seen standing before the river, and ran unto him in the fury of his power." One can hardly read these words without having some image of Darius's army standing and guarding the river Granicus,[2] and of Alexander on the other side with his forces plunging in, swimming across the stream, and rushing on the enemy with all the fire and fury that can be imagined. It was certainly a strange rash mad attempt with only about thirty-five thousand men to attack, at such disadvantage, an army of more than five times the number: but he was successful in it, and this success diffused a terror of his name, and opened his way to the conquest of Asia. "And I saw him come close unto the ram:" he had several close engagements or set battles with the king of Persia, and particularly at the river Granicus in Phrygia, at the straits of Issus in Cilicia, and in the plains of Arbela in Assyria. "And he was moved with choler against him," for [3] the cruelties which the Persians had exercised towards the Grecians: and for [4] Darius's attempting to corrupt sometimes his soldiers to betray him, and sometimes his friends to destroy him; so that he would not listen to the most advantageous offers of peace, but determined to pursue the Persian king, not as a generous and noble enemy, but as a poisoner and a murderer, to the death that he deserved. "And he smote the ram, and brake his two horns:" he subdued Persia and Media with the other provinces and kingdoms of the Persian empire; and it is memorable, that in [5] Persia he barbarously sacked and burned the royal city of Persepolis, the capital of the empire; and in [6] Media, Darius was seized and made a prisoner by some of his own traitor-subjects, who not long afterwards basely murdered him. "And there was no power in the ram to stand before him, but he cast him down to the ground and stamped upon him;" he conquered wherever he came, routed all the forces, took all the cities and castles, and entirely subverted and ruined the Persian empire. "And there was none that could deliver the ram out of his hand;" not even his numerous armies could defend the king of Persia, though his forces [7] in the battle of Issus amounted to six hundred thousand men, and [8] in that of Arbela to ten or eleven hundred thousand, whereas the[9] whole number of Alexander's was not more than forty-seven thousand in either engagement. So true is the observation of the Psalmist, (xxxiii. 16.) "there is no king saved by the multitude of an host:" and especially when God hath declared the fall of empires, then even the greatest must fall. The fortune of Alexander, of which so much hath been said;[1] Plutarch hath written a whole treatise about it; the fortune of Alexander, I say, was nothing but the providence of God.

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[9] Prideaux Connect. Part 1. b. 8. Ann. 330. Alexander 2.

[1] Herod. l. 6. et 7.

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[2] Arrian. de Exped. Alex. l. 1. c. 14, &c. 'Sic Granicum, tot millibus equitum peditumque in ulteriore stantibus ripa, superavit.' Quint. Curt. l. 4. c. 9.

[3] Diod. Sic. l. 17. c. 69. Quint. Curt. l. 5. c. 6.

[4] Quint. Curt. l. 4. c. 11. 'Verum enimvero, quum modo milites meos literis ad proditionem, modo amicos ad perniciem meam pecunia solicitet; ad internecionem mihi persequendus est, non ut justus hostis, sed ut percussor veneficus.'

[5] Diod. Sic. l. 17. c. 70. Quint. Curt. l. 5. c. 6. et 7.

[6] Quint. Curt. l. 5. c. 8, &c.

[7] Arrian. de Exped. Alex. l. 2. c. 8. Plutarch. in Alex. § 18.

[8] Plutarch. in Alex. § 31. Diod. Sic. l. 17. c. 53. Rhod. Arrian. l. 3. c. 8.

[9] Polyb. l. 12. § 19. Arrian. l. 3. c. 12.

When Alexander was at Jerusalem, these prophecies were shewn to him by the high-priest, according to the[2] relation of Josephus. For while Alexander lay at the siege of Tyre, he sent to Jaddua the high-priest at Jerusalem to demand provisions for his army, and the tribute that was annually paid to Darius. But the high-priest refused to comply with these demands, by reason of his oath of allegiance to the king of Persia. Alexander therefore in great rage vowed to revenge himself upon the Jews: and as soon as he had taken Tyre and Gaza, he marched against Jerusalem. The high-priest in this imminent danger had recourse to God by sacrifices and supplications: and as he was directed in a vision of the night, he went forth the next day in his pontifical robes, with all the priests in their proper habits, and the people in white apparel, to meet the conqueror, and to make their submissions to him. As soon as the king saw the high-priest coming to him in this solemn procession, he advanced eagerly to meet him, and bowing down himself before him, received him with religious awe and veneration. All present were astonished at this behaviour of the king, so contrary to their expectation; and Parmenio in particular demanded the reason of it, why he, whom all others adored, should pay such adoration to the Jewish high-priest. Alexander replied, that he paid not this adoration to him, but to that God whose priest he was: for while he was at Dio in Macedonia, and was meditating upon his expedition against the king of Persia, there appeared unto him in a dream this very man, and in this very habit, inviting him to come over into Asia, and promising him success in the conquest of it: and now he was assured that he had set out upon this expedition under the conduct of God, to whom therefore he payed this adoration in the person of his high-priest. Hereupon he entered Jerusalem in peace, and went up and offered sacrifices to God in the temple, where the high-priest produced and laid before him the prophecies of Daniel, wherein it was written that a king of Grecia should overthrow the Persian empire, which he interpreted of himself. After this he granted peculiar privileges to the Jews, and proceeded in his expedition with full confidence and assurance of success.

Some persons have rejected this account as fabulous, particularly Van Dale, Mr. Moyle, and Collins, who says that it is 'an entire fiction unsupported, and inconsistent with history and chronology, and romantic in its circumstances."[3] But Bishop Lloyd, Dean Prideaux, Bishop Chandler and others have sufficiently vindicated the truth of the story.[4] Even Bayle himself, who was never thought to be over-credulous, admits the fact: and it must be said, though some things are extraordinary, yet there is nothing incredible in the whole relation. Alexander lay seven months at the siege of Tyre; in that time he might well want provisions for his army: and it is no wonder that he should send for some into Judea, when the Tyrians themselves used to be supplied from thence (1 Kings v. 9. 11. Ezek. xxvii. 17. Acts xii. 20.). The fidelity of the Jews to Darius, and their regard to their oath was nothing more than they practised upon other occasions; for the same reason[5] they would not submit to Ptolemy, having taken an oath to another governor: and Ptolemy afterwards rewarded them for it in Egypt, and [6] committed the most important garrisons and places of trust to their keeping, thinking that he might safely rely upon them, who had proved themselves so steady and faithful to their former princes and governors, and particularly to Darius king of Persia. That Alexander was in Judea, I think we may collect from other authors. Arrian says,[7] that he subdued all that part of Syria which was called Palestine. Pliny affirms,[8] that the balsam-tree, which grew only in Judea, was cut and bled a certain quantity in a day, while Alexander was waging war in those parts. Justin informs us,[9] that he went into Syria, where many princes of the east met him with their mitres; upon which passage the note of Isaac Vossius, is very just and pertinent,[1] 'I think that Justin had respect to that memorable history, which Josephus relates of Jaddua the high-priest of the Jews.' If Alexander therefore came into Judea, as he certainly did, it was prudent in the Jews, though they refused to succour him at a distance, yet to submit to him upon his nearer approach; it was in vain to withstand the conqueror, and the terror of his name was now become very great by his victories, and especially after the dreadful execution that he had made at Tyre and at Gaza. While Alexander was at Jerusalem, it was natural enough for the high-priest to shew him the prophecies of a king of Grecia overcoming the king of Persia. Nothing could be devised more likely to engage his attention, to confirm his hopes, and to conciliate his favour to the whole nation. And for his sacrificing in the temple, it is no more than [2] other heathen princes have done, it is no more than he did in other places. He might perhaps consider God as a local deity, and offer sacrifices to him at Jerusalem, as he did to Hercules at Tyre, and to Jupiter Hammon in Egypt, and to Belus in Babylon.

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[1] Περὶ τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου τύχης.

[2] Josephi Antiqu. l. 11. c. 8.

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[3] Van Dale Dissert. super Aristeam, c. 10. Moyle's Letters to Prideaux, p. 26, &c. vol. 2. Collins's Scheme of literal Prophecy, p. 462.

[4] Bishop Lloyd's Letter to Dr. Sherlock. Prideaux Connect. and answers to Mr. Moyle. Bishop Chandler's Vindication of his Defence, c. 2. § 1. p. 176, &c. Mr. Sam. Chandler's Vindication of Daniel, p. 76, &c. Bayle's Dict. Art. MACEDO, Not. O.

[5] Joseph. Antiq. l. 12 c. 1.

[6] Joseph. ibid. et contra Apion, l. 2. § 4.

[7] Arrian. de Exped. Alex. l. 2. c. 25 Καὶ ἦν αὐτῷ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα τῆς Παλαιστίνης καλουμένης Συρίας προσκεχωρηκότα ἤδη. *Et cætera quidem Syriæ, quæ Palæstina vocatur, oppida in suam potestatem adduxerat.*

[8] Plin. Nat. Hist. l. 12. c. 25. § 54. 'Alexandro magno res ibi gerente, toto die æstivo unam concham impleri justum erat.'

[9] 'Tunc in Syriam proficiscitur, ubi obvios cum infulis multos orientis reges habuit.' Justin. Hist. l. 11. c. 10. § 6.

[1] 'Puto respicere Justinum ad memorabilem illam historiam, quam Josephus de Jaddo, summo Judæorum sacerdote, narrat.'

What are then the great objections to the credibility of this story? It is pretended, that it is inconsistent with chronology; for Josephus places this event after the sieges of Tyre and of Gaza, whereas [3] all historians agree that Alexander went directly from Gaza to Egypt in seven days. But the best historians do not always relate facts in exact order of time, as they happened; they connect things of a sort together, and often mention later occurrences first, reserving what they think more important for the last place: and such possibly might be the intention of Josephus. Eusebius affirms, that Alexander[4] went after the siege of Tyre immediately to Jerusalem; and he might have good authority for affirming so, living as he did in Palestine: and with him agree Usher, Prideaux, and the best chronologers. And indeed it is most probable, that Alexander's progress was from Tyre to Jerusalem, and from Jerusalem to Gaza; because his resentment of the affront that he had received was then fresher in his mind, and Jerusalem lay not much out of the way from Tyre to Gaza, and it was not likely that he should leave a place of such strength and importance untaken behind him. But if Josephus was mistaken about two months in point of time, yet such a mistake is not sufficient to shake the credit of his whole relation. What historian is there almost who hath not fallen into a mistake of the like kind? And yet after all Josephus might not be mistaken, for Alexander might march against Jerusalem from Gaza, either during the siege, or after it. Arrian informs us,[5] that while the siege of Tyre was carrying on, and the machines and ships were building, Alexander with some troops of horse and other forces went into Arabia, and having reduced that part of the country to his obedience partly by force, and partly by treaty, he returned to the camp in eleven days: and why might he not make such an excursion from Gaza for a few days, during the two months that his army was besieging it? or after he had taken the city, why might he not with part of the army go to Jerusalem, and leave the other part to rest themselves at Gaza? Jerusalem lay at no very great distance from Gaza, and a person of Alexander's expedition might go and return within a very few days. The historians say indeed, that he came into Egypt in seven days after he departed from Gaza; but none of them say how long he stayed at Gaza, to refresh his army after the siege. We know from Diodorus,[6] that he stayed long enough to settle the affairs of the country about Gaza; and why might he not in that time make this visit to Jerusalem?

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[2] Joseph. contra Apion. l. 2. § 5. 2 Maccab. xiii. 23.

[3] Diod. Sic. l. 17. c. 49. Q. Curtius, l. 4. c. 7. § 2. Arrian. l. 3. c. 1. Plutarch in Alex. § 26.

[4] Eusebii Chron. Usher's Annals, p. 214, 215. Prid. Connect. Part 1. b. 7. Anno 332. Darius 4.

[5] Arrian. de Exped. Alex. l. 2. c. 20.

Another objection is taken from the silence of authors, who would hardly have passed over so memorable a transaction, if there had been any truth in it: but it is not so much as mentioned by any of the heathen historians; it is supported entirely by the testimony of Josephus. But if we reject all relations, which rest upon the credit of a single historian, ancient history will be shrunk into a very narrow compass. There were numerous writers of the life and actions of Alexander, who were his companions in the wars, or lived in or near his time, as Ptolemy, Aristobulus, and others: but none of their writings have been transmitted down to us; they have all been swallowed up in the gulf between that time and this; and who can be certain that some of them did not record this transaction? It must have been mentioned by some ancient historian; for we see that Justin in a short abridgment of history is thought to have alluded to it; and some other author might have related it at large in all its circumstances. The most copious writers now extant of Alexander's affairs, are Diodorus Siculus, Quintus Curtius, Arrian, and Plutarch: but the eldest of these lived some centuries after Alexander, so that they must have transcribed from former historians: and they have transcribed variously, as suited their particular purpose; what one hath inserted, another hath omitted; and not two of them have related things exactly alike. There are actions and sayings of Alexander, which are omitted by them all, but yet are preserved by other authors: and no wonder then, that with the common prejudice of Greeks and Romans, they should omit some particulars of so remote and so disagreeable a people as the Jews. The affairs of each province are best related by the writers of each province. A Jew was most likely to record the particulars concerning the Jews. And Josephus though he may have been thought credulous in some respects, yet was never charged with forging of history. His credit as an historian, will upon examination be found equal almost to the very best. Joseph Scaliger, who was an exceeding good judge in matters of this nature,[7] giveth him the character of a most faithful, a most diligent, and a most learned writer; of whom, saith he, we may boldly affirm, that not only in Jewish, but likewise in foreign affairs, we may more safely rely on his credit, than on all the Greek and Latin historians together.

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[6] Diod. Sic. l. 17. c. 49.

There remains then no difficulty that can really stick with us, unless it be the particular interposition of God in this affair, and the prophetic dreams of Alexander and the high-priest. These things, it must be confessed, are wonderful: but if we recollect the miraculous interpositions of God in favour of his people; if we reflect what a particular providence attended Alexander, and conducted him to conquest and empire; if we consider the clear and express prophecies concerning him; these things though wonderful, may yet easily be reconciled to our belief, and will appear perfectly consistent with the other dispensations of divine providence. Admitting the truth of the prophecies, we cannot think these extraordinary circumstances at all incredible. These extraordinary circumstances are alleged to confirm the prophecies; and if the prophecies be found mutually to confirm these extraordinary circumstances, this is so far from weakening that it strengthens the argument. Indeed without the supposition of the truth of these circumstances, it will be extremely difficult to account for Alexander's granting so many privileges and favours to the Jews. He[8] allowed them the free exercise of their religion; he exempted their land from tribute every seventh, or the sabbatical year; he settled many of them at Alexandria with privileges and immunities equal to those of the Macedonians themselves; and when the Samaritans had revolted, and murdered the governor whom he had set over them, he assigned their country to the Jews, and exempted it in the same manner as Judea from tribute, [9]Josephus hath proved from Alexander's own letters, and from the testimony of Hecatæus, a heathen historian. But what were the merits and services of the Jews, that they should be so favoured and distinguished above other people? There is no way of accounting for it so probable, as by admitting the truth of this relation. With this all appears natural and easy, and is utterly inexplicable without it.

But to return from this digression, if it may be called a digression, to consider a point of history, that is so nearly related to our subject. Nothing is fixed and stable in human affairs; and the empire of the goat, though exceeding great, was perhaps for that reason the sooner broken into pieces, (ver. 8.) "Therefore the he-goat waxed very great, and when he was strong, the great horn was broken; and for it came up four notable ones, toward the four winds of heaven." Which the angel thus interprets, (ver. 22.) "Now that being broken, whereas four stood up for it, four kingdoms shall stand up out of the nation, but not in his power." The empire of the goat was in its full strength, when Alexander died of a fever at Babylon. He was succeeded in the throne by his natural brother Philip Aridæus, and by his own two sons Alexander Ægus and Hercules: but in the space of [1] about fifteen years they were all murdered, and then the first *horn* or kingdom was entirely *broken*. The royal family being thus extinct, the [2] governors of provinces, who had usurped the power, assumed the title of kings: and by the defeat and death of Antigonus in the battle of Ipsus, they were reduced to four,[3] Cassander, Lysimachus, Ptolemy, and Seleucus, who parted Alexander's dominions between them, and divided and settled them into four kingdoms. These four kingdoms are the *four notable horns*, which came up in the room of the first great horn; and are the same as the *four heads of the leopard* in the former vision. "Four kingdoms shall stand up out of the nation, but not in his power;" they were to be kingdoms of Greeks, not of Alexander's own family, but only of his nation; and neither were they to be equal to him in power and dominion, as an empire united is certainly more powerful than the same empire divided, and the whole is greater than any of the parts. They were likewise to extend "toward the four winds of heaven:" and in the partition of the empire,[4] Cassander held Macedon, and Greece, and the *western* parts; Lysimachus had Thrace, Bithynia, and the *northern* regions; Ptolemy possessed Egypt, and the *southern* countries; and Seleucus obtained Syria and the *eastern* provinces. Thus were they divided "toward the four winds of heaven."

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[7] 'Josephus, fidissimus, diligentissimus, et eruditissimus scriptor.' Scal. in notis ad Fragmenta Græc. p. 45. 'De Josepho nos hoc audacter dicimus, non solum in rebus Judaicis, sed etiam in externis tutius illi credi, quam omnibus Græcis et Latinis.' Idem in Prolegom. de Emendatione Temporum, p. 17.

[8] Joseph. Antiq. l. 11. c. 8. § 5.

[9] Joseph. contra Apion. l. 2. § 4.

As in the former vision a little horn sprang up among the ten horns of the Roman empire, so here a little horn is described as rising among the four horns of the Grecian empire, (ver. 9, 10, 11, 12.) "And out of one of them came forth a little horn, which waxed exceeding great, toward the south, and toward the east, and toward the pleasant land. And it waxed great even to the host of heaven, and it cast down some of the host and of the stars to the ground, and stamped upon them. Yea, he magnified himself even to the prince of the host, and by him the daily sacrifice was taken away, and the place of his sanctuary was cast down. And an host was given him against the daily sacrifice by reason of transgression, and it cast down the truth to the ground, and it practised, and prospered." All which is thus explained by the angel, (ver. 23, 24, 25.) "And in the latter time of their kingdom, when the transgressors are come to the full, a king of fierce countenance, and understanding dark sentences, shall stand up. And his power shall be mighty, but not by his own power: and he shall destroy wonderfully, and shall prosper, and practise, and shall destroy the mighty and the holy people. And through his policy also he shall cause craft to prosper in his hand, and he shall magnify himself in his heart, and by peace shall destroy many: he shall also stand up against the prince of princes, but he shall be broken without hand." This *little horn* is by the generality of interpreters, both Jewish and Christian, ancient and modern, supposed to mean Antiochus Epiphanes, king of Syria, who was a great enemy and cruel persecutor of the Jews. So [5]Josephus understands the prophecy, and says that 'our nation suffered these calamities under Antiochus Epiphanes, as Daniel saw, and many years before wrote what things should come to pass.' In like manner [6]St. Jerome explains it of Antiochus Epiphanes, and says 'that he fought against Ptolemy Philometer and the Egyptians, that is *against the south;* and again *against the east,* and those who attempted a change of government in Persia; and lastly he fought against the Jews, took Judea, entered into Jerusalem, and in the temple of God set up the image of Jupiter Olympius.' With St. Jerome agree most of the ancient fathers, and modern divines and commentators; but then they all allow that Antiochus Epiphanes was a type of Antichrist. Antiochus Epiphanes at first sight doth indeed in some features very much resemble the *little horn;* but upon a nearer view and examination it will evidently appear, that in other parts there is no manner of similitude or correspondence between them. Sir Isaac Newton with that sagacity, which was peculiar to him, and with which he penetrated into Scripture as well as into nature,[7] perceived plainly that the *little horn* could not be drawn for Antiochus Epiphanes, but must be designed for some other subject: and though we shall not entirely follow his plan, nor build altogether upon his foundation, yet we shall be obliged to make use of several of his materials. There are then two ways of expounding this prophecy of the *little horn,* either by understanding it of Antiochus Epiphanes, and considering Antiochus as a type of Antichrist; or by leaving him wholly out of the question, and seeking another application: and which method of the two is to be preferred, will better appear in the progress of this discourse.

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[1] See Usher, Prideaux, and the chronologers.

[2] Diod. Sic. l. 20. c. 53. Justin. l. 15. c. 2. 'Hujus honoris ornamentis tamdiu omnes abstinuerunt, quamdiu filii regis sui superesse potuerunt. Tanta in illis verecundia fuit, ut cum opes regias haberent, regum tamen nominibus æquo animo caruerint, quoad Alexandro justus hæres fuit.'

[3] Diod. Sic. l. 21. c. 1. Polyb. l. 5. c. 67. Plutarch. in Demetrio, § 30.

[4] Diod. Sic. ibid. Prideaux Connect. Part 1. b. 8. Ann. 301. Ptolemy Soter 4.

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[5] Joseph. Antiq. l. 10. c. 11. § 7. Καὶ δὴ ταῦτα ἡμων συνέϐη τῷ ἔθνει παθεῖν ὑπ' Ἀντιόχου τοῦ Επιφανοῦς, καθὼς εἶδεν ὁ Δανιῆλος, καὶ πολλοῖς ἔτεσιν ἔμπροσθεν ἀνέγραψε τὰ γενησόμενα. *Et sane factum est ut hæc ipsa sub Antiocho Epiphane gens nostra pateretur, prout viderat Danielus, et multis ante annis quæ ventura erant scriptis mandaverat.*

[6] Hieron. in Dan. c. 8. col. 1105.— 'contra Ptolemæum Philometorem dimicavit, hoc est, *contra meridiem,* et contra Ægyptios. Rursumque *ad orientem,* et contra eos qui res novas in Perside moliebantur: ad extremum contra Judæos dimicans, capta Judæa, ingressus est Ierosolymam: et in templo Dei simulacrum Jovis Olympii statuit.'

A *horn* in the style of Daniel doth not signify any particular king, but is an emblem of a kingdom. In the former vision the *ten horns* were not ten kings, but so many kingdoms, into which the Roman empire was divided: and the *little horn* did not typify a single person, but a succession of men, claiming such prerogatives, and exerting such powers, as are there specified. In this vision likewise the *two horns* of the ram do not represent the two kings, Darius the Mede and Cyrus the Persian, but the two kingdoms of Media and Persia: and for this plain reason, because the ram hath all along two horns; even when he is attacked by the he-goat, he hath still two horns; but the two kingdoms of Media and Persia had long been united under one king. The horns of the he-goat too prefigure not kings, but kingdoms. The first *great horn* doth not design Alexander himself, but the kingdom of Alexander, as long as the title continued in him, and his brother and two sons. The *four horns,* which arose after the first was broken, are expressly said (ver. 22.) to be "four kingdoms:" and consequently it should seem, that the *little horn* cannot signify Antiochus Epiphanes or any single king, but must denote some kingdom; by *kingdom* meaning, what[8] the ancients meant, any government, state or polity in the world, whether monarchy, or republic, or what form soever. Now what kingdom was there, that rose up during the subsistence of the four kingdoms of the Grecian empire, and was advanced to any greatness and eminence, but the Roman? The first *great horn* was the kingdom of Alexander and his family. The *four horns* were *four kingdoms,* not of his family, but only of the nation. "Four kingdoms shall stand up out of the nation:" and doth not this imply that the remaining kingdom, the kingdom of the *little horn,* should be not of the nation?

The general character therefore is better adapted to the Romans: and now let us consider the particular properties and actions of the little horn, whether they may be more justly ascribed to Antiochus Epiphanes, or to the Romans. "And out of one of them came forth a little horn." Antiochus Epiphanes was indeed the son of Antiochus the Great, king of Syria: and he is [9] said to be the *little horn*, because he rose from small beginnings to the kingdom, having been many years an hostage at Rome. But then his kingdom was nothing more than a continuation of one of the four kingdoms; it cannot possibly be reckoned as a fifth kingdom springing up among the four; and the little horn is plainly some power different and distinct from the four former horns. Is not this therefore more applicable to the Romans, who were a new and different power, who rose from small beginnings to an exceeding great empire, who first subdued Macedon and Greece the capital kingdom of the goat, and from thence spread and enlarged their conquests over the rest? Nor let it seem strange, that the Romans who were prefigured by a great *beast* in the former vision, should in this be represented only by the *horn* of a beast; for nothing is more usual, than to describe the same person or thing under different images upon different occasions: and besides in this vision the Roman empire is not designed at large, but only the Roman empire as a horn of the goat. When the Romans first got footing in Greece, then they became a horn of the goat. Out of this horn they came, and were at first a little horn, but in process of time overtopped the other horns. From Greece they extended their arms, and overran the other parts of the goat's dominions: and their actions within the dominions of the goat, and not their affairs in the western empire, are the principal subject of this prophecy. But their actions, which are most largely and particularly specified, are their great persecution and oppression of the people of God: which renders it probable that the appellation of the *little horn* might be given them for the same reason, that the great persecutor and oppressor of the saints in the western empire is also called the *little horn*. It is the same kind of power, and therefore might be signified by the same name.

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[7] Sir Isaac Newton's Observations on Daniel, c. 9.

[8] See this point proved from heathen authors as well as from Scripture, in the beginning of Mr. Mede's tract entitled *Regnum Romanum est regnum quartum Danielis.* Mede's Works, book 3. p. 711.

It will appear too, that the time agrees better with the Romans. "And in the latter time of their kingdom, when the transgressors are come to the full, a king of fierce countenance, and understanding dark sentences, shall stand up." Antiochus Epiphanes might be said indeed to *stand up in the latter time of*

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[9] 'Quid quum obses fuisset Romæ, et nesciente senatu cepisset imperium, &c.' Hieron. in Dan. 8. col. 1105. 'Antiochum Epiphanem significat, quia fuit Romæ obses.' Vatablus in locum. 'Antiochus, qui obses fuit Romæ, nec a patre designatus rex, sed invasit regnum, &c.' Clarius in locum. 'Antiochus modicæ primum fortunæ, privatus, et Romæ obses, ex post facto dictus Epiphanes.' Grotius in locum. So likewise Poole, &c.

their kingdom; because Macedonia, the first of the four kingdoms, was conquered and reduced into a Roman province, during his reign. But when he stood up, *the transgressors* in the Jewish nation *were not come to the full;* for when he began to reign, [1] Onias was high-priest of the Jews, and the temporal as well as ecclesiastical government was at this time in the hands of the high-priest, and this Onias was a most worthy good magistrate, as well as a most venerable pious priest. As the author of the second book of Maccabees saith, (2 Mac. iii. 1.) "the holy city was inhabited with all peace, and the laws were kept very well, because of the godliness of Onias the high-priest, and his hatred of wickedness." It was after this time, that the great corruptions were introduced into the Jewish church and nation; and they were introduced chiefly through the means of Antiochus, by his direction, or under his authority. The Romans might much better be said to *stand up in the latter time of their kingdom,* who saw the end not only of one kingdom, but of all the four; who first subdued the kingdom of Macedon and Greece, and then inherited by the will of Attalus the kingdom of Pergamus, which was the remains of the kingdom of Lysimachus, and afterwards made a province of the kingdom of Syria, and lastly of the kingdom of Egypt. When the Romans stood up too, *the transgressors were come to the full;* for the high-priesthood was exposed to sale; good Onias was ejected for a sum of money to make room for wicked Jason, and Jason was again supplanted for a greater sum of money by a worse man (if possible) than himself, his brother Menelaus; and the golden vessels of the temple were sold to pay for the sacrilegious purchase. At the same time the customs of the heathen nations were introduced among the Jews; the youth were trained up and exercised after the manner of the Greeks; the people apostatized from the true religion, and even "the priests (2 Mac. iv. 14.) had no courage to serve any more at the altar, but despising the temple, and neglecting the sacrifices, they hastened to be partakers of unlawful diversions." Nay Jerusalem was taken by Antiochus; forty thousand Jews were slain, and as many more were sold into slavery; the temple was profaned even under the conduct of the high-priest Menelaus, was defiled with swines' blood, and plundered of every thing valuable; and in the same year, [2] that Paulus Emilius the Roman consul vanquished Perseus the last king of Macedonia, and thereby put an end to that kingdom, the Jewish religion was put down, and the heathen worship was set up in the cities of Judea, and in Jeruslam; and the temple itself was consecrated to Jupiter Olympius, and his image was erected upon the very altar. Then indeed "the transgressors *were* come to the full," and then, as we see, the Romans stood up, "a king of fierce countenance, and understanding dark sentences."

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[1] For these and many particulars which follow, the two books of Maccabees, and Josephus his Antiquities of the Jews must be consulted.

[2] See Prideaux Connect. Part 2. b. 3. Anno 168.

A *king* in the prophetic style is the same as a *kingdom*, and a kingdom, as we before observed, is any state or government. "A king of fierce countenance, and understanding dark sentences." The latter expression in the [3] Syriac is translated *skilful in ruling*, and in the Arabic *skilful of disputations*. We may suppose the meaning to be, that this should be a politic and artful, as well as a formidable power; which is not so properly the character of Antiochus, as of the Romans. They were represented in the former vision by a "beast dreadful and terrible;" and for the same reason they are here denominated "a king of fierce countenance." He cannot so well be said to be "a king of fierce countenance," who was even frightened out of Egypt by a message from the Romans. The story is worthy of memory. [4] Antiochus Epiphanes was making war upon Egypt, and was in a fair way of becoming master of the whole kingdom. The Romans therefore fearing lest he should grow too powerful by annexing Egypt to the crown of Syria, sent an embassy to him, to require him to desist from his enterprise, or to declare war against him. He was drawing near to besiege Alexandria, when he was met by the three ambassadors from Rome. Popillius, the chief of them, had formerly been his friend and acquaintance, while he was an hostage at Rome: and the king at their first meeting graciously offered him his hand in remembrance of their former friendship. But Popillius declined the compliment, by saying, that private friendship must give place to the public welfare, and he must first know whether the king was a friend to the Roman state, before he could acknowledge him as a friend to himself: and so saying, he presented to him the tables which contained the decree of the senate, and desired an immediate answer. Antiochus opened and perused them, and he replied that he would consider the matter with his friends, and return his answer very speedily. But Popillius with a wand that he carried in his hand drew a circle in the sand round the king, and insisted upon his answer, before he stirred out of that circle. The king astonished at this peremptory and imperious manner of proceeding, after some hesitation, said that he would obey the commands of the senate: and then at length Popillius reached

[3] "Regnandi peritus." Syr. "Disputationum peritus." Arab.

[4] Polyb. Legat. 92. l. 29. c. 11. Appian. de Bellis Syriacis, p. 151. § 66. Livius, l. 45. c. 12. Valerius Maximus, l. 6. c. 4. § 3. Velleius Paterculus, l. 1. c. 10. Justin. l. 34. c. 3.

forth his hand to him as a friend and confederate. This incident happened very soon after the conquest of Macedonia, which as it dismayed Antiochus, so it emboldened the Romans to act in this manner: and this being their first memorable action as soon as they became a horn or kingdom of the goat, it is very fitly said of them, more fitly than of Antiochus, "a king of fierce countenance shall stand up."

The other actions likewise of the little horn accord better with the Romans. This horn, though little at first, yet "waxed exceeding great toward the south, and toward the east, and toward the pleasant land." This horn therefore, as Sir Isaac Newton justly observes,[5] was to rise up in the north-west parts of those nations, which composed the body of the goat; and from thence was to extend his dominion towards Egypt, Syria, and Judea. Observe the particulars. He "waxed exceeding great:" and so did the Roman empire even within the territories of the goat, but not so did Antiochus Epiphanes; for he was so far from enlarging the kingdom of Syria, that it was less in his time than under most of his predecessors, and he[6] left it as he found it, tributary to the Romans.—"Toward the south:" Antiochus indeed did several times invade Egypt, and gained great advantages over Ptolemy Philometor king of Egypt: but he was never able to make himself absolute master of the country, and annex it to the kingdom of Syria; as the Romans made it a province of their empire, and kept possession of it for several centuries. His designs were frustrated, as we have seen, by an embassy from the Romans; and he went out of Egypt baffled and disgraced, a word from them being as effectual as an army.—"Toward the east:" the Romans did grow very powerful toward the east; they conquered and made a province of Syria, which was the eastern kingdom of the goat: but Antiochus was seated in the east himself, and did not extend his dominions farther eastward. On the contrary, the Parthians had withdrawn their obedience from the kings of Syria, and had erected a growing kingdom in the east. Antiochus did indeed[7] vanquish Artaxias, the tributary king of Armenia, who had revolted from him; but this was rather in the north than in the east. He had not the like success among the Persians, who were also dilatory in paying their tribute; for[8] having heard much of the tribes of Elymais, and particularly of the temple there, he went thither with a design of seizing the treasures of the city and temple; but the inhabitants rose upon him, repelled and routed him and his army, so that he was forced to fly with disappointment and disgrace out of the country; and soon after he sickened and died.—"And toward the pleasant land," that is, Judea; for so it is called in the Psalms (cvi. 24.) "the pleasant land;" and in Jeremiah (iii. 19.) "a pleasant land, a goodly heritage;" and so twice again afterwards in Daniel (xi. 16. 41.). Antiochus did indeed take Jerusalem, and miserably harrass and oppress the Jews, as it has been above related: but the Jews in a little time, under the conduct of the Maccabees, recovered their liberties, and established their religion and government in greater splendour and security than before. The Romans more effectually conquered and subdued them, first made a province of their country, and then destroyed their city and temple, and dispersed the people, so that after so fatal a fall they have never from that time to this been able to rise again.

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[5] Sir Isaac Newton's Observations on Daniel, chap. 9. p. 119, 120.

[6] 2 Macc. viii. 10.

[7] Appian. de Bell. Syr. § 45, 46. Porphyr. apud Hieron. in Dan. 11. col. 1133.

[8] 1 Maccab. vi. 1—4. 2 Maccab. ix. 1, 2. Joseph. Antiq. l. 12. c. 8. § 1. Porphyrius apud Hieron. in Dan. 11.

Another remarkable property, that eminently distinguished the little horn from all others, was that "his power should be mighty, but not by his own power;" which commentators are much at a loss to explain. Some say,[9] that he should be mighty not so much by his own industry, as by the gift of God: but so are all horns or kingdoms whatever. Others say,[1] that God should give him this power for the punishment of his people; and others again,[2] that he should obtain it by the factions, and perfidy, and baseness of the Jews, who should betray their country to him: but these limit and restrain the meaning to a particular subject, to his power over the Jews, whereas it is said in the general, that "his power should be mighty, but not by his own power." "His power," in general, not only over this or that particular people, "should be mighty, but not by his own power." The best explanation that they can give of it, who understand the whole of Antiochus Epiphanes, is that[3] he attained to the crown chiefly by the favour and assistance of Eumenes, king of Pergamus, and Attalus his brother, who having at that time some jealousy of the Romans, were desirous to make the king of Syria their friend: but we do not read that they assisted him in any of his wars afterwards, and neither was his kingdom strengthened by foreign armies or alliances. They who conceive Antiochus to be a type of Antichrist,[4] offer a fairer interpretation, because Antichrist was to exercise an usurped authority, and not his own, and the kings of the earth, according to St. John, (Rev. xvii. 13.) were to "give their power and strength unto the beast." But this part of the prophecy, as well as the rest, can no where be so justly and properly applied, as to the Romans. With them it quadrates exactly, and with none of the other horns or kingdoms of the goat. The strength of the other kingdoms consisted in themselves, and had its foundation in some part of the goat: but the Roman empire, as a horn or kingdom of the goat, was not mighty by its own power, was not strong by virtue of the goat, but drew its nourishment and strength from Rome and Italy. There grew the trunk and body of the tree, though the branches extended over Greece, Asia, Syria, and Egypt.

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[9] 'Non propria industria, sed Deo dante.' Vatabulus.

[1] 'Quia Deus voluit per ipsum punire populum suum.' Clarius.

[2] So Poole, Lowth, &c. 'Non tam ex ipso causa erit tanti incrementi, quam ex factionibus Judæorum.' Grotius.

[3] Appian. de Bell. Syr. § 45

[4] See Lowth's Comment.

The remainder of the prophecy relates mostly to the persecution and oppression of the people of God. "And he waxed great even to the host of heaven (or *against the host of heaven*), and he cast down some of the host, and of the stars to the ground, and stamped upon them," that is, the Jewish state in general, "the mighty and the holy people," (ver. 24.) or the Priests and Levites in particular, who are called *stars;* as they were eminent for their station and illustrious for their knowledge; and *the host of heaven,* as they watched and served in the temple, and their service is denominated *a warfare* (Num. viii. 24, 25.). This passage was in some measure fulfilled by Antiochus Epiphanes as well as by the Romans: but our Saviour making use of the like expressions, (Matt. xxiv. 29.) "the stars shall fall from heaven, and the powers of the heavens shall be shaken," in speaking of the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans, this passage also may more properly be referred to that event.

"Yea he magnified himself even to the prince of the host (or *against the prince of the host*), and by him the daily sacrifice was taken away, and the place of his sanctuary was cast down." Antiochus did indeed *take away the daily sacrifice,* but he did not *cast down the place of his sanctuary,* he did not destroy the temple. He took away the daily sacrifice for a few years, but the Romans for many ages: and the Romans likewise utterly destroyed the temple, which he spoiled only and profaned.

"And an host was given him against the daily sacrifice by reason of transgression." The word here translated *an host* is rendered in other places, (Job. vii. 1.) and in the book of Daniel itself, (x. i.) *an appointed time:* "And an *appointed time* was given him against the daily sacrifice by reason of transgression:" Or as we read in the margin, *The host was given over for the transgression against the daily sacrifice, and he cast down the truth to the ground, and he practised, and prospered.* Or as the same thing is expressed by the angel; "He shall destroy wonderfully, and shall prosper, and practise, and shall destroy the mighty and the holy people; and through his policy also he shall cause craft to prosper in his hand, and he shall magnify himself in his heart, and by peace shall destroy many." But Antiochus did not so mightily destroy the Jews, nor prosper in his practices and designs against them. When he took Jerusalem,[5] he slew forty thousand, and sold forty thousand more: but when the city was besieged and taken by the Romans,[6] the number of the captives amounted to ninety-seven thousand, and of the slain to eleven hundred thousand. The Romans too carried their conquest and revenge so far, as to put an end to the government of the Jews, and entirely to take away their place and nation. Antiochus meant as much to root out the whole people; his malice was as great, but his success was not equal: for though his forces were victorious at first, yet they were defeated at last, and his [7] generals, Apollonius, Seron, Nicanor and Gorgias, Timotheus and Bacchides, and even Lysias himself, were all shamefully routed one after another: and the news of these defeats hastened his death.

It is further added, that "he shall also stand up against the prince of princes." If by *the prince of princes* the high-priest be meant, it is very true that Antiochus did put in and put out the high-priests at pleasure, but the Romans took away the whole administration. If by *the prince of princes* be meant, as most probably was meant, the Messiah, then Antiochus had no share in the completion; it was effected by the Romans. It was by the malice of the Jews, but by the authority of the Romans, that he was put to death; and he suffered the punishment of the Roman malefactors and slaves. And indeed it is very worthy of our most serious consideration, whether this part of the prophecy be not a sketch of the fate and sufferings of the Christian, as well as of the Jewish church. Nothing is more usual with the prophets than to describe the religion and worship of later times by metaphors and figures borrowed from their own religion. The Christians may full as well as the Jews be comprehended under the name of *the holy people*, or *people of the holy ones*. And the Romans not only crucified our Saviour, but also persecuted his disciples for above three centuries: and when at length they embraced the Christian religion, they soon corrupted it; so that it may be questioned, whether their favour was not as hurtful to the church, as their enmity. As the power of the Roman emperors declined, that of the Roman pontiffs increased: and may it not with equal truth and justice be said of the latter, as of the former, that they *cast down the truth to the ground, and practised, and prospered?* How applicable in this sense is every part of the angel's interpretation! "A king of fierce countenance, and understanding dark sentences shall stand up. And his power shall be mighty, but not by his own power: and he shall destroy wonderfully, and shall prosper, and practise, and shall destroy the mighty and the holy people (or *the people of the holy ones*): And through his policy also he shall cause craft to prosper in his hand, and he shall magnify himself in his heart, and by peace shall destroy many: he shall also stand up against the prince of princes, but he shall be broken without hand." And this farther opens and explains the reason of the appellation of the *little horn.* The persecuting power of Rome, whether exercised towards the Jews, or towards the Christians, or by the emperors or by the popes, is still the *little horn.* The tyranny is the same; but as exerted in Greece and the east, it is the little horn of the he-goat or the third empire; as exerted in Italy and the west, it is the little horn of the fourth beast or the fourth empire.

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[6] Joseph. de Bell. Jud. l. 6. c. 9. § 2 et 3.

[7] 1 Macc. iii. iv. 2 Macc. viii. x. xi. Josephi. Antiq. l. 12. c. 7.

But the *little horn,* like other tyrannical powers, was to come to a remarkable end; "he shall be broken without hand." As the stone in Nebuchadnezzar's dream was "cut out of the mountain without hands," that is, not by human, but by supernatural means; so the "*little horn* shall be broken without hand," not die the common death, not fall by the hand of men, but perish by a stroke from heaven. And this agrees perfectly with the former predictions of the fatal catastrophe of the Romans. "The stone (that is, the power of Christ, ii. 34.) smote the image upon his feet of iron and clay, and brake them to pieces." Again (vii. 11.) "I beheld then, because of the voice of the great words which the horn spake; I beheld even till the beast was slain, and his body destroyed, and given to the burning flame." And again (ver. 26.) "the judgment shall sit, and they shall take away his dominion, to consume, and to destroy it unto the end." All which implies that the dominion of the Romans shall finally be destroyed with some extraordinary manifestation of the divine power. It is indeed very true, that Antiochus Epiphanes died in an extraordinary manner. He was returning from his unsuccessful expedition into Persia, when he heard the news of the defeat of his armies one after another by the forces of the Maccabees. He set forward therefore in great rage and fury, breathing nothing but death and destruction to the whole generation of the Jews. But in the way he was seized with violent pains in his bowels; and having a fall from his chariot, he was sorely bruised, and his inward pains grew more violent, so that he was not able to proceed in his journey, but was forced to stop at a little town upon the road. There he lay in great torment, and filthy ulcers broke out in his body, from whence issued worms, and such a stench, that he became intolerable to others, and even to himself Nor were the torments and agonies of his mind less than those of his body. He was vexed even to distraction, thought he saw dreadful spectres and apparitions, and suffered all the pangs and horrors of a guilty conscience: and in this miserable condition he lay pining and rotting till he died. This is the account that is given of his death,[8] and confirmed by Heathen as well as by Jewish historians: but with this difference, that the former ascribe it to the vengeance of the gods for the sacrilege that he designed to commit at Elymais; the latter represent it as the just judgment of heaven for the sacrilege that he really committed at Jerusalem, and for the barbarous slaughter that he made of so many thousands of the Jews; and they say, that he himself upon his death-bed confessed as much: and which of these accounts is the more probable and credible, every intelligent reader will easily determine.

By thus tracing the particulars it appears, that though some of them may agree very well with Antiochus Epiphanes, yet others can by no means accord or be reconciled to him: but they all agree and correspond exactly with the Romans and with no one else: so that the application of the character to them must be the right application. It is therefore surprising, that a man of Dr. Halifax's learning, after so many proofs to the contrary, can however opine, that the character "must of necessity be restrained to Antiochus Epiphanes, and to him only;" and for such reasons, and for none others than have here been obviated and refuted. The fitness and propriety of the application to the Romans will still farther appear by considering the time, that is allotted for the duration and continuance of the vision. "I will make thee know (saith the angel to Daniel, ver. 19.) what shall be in the last end," or, *to the last end of the indignation:* that is, as Mr. Lowth paraphraseth it, 'I will explain to thee the whole series of God's judgments upon his people to the end and conclusion of them:' but that end and conclusion is not yet come. There are intimations in the prophets, that God's indignation against his people will be accomplished, and the final destruction of the Roman dominion will fall out about the same period. But the time is more particularly noted. One angel asked another angel (ver. 13.) "How long shall be the vision concerning the daily sacrifice and the transgression of desolation, to give both the sanctuary, and the host to be trodden under foot?" In the original there is no such word as *concerning;* and Mr. Lowth rightly observes that the words may be rendered more agreeably to the Hebrew thus: *For how long a time shall the vision last, the daily sacrifice be taken away, and the transgression of desolation continue,* &c.?

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[8] Polyb. l. 31. c. 11. Appian. de Bell. Syr. § 66. Diodorus et Porphyrius apud Hieron. in Dan. 11. col. 1131 et 1133. 1 Maccab. vi. 1—16. 2 Maccab. ix. Joseph. Antiq. l. 12. c. 8. § 1

After the same manner the question is translated by the [9] Seventy, and in the Arabic version, and in the Vulgar Latin. The answer is (ver. 14.) "Unto two thousand and three hundred days; then shall the sanctuary be cleansed." In the original it is, *Unto two thousand and three hundred evenings and mornings,* an evening and morning being in Hebrew the notation of time for a day; and in allusion to this expression it is said afterwards (ver. 26.) "The vision of the evening and the morning is true." Now these two thousand and three hundred days can by no computation be accommodated to the times of Antiochus Epiphanes, even though the days be taken for natural days. Two thousand and three hundred days are six years and somewhat more than a quarter: but the profanation of the altar under Antiochus Epiphanes lasted but three years complete, according to the author of the first book of the Maccabees; (1 Mac. i. 59. compared with iv. 52.) and the desolation of the temple, and the taking away of the daily sacrifice by Apollonius continued but three years and a half, according to [1] Josephus. Mr. Mede proposeth a method to reconcile the difference, and [2] saith that the time is 'not to be reckoned from the height of *the* calamity, when the *daily sacrifice should be taken away* (from thence it is but three years), but from the beginning of the transgression, which occasioned this desolation, and is described 1 Mac. i. 11, &c.' But Antiochus began to reign, according to the author of the first book of the Maccabees, (i. 10.) "in the 137th year of the kingdom of the Greeks," or æra of the Seleucidæ; and "in those days" was the beginning of the transgression, which is described 1 Mac. i. 11, &c. that is ten or eleven years before the cleansing of the sanctuary, which was performed "in the 148th year" according to the same author (iv. 52.); or if we compute the time from Antiochus's first going up against Jerusalem, and spoiling the city and temple, these things were done according to the same author (i. 20.) "in the 143d year;" so that this reckoning would fall short of the time assigned, as the other exceeds it. The difficulty or impossibility rather of making these two thousand and three hundred days accord with the times of Antiochus, I suppose, obliged the ancients to consider Antiochus as a type of Antichrist: and therefore [3] Jerome saith in his comment, that this place most Christians refer to Antichrist; and affirm, that what was transacted in a type under Antiochus, will be fulfilled in truth under Antichrist. The days without doubt are to be taken, agreeably to the style of Daniel in other places, nor for natural, but for prophetic days or years; and as the question was asked, not only how long the daily sacrifice shall be taken away and the transgression of desolation continue, but also how long the vision shall last; so the answer is to be understood, and these two thousand and three hundred days denote the whole time from the beginning of the vision to the cleansing of the sanctuary. The sanctuary is not yet cleansed, and consequently these years are not yet expired. When these years shall be expired, then their end will clearly shew from whence their beginning is to be dated, whether from the vision of the ram, or of the he-goat, or of the little horn. It is difficult to fix the precise time, when the prophetic dates begin, and when they end, till the prophecies are fulfilled, and the event declares the certainty of them. And the difficulty is increased in this case by reason of some variety in the copies. For the [4] Seventy have *four hundred* in this place; and others, as [5] Jerome informs us, read *two hundred* instead of three hundred. If we follow the reading of the Seventy, *Unto two thousand and four hundred days* or *years*, then perhaps they are to be computed from the vision of the ram, or the establishment of the Persian empire. If we follow the other reading mentioned by Jerome, *Unto two thousand and two hundred days* or *years*, then perhaps they are to be computed from the vision of the little horn, or the Romans invading the Grecian empire: And it is remarkable, [6] that the Romans first passed over with an army, and made war upon Philip king of Macedonia, just 200 years before Christ. But if we still retain the common reading, (which probably is the truest and best) "Unto two thousand and three hundred days," or *years*, then I conceive they are to be computed from the vision of the he-goat, or Alexander's invading Asia. Alexander invaded Asia [7] in the year of the world 3670, and in the year before Christ 334. Two thousand and three hundred years from that time will draw towards the conclusion of the sixth millennium of the world, and about that period, according to an old tradition, [8] which was current before our Saviour's time, and was probably founded upon the prophecies, great changes and revolutions are expected; and particularly as [9] Rabbi Abraham Sebah saith, Rome is to be overthrown, and the Jews are to be restored. The angel farther affirms the truth and certainty of the vision, and of the time allotted for it, (ver. 26.) "The vision of the evening and the morning, which was told, is true, wherefore shut thou up the vision, for it shall be for many days." *The shutting up of the vision* implies, that it should not be understood of some time; and we cannot say that it was sufficiently understood, so long as Antiochus Epiphanes was taken for the little horn. The vision being "for many days," must necessarily infer a longer term, than the calamity under Antiochus of three years, or three years and a half, or even than the whole time from the first beginning of the vision in Cyrus to the cleansing of the sanctuary under Antiochus, which was not above 371 years.[1] Such a vision could not well be called long to Daniel, who had seen so much longer before; and especially as the time assigned for it is "two thousand and three hundred days," which since they cannot by any account be natural days, must needs be prophetic days, or two thousand and three hundred years. Such a vision may properly enough be said to be "for many days."

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[9] Ἕως πότε ἡ ὅρασις στήσεται, ἡ θυσία ἡ ἀρθεῖσα κ. τ. λ. Sept. "Quousque visio hæc continget, et auferetur sacrificium, &c." Arab. "Usquequo visio, et juge sacrificium, &c." Vulg.

[1] Josephi Proem. de Bell. Jud. § 7. l. 1. c. 1. § 1.

[2] Mr. Mede's Apostacy of the latter times, part 1. c. 14. in his Works, b. 3. p. 659.

[3] 'Hunc locum plerique nostrorum ad Antichristum referunt: et quod sub Antiocho in typo factum est, sub illo in veritate dicunt esse complendum.' Hieron. in loc. col. 1106.

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[4] *ἡμέραι δισχίλιαι καὶ τετρακόσιαι.* Sept.

[5] 'Quidam pro duobus millibus trecentis, duo millia ducentos legun.t' Hieron. in loc.

[6] See Usher's Annals, A.M. 3804.

[7] See Usher, Prideaux, &c.

[8] See Placita Doctorum Hebræorum de magno die judicii, et regno Messiæ tunc futuro, in Mede's Works, b. 3. p. 535. and Placita Doctorum Hebræorum de Babylonis seu Romæ excidio, in Mede's Works, b. 5. p. 902.

[9] 'R. Abraham Sebah in Gen. 1. ait, currente sexto annorum mundi millenario Romam evertendam, et Judæos reducendos.' Ibid. p. 903.

Daniel was much affected with the misfortunes and afflictions which were to befall the church and people of God, (ver. 27.) "And I Daniel fainted and was sick certain days; afterwards I rose up, and did the king's business, and I was astonished at the vision, but none understood it." Munster, and Clarius who generally transcribes Munster,[2] are of opinion that Daniel was visited by this sickness, lest he should be lifted up by the sublimity of the visions. I presume they thought his case somewhat like St. Paul's, (2 Cor. xii. 7.) who had "a thorn in the flesh (or a bodily infirmity), lest he should be exalted above measure through the abundance of the revelations." But it is much more probable, that Daniel's sickness proceeded from his grief for his religion and country: as in the former vision *he was grieved in his spirit, his cogitations much troubled him, and his countenance changed in him,* at the success of the little horn there described. And this is another most conclusive argument, that the calamities under Antiochus Epiphanes could not possibly be the main end and ultimate scope of this prophecy. For the calamities under Antiochus were of small extent and of short duration, in comparison with what the nation had suffered, and was then suffering under Nebuchadnezzar and his successors. Antiochus took the city, but Nebuchadnezzar burnt it to the ground. Antiochus profaned the temple, but Nebuchadnezzar utterly destroyed it. Antiochus made captives forty thousand of the Jews, but Nebuchadnezzar carried the whole nation into captivity. Antiochus took away the daily sacrifice for three years and a half, but Nebuchadnezzar abolished all the temple service for seventy years. Why then should Daniel, who had seen and felt these greater calamities, be so much grieved at those lesser disasters of the nation? Present and sensible evils usually affect us most: and therefore that Daniel was so much more affected with the future than with the present, *was astonished, and fainted, and was sick certain days,* can be ascribed to nothing but to his foreseeing, that the future distress and misery of the nation would greatly exceed all that they sustained at present. But the calamities under Antiochus were much less, and much shorter. Those only which they suffered from the Romans, were greater and worse than the evils brought on them by Nebuchadnezzar. And "the transgression of desolation" hath now continued these 1700 years. They expect, and we expect, that at length "the sanctuary will be cleansed," and that in God's determined time his promise will be fully accomplished, (Amos ix. 11, 12. Acts xv. 16, 17.) "I will return, and will build again the tabernacle of David, which is fallen down; and I will build again the ruins thereof, and I will set it up; that the residue of men might seek after the Lord, and all the Gentiles upon whom my name is called, saith the Lord, who doeth all these things."

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[1] See Usher, Prideaux, &c. The first year of Cyrus was A.M. 3468, before Christ 536. The sanctuary was cleansed, A.M. 3839, before Christ 165.

[2] 'Et quod subditur de ægrotatione Danielis, ostenditur illam prophetæ immissam, ne extolleretur sublimitate visionum, quas solus intelligebat.' Munsterus. 'Et quod de ægrotatione sua dicit, ostenditur, illam prophetæ immissam, ne extolleretur sublimitate visionum, quas solus intelligebat.' Clarius.

This concern of Daniel, and affection for his religion and country, shew him in a very amiable light, and give an additional lustre and glory to his character. But not only in this instance, but in every other, he manifests the same public spirit, and appears no less eminently a patriot than a prophet. Though he was torn early from his country and enjoyed all the advantages that he could enjoy in foreign service, yet nothing could make him forget his native home: And in the next chapter we see him pouring out his soul in prayer, and supplicating most earnestly and devoutly for the pardon and restoration of his captive nation. It is a gross mistake therefore to think, that religion will ever extinguish or abate our love for our country. The Scriptures will rather incite and inflame it, exhibit several illustrious examples of it, and recommend and enforce this, as well as all other moral and social virtues; and especially when the interests of true religion and of our country are so blended and interwoven, that they cannot well be separated the one from the other. This is a double incentive to the love of our country; and with the same zeal that every pious Jew might say formerly, every honest Briton may say now, with the good Psalmist, (Psal. cxxii. 6, &c.) "O pray for the peace of Jerusalem; they shall prosper that love thee. Peace be within thy walls, and plenteousness within thy palaces. For my brethren and companions' sake I will wish thee prosperity: Yea, because of the house of the Lord our God I will seek to do thee good."

XVI.—DANIEL'S PROPHECY OF THE THINGS NOTED IN THE SCRIPTURE OF TRUTH.

IN TWO PARTS.—PART I.

IT is the usual method of the Holy Spirit to make the latter prophecies explanatory of the former; and revelation is (Prov. iv. 18.) "as the shining light that shineth more and more unto the perfect day." The four great empires of the world, which were shewn to Nebuchadnezzar in the form of a great image, were again more particularly represented to Daniel in the shape of four great wild beasts. In like manner, the memorable events, which were revealed to Daniel in the vision of the ram and he-goat, are here again more clearly and explicitly revealed in his last vision by an angel; so that this latter prophecy may not improperly be said to be a comment and explanation of the former. This revelation was made (x. 1.) "in the third year of Cyrus king of Persia," when Daniel was very far advanced in years. For the third year of Cyrus was the seventy-third of Daniel's captivity; and being a youth when he was carried captive, he cannot be supposed now to have been less than ninety; and not long after this, it is reasonable to believe that he died. Old as he was, he "set his heart to understand" the former revelations which had been made to him, and particularly the vision of the ram and he-goat, as I think we may collect from the sequel: and for this purpose he prayed, and fasted three weeks. His fasting and prayers had the desired effect; for an angel was sent, and said unto him, (ver. 12.) "Fear not, Daniel; for from the first day that thou didst set thine heart to understand, and to chasten thyself before thy God, thy words are heard, and I am come for thy words." And whoever would attain the same ends, and excel in divine knowledge, must pursue the same means, and habituate himself to study, temperance, and devotion. The angel declares the design of his coming, (ver. 14.) "Now I am come to make thee understand what shall befall thy people in the latter days; for yet the vision is for many days." This prophecy therefore contains the fate and fortune of the people of God for many years. As it was said before, (ver. 1.) "the thing was true, but the time appointed was long:" and consequently this prophecy must extend farther than from the third year of Cyrus to the death of Antiochus Epiphanes, which was not above 370 years.[1] In reality it comprehends many signal events after that time to the end of the world: but the types and figures of the things are not exhibited in this as in most of the other visions, and then expounded by the angel; but the angel relates the whole, and not by way of vision, but only by narration, informs Daniel of *that which is noted in the Scripture of truth.* (ver. 21.) "I will shew thee that which is noted in the Scripture of truth," as if future events were noted in a book before God: and this prophecy, being taken from *the Scripture of truth,* is therefore deserving of our strictest attention; and we may depend upon the certainty of all the particulars contained therein, if we can but rightly understand and expound them.

The angel first prophesies of the Persian empire, which was then subsisting. "Behold there shall stand up yet three kings in Persia; and the fourth shall be far richer than they all; and by his strength through his riches he shall stir up all against the realm of Grecia" (xi. 2.). "There shall stand up yet," that is, after Cyrus, the founder of the empire, who was then reigning. "Three kings in Persia;" these were Cambyses, the son of Cyrus; Smerdis the Magian, who pretended to be another son of Cyrus, but was really an impostor; and Darius, the son of Hystaspes, who married the daughter of Cyrus. "And the fourth shall be far richer than they all." The fourth after Cyrus was Xerxes, the son and successor of Darius; of whom Justin[2] truly remarks, 'If you consider this king, you may praise his riches, not the general; of which there was so great abundance in his kingdom, that when rivers were dried up by his army, yet his wealth remained unexhausted.' Pythius the Lydian[3] was at that time the richest subject in the world. He generously entertained Xerxes and all his army, and proffered him two thousand talents of silver, and three millions nine hundred ninety-three thousand pieces of gold with the stamp of Darius, towards defraying the charges of the war. But Xerxes was so far from wanting any supplies, that he rewarded Pythius for his liberality, and presented him with seven thousand Darics, to make up his number a complete round sum of four millions. Each of these Darics[4] was worth better than a guinea of our money. "And by his strength through his riches he shall stir up all (both subjects and allies) against the realm of Grecia." Xerxes's expedition into Greece is one of the most memorable adventures in ancient history. Herodotus affirms that Xerxes[5] in raising his army searched every place of the continent, and it was the greatest army that ever was brought into the field; for what nation was there, says he, that Xerxes led not out of Asia into Greece? Herodotus lived in that age; and he[6] recounts with great exactness the various nations of which Xerxes's army was composed, and computes that the whole number of horse and foot, by land and sea, out of Asia and out of Europe, soldiers and followers of the camp, amounted to five millions, two hundred eighty-three thousand, two hundred and twenty men. Nor was Xerxes content with stirring up the east, but was for stirring up[7] the west likewise, and engaged the Carthaginians in his alliance, that while he with his army overwhelmed Greece, they might fall upon the Greek colonies in Sicily and Italy: and the Carthaginians for this purpose not only raised all the forces they could in Africa, but also hired a great number of mercenaries in Spain, and Gaul, and Italy; so that their army consisted of three hundred thousand men, and their fleet of two hundred ships. Thus did Xerxes "stir up all against the realm of Grecia;" and after him no mention is made of any other king of Persia, 'It is to be noted,' saith Jerome,[8] 'that the prophet having enumerated four kings of the Persians after Cyrus, slippeth over nine, and passeth to Alexander; for the prophetic spirit did not care to follow the order of history, but only to touch upon the most famous events.' Xerxes was the principal author of the long wars and inveterate hatred between the Grecians and Persians; and as he was the last king of Persia who invaded Greece, he is mentioned last. The Grecians then in their turn invaded Asia: and Xerxes's expedition being the most memorable on one side, as Alexander's was on the other, the reigns of these two are not improperly connected together.

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[1] The third year of Cyrus was A. M. 3470, before Christ 534. Antiochus Epiphanes died A. M. 3840, before Christ 164. See Usher, Prideaux, &c.

[2] 'Si regem spectes, divitias, non ducem laudes; quarum tanta copia in regno ejus fuit, ut, cum flumina multitudine consumerentur, opes tamen regiæ superessent.' Justin. l. 2. c. 10.

[3] Herod. l. 7. § 27, &c.

[4] Bernard de ponderibus et mensuris antiquis, p. 171. Prideaux Connect. Part 1. b. 2. Anno 538. Darius the Mede 1.

Alexander is thus characterized (ver. 3.), "And a mighty king shall stand up, that shall rule with great dominion, and do according to his will." That Alexander was *a mighty king* and conqueror; that he *ruled with great dominion*, not only over Greece and the whole Persian empire, but likewise added India to his conquests; and that he *did according to his will*, none daring, not even his friends, to contradict and oppose him, or if they did, like Clitus and Callisthenes, paying for it with their lives; are facts too well known to require any particular proof or illustration.

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[5] Καὶ Ξέρξης τοῦ στρατοῦ οὕτω ἐπάγερσιν ϖοιέεται, χῶρον πάντα ἐρευνῶν τῆς ἠπείρου. *Xerxes autem ita copias suas contraxit, ut omnem continentis locum scrutaretur.*—στόλων γὰρ, τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν, ϖολλῷ δὴ μέγιστος οὗτος ἐγένετο. *nam omnium quos novimus exercituum hic multo maximus extitit.*—τί γὰρ οὐκ ἤγαγε ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίης ἔθνος ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα Ξέρξης; *quam enim ex Asia entem in Græciam non adduxit Xerxes?* Herod. l. 7. § 19–21.

[6] Herod. ibid. § 60, &c. 184, &c.

[7] Diod. Sic. l. 11. c. 1.

[8] 'Notandum quod quatuor post Cyrum regibus Persarum enumeratis, novem prætererit, et transierit ad Alexandrum. Non enim curæ fuit spiritui prophetali historiæ ordinem sequi; sed præclara quæque perstringere.' Hieron. in loc. col. 1121.

But his kingdom was soon to be broken and divided, (ver. 4.) "And when he shall stand up, his kingdom shall be broken, and shall be divided towards the four winds of heaven; and not to his posterity, nor according to his dominion which he ruled: for his kingdom shall be plucked up even for others besides those." These particulars were in good measure suggested before (viii. 8. 22.). "He waxed very great, and when he was strong, the great horn was broken; and for it came up four notable ones towards the four winds of heaven. Now that being broken, whereas four stood up for it, four kingdoms shall stand up out of the nation, but not in his power." Alexander died in Babylon,[9] having lived only thirty-two years and eight months, of which he reigned twelve years and eight months. In so short a time did this sun of glory rise and set: and in the space of about fifteen years afterwards his family and posterity became extinct, and chiefly by the means of Cassander. It was soon after Alexander's death, that his wife Statira, the daughter of Darius,[1] was murdered out of jealousy by his other wife Roxana; and her body was thrown into a well, and earth cast upon it. His natural brother Aridæus, who succeeded him in the throne by the name of Philip,[2] was together with his wife Eurydice killed by the command of Olympias the mother of Alexander, after he had borne the title of king six years and some months: and not long after Olympias[3] herself was slain in revenge by the soldiers of Cassander. Alexander Ægus, the son of Alexander by Roxana, as soon as he was born, was joined in the title of king with Philip Aridæus; and when he had attained to the fourteenth year of his age,[4] he and his mother were privately murdered in the castle of Amphipolis by order of Cassander. In the second year after this,[5] Hercules, the other son of Alexander by Barsine the widow of Memnon, was also with his mother privately murdered by Polysperchon, induced thereto by the great offers made to him by Cassander. Such was the miserable end of Alexander's family: and then the governors made themselves kings each in his province, from which title they had abstained,[6] as long as any just heir of Alexander was surviving. Thus was Alexander's kingdom "broken and divided not to his posterity," but was "plucked up even for others besides those:" and it was "divided towards the four winds of heaven;" for four of his captains, as it hath been shewn in former dissertations, prevailed over the rest, and Cassander reigned in Greece and the *west*, Lysimachus in Thrace and the *north*, Ptolemy in Egypt and the *south*, and Seleucus in Syria and the *east*.

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[9] ἐϐίω δὲ δύο καὶ τριάκοντα ἔτη, καὶ τοῦ τρίτου μῆνας ἐπέλαϐεν ὀκτὼ, ὡς λέγει Ἀριστὸϐουλος. ἐϐασίλευσε δὲ δώδεκα ἔτη, καὶ τοὺς ὀκτὼ μῆνας τούτους. *Vixit annos* XXXII, *menses* VIII, *ut auctor est Aristobulus. Regnavit annos* XII. *menses* VIII. Arrian. l. 7. c. 28.

[1] Plutarch. Alex. § 77.

[2] Diod. Sic. l. 19. c. 11. Justin. l. 14. c. 5.

[3] Diod. Sic. l. 19. c. 5. Justin. l. 14. c 6. Pausanias Bœot. sive lib. 9. c. 7.

[4] Diod. Sic. l. 19. c. 105. Justin. l. 15. c. 2. Pausanias, l. 9. c. 7.

[5] Diod. Sic. l. 20. c. 28. Justin. ibid. Pausanias. ibid.

[6] —'quoad Alexandro justus heres fuit.' Justin. l. 15. c. 2.

But though the kingdom of Alexander was divided into four principal parts, yet only two of them have a place allotted in this prophecy, Egypt and Syria. These two were by far the greatest and most considerable: and these two at one time were in a manner the only remaining kingdoms of the four; the [7] kingdom of Macedon having been conquered by Lysimachus and annexed to Thrace; and Lysimachus[8] again having been conquered by Seleucus, and the kingdoms of Macedon and Thrace annexed to Syria. These two likewise continued distinct kingdoms, after the others were swallowed up by the power of the Romans. But there is a more proper and peculiar reason for enlarging upon these two particularly;[9] because Judea lying between them was sometimes in the possession of the kings of Egypt, and sometimes of the kings of Syria; and it is the purpose of Holy Scripture, to interweave only so much of foreign affairs, as hath some relation to the Jews: and it is in respect of their situation to Judea, that the kings of Egypt and Syria are called the kings of the *south* and the *north*. "And the king of the south shall be strong, (ver. 5.) and one of his princes" (that is, of Alexander's princes), "and he shall be strong above him." There is manifestly either some redundance, or some defect[1] in the Hebrew copy: which should be rendered as it is by the Seventy,[2] *And the king of the south shall be strong, and one of his princes shall be strong above him:* or perhaps may better be rendered thus, *And the king of the south shall be strong, and one of his princes; and the king of the north shall be strong above him, and have dominion; his dominion shall be a great dominion.* The *king of the south* was indeed very *strong;* for Ptolemy[3] had annexed Cyprus, Phœnicia, Caria, and many islands, and cities, and regions to Egypt, as Jerome here commemorates out of the ancients. He had likewise enlarged the bounds of his empire, as Justin testifies, by the acquisition of Cyrene,[4] and was now become so great, that he was in a condition not so much to fear, as to be feared by his enemies. But still the king of the north, or Seleucus Nicator, was *strong above him;* for having annexed, as we have seen, the kingdoms of Macedon and Thrace to the crown of Syria, he was become master of three parts out of four of Alexander's dominions. All historians agree in representing him not only as the longest liver of Alexander's successors, but likewise as the conqueror of the conquerors.[5] Appian[6] in particular enumerates the nations which he subdued, and the cities which he built, and affirms that after Alexander he possessed the largest part of Asia; for all was subject to him from Phrygia up to the river Indus, and beyond it: and afterwards[7] he denominates him expressly, 'the greatest king of Alexander.'

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[7] Justin. l. 16 c. 3. Plutarch. in Pyrrho, § 12. Pausanius in Attic. sive l. i. c. 10.

[8] Justin. l. 17. c. 1 et 2. Appian. de Bell. Syr. c 62. Memnonis Excerpta apud Photium, c. 9.

[9] 'Idcirco autem cætera regna dimittens, Macedoniæ videlicet et Asiæ, tantum de Ægypti et Syriæ narrat regibus: quia in medio Judæa posita, nunc ab illis, nunc ab istis regibus tenebatur. Et scripturæ sanctæ propositum est, non externam absque Judæis historiam texere; sed eam quæ Israeli populo copulata est.' Hieron. in loc. col. 1122.

[1] Either the ו in ויחזק is redundant, or the words מלך הצפון are wanting.

[2] *Καὶ εἷς τῶν ἀρχόντων αὐτοῦ ἐνισχύσει ἐπ αὐτόν.* Sept.

[3] —'ad Ægyptum adjecerat Cyprum, Phœnicen, Cariam, aliasque insulas et regiones, ut hic ex antiquis commemorat Hieronymus.' Grot. The words in Jerome are, 'et multas insulas urbesque et regiones.'

Seleucus Nicator,[8] having reigned seven months after the death of Lysimachus, over the kingdoms of Macedon, Thrace, and Syria, was basely murdered; and to him succeeded in the throne of Syria his son Antiochus Soter, and to Antiochus Soter succeeded his son Antiochus Theus. At the same time Ptolemy Philadelphus reigned in Egypt after his father, the first Ptolemy, the son of Lagus. There were frequent wars between the kings of Egypt and Syria. There were so particularly between Ptolemy Philadelphus the second king of Egypt, and Antiochus Theus the third king of Syria. "And in the end of years they shall join themselves together; for the king's daughter of the south shall come to the king of the north to make an agreement: but she shall not retain the power of the arm, neither shall he stand, nor his arm; but she shall be given up, and they that brought her, and he that begat her, and he that strengthened her in these times" (ver. 6.). "And in the end of years," that is, after several years; for these wars lasted long, [9]Jerome reports out of the ancients, and Antiochus Theus fought against Ptolemy Philadelphus with all the forces of Babylon and the east. "They shall join themselves together," or *shall associate themselves:* At length they agreed to make peace upon condition, that [1] Antiochus Theus should put away his former wife Laodice and her two sons, and should marry Berenice the daughter of Ptolemy Philadelphus. "For the king's daughter of the south shall come to the king of the north to make an agreement," or *rights*: and accordingly [2] Ptolemy Philadelphus brought his daughter to Antiochus Theus, and with her an immense treasure, so that he received the appellation of *the dowry-giver*. "But she shall not retain the power of the arm," that is, her interest and power with Antiochus; for [3] after some time, in a fit of love, he brought back his former wife Laodice with her children to court again. "Neither shall he stand, nor his arm," or *his seed;* for [4] Laodice, fearing the fickle temper of her husband, lest he should recal Berenice, caused him to be poisoned; and neither did his seed by Berenice succeed him in the kingdom, but Laodice contrived and managed matters so, as to fix her eldest son Seleucus Callinicus on the throne of his ancestors. "But she shall be given up;" for Laodice not content with poisoning her husband, [5] caused also Berenice to be murdered. "And they that brought her;" for her [6] Egyptian women and attendants, endeavouring to defend her, were many of them slain with her. "And he that begat her," or rather as it is in the margin, *he whom she brought forth;* for [7] the son was murdered as well as the mother, by order of Laodice. "And he that strengthened her in these times;" her husband Antiochus, as [8] Jerome conceives; or those who took her part and defended her; or rather her father who died a little before, and was so very fond of her, [9] that he took care continually to send her fresh supplies of the water of the Nile, thinking it better for her to drink of that than of any other river, as Polybius relates.

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[4] —'terminos quoque imperii acquisita Cyrene urbe ampliaverat, factusque jam tantus erat, ut non tam timeret quam timendus ipse hostibus esset.' Justin. l. 13. c. 6.

[5] —'victoremque victorum exstitisse'—Justin. l. 17. c. 2.

[6] Appian. de Bell. Syr. c. 55. *ὡς ὡρίαι τῶδε μάλιστα μετὰ Ἀλέξανδρον τῆς Ἀσίας τὸ ϖλέον. ἀϖὸ γὰρ Φρυγίας ἐπὶ ϖοταμὸν Ἰνδὸν ἄνω, ϖάντα Σελεύκῳ κατήκουε· καὶ τὸν Ἰνδὸν ϖεράσας κ. τ. λ. quo excepto* [*Alexandro*] *nemo unquam plures terras in Asia tenuit: nam a Phrygiæ terminis Indum usque mediterranea Seleuco parebant omnia: et hoc quoque trajecto, &c.* Vide etiam c. 56. fin.

[7] —*βασιλέα τῶν ἐπὶ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ μέγιστον* —*regem post Alexandrum maximum.* ibid. c. 61.

[8] 'Quippe post menses admodum septem, &c.' Justin. l. 17. c. 2. § 4. Appian. de Bell. Syr. c. 62.

[9] 'Iste adversus Ptolemæum Philadelphum, qui secundus imperabat Ægyptiis, gessit bella quam plurima: et totis Babylonis atque orientis viribus dimicavit.' Hieron. Comment. in loc. col. 1123.

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[1] 'Volens itaque Ptolemæus Philadelphus post multos annos molestum finire certamen, filiam suam nomine Berenicen, Antiocho uxorem dedit; qui de priore uxore nomine Laodice, habebat duos filios, &c.' Hieron. ibid.

[2] 'Deduxitque eam usque Pelusium; et infinita auri et argenti millia, dotis nomine, dedit: Unde φερνοφόρος, id est, *dotalis*, appellatus est.' Hieron. ibid.

[3] — 'post multum temporis amore superatus, Laodicen cum liberis suis reduxit in regiam.' Hieron. ibid.

[4] 'Quæ metuens ambiguum viri animum ne Berenicen reduceret, virum per ministros veneno interficit, &c.' Hieron. ibid. Appian. de Bell. Syr. c. 65. 66. Valer. Maximus, l. 9. c. 14. Plin. l. 7. § 10.

[5] Hieron. ibid. Appian. ibid. Polyæni Strat. l. 8. c. 50.

[6] Hieron. ibid. αἱ δὲ ἀμφ' αὐτὴν γυναῖκες ὑπερασπίζουσαι προσαπέθανον αἱ πλειόνες. *Quæ vero circa eam erant mulieres defensionem parantes, plurimæ ceciderunt.* Polyænus ibid.

[7] Hieron. ibid. Appian. ibid. Polyæn. ibid. Justin. l. 27. c. 1.

[8] 'Rex quoque Antiochus qui confortabat eam, hoc est, per quem poterat prævalere, veneno uxoris occisus est.' Hieron. ibid.

[9] Καὶ ὁ τῆς Αἰγύπτου δὲ βασιλεὺς δεύτερος, ὁ Φιλάδελφος ἐπίκλην, ἐκδοὺς τὴν αὐτοῦ θυγατέρα Βερενίκην Ἀντιόχῳ τῷ Συρίας βασιλεῖ, ἐν ἐπιμελείᾳ εἶχε πέμπειν αὐτῇ τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦ Νείλου ὕδωρ, ἵνα μόνου τούτου τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἡ παῖς πίνῃ, ὡς ἱστορεῖ Πολύβιος. *Ptolemæus secundus Ægypti rex, cognomine Philadelphus, cum filiam Berenicen Antiocho regi Syriæ nuptum dedisset, mittendam ad ipsam Nili aquam sedulo curavit, ut eam solam gnata biberet, quod Polybius scripsit.* Athenæus l. 2. c. 6. p. 45.

But such wickedness should not pass unpunished and unrevenged. "But out of a branch of her root shall one stand up in his estate (or rather as it is translated [1] in the Vulgar Latin, *out of a branch of her root shall stand up a plant)*; and he shall come with an army, and shall enter into the fortress (or *the fenced cities)* of the king of the north, and shall deal *(shall act)* against them and shall prevail: And shall also carry captives into Egypt, their gods with their princes (or rather [2] *their gods with their molten images)*, and with their precious vessels of silver and of gold, and he shall continue more years than the king of the north (or more literally *he shall continue some years after the king of the north)*. So the king of the south shall come into his kingdom, and shall return into his own land" (ver. 7, 8, 9.). This *branch* which sprung *out of the same root* with Berenice, was Ptolemy Euergetes her brother, who no sooner succeeded his father Ptolemy Philadelphus in the kingdom, than [3] *he came with a great army, and entered into the provinces of the king of the north,* that is of Seleucus Callinicus, who with his mother Laodice reigned in Syria: and he *acted against them,* and *prevailed* so far, that he took Syria and Cilicia, and the upper parts beyond Euphrates, and almost all Asia. And when he had heard that a sedition was raised in Egypt, he plundered the kingdom of Seleucus, and took forty thousand talents of *silver* and *precious vessels* and *images of the gods,* two thousand and five hundred: among which were also those, which Cambyses, after he had taken Egypt, had carried into Persia. And for thus restoring their gods after many years, the Egyptians, who were a nation much addicted to idolatry, complimented him with the title of *Euergetes* or *the benefactor*. This is Jerome's account, extracted from ancient historians: but there are authors still extant, who confirm several of the same particulars. Appian informs us that [4] Laodice having killed Antiochus, and after him both Berenice and her child, Ptolemy the son of Philadelphus to revenge these murders invaded Syria, slew Laodice, and proceeded as far as to Babylon. From Polybius we learn, that[5] Ptolemy surnamed Euergetes, being greatly incensed at the cruel treatment of his sister Berenice, marched with an army into Syria, and took the city of Seleucia, which was kept for some years afterwards by the garrisons of the kings of Egypt. Thus did he "enter into the fortress of the king of the north." Polyænus affirms, that [6] Ptolemy made himself master of all the country from mount Taurus as far as to India without war or battle: but he ascribes it by mistake to the father instead of the son. Justin asserts, that [7] if Ptolemy had not been recalled by a domestic sedition into Egypt, he would have possessed the whole kingdom of Seleucus. *So the king of the south came into the kingdom of the north, and then returned into his own land.* He likewise *continued more years than the king of the north;* for Seleucus Callinicus[8] died in exile of a fall from his horse, and Ptolemy Euergetes[9] survived him about four or five years.

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[1] "Et stabit de germine radicum ejus plantatio." Vulg.

[2] "Deos eorum et sculptilia." Vulg. *τοὺς θεοὺς αὐτῶν μετὰ τῶν χωνευτῶν αὐτῶν.* Sept. "deos eorum cum fusilibus eorum." Arab.

[3] —'de plantatione et de germine radicis ejus, eo quod esset germanus: et venit cum exercitu magno, et ingressus est provinciam regis aquilonis, id est, Seleuci cognomento Callinici, qui cum matre Laodice regnabat in Syria: et abusus est eis; et obtinuit, in tantum ut Syriam caperet, et Ciliciam, superioresque partes trans Euphraten, et propemodum universam Asiam. Quumque audisset in Ægypto seditionem moveri, diripiens regnum Seleuci, quadraginta millia talentorum argenti tulit, et vasa pretiosa simulacraque deorum, duo millia quingenta: in quibus erant, et illa quæ Cambyses capta Ægypto, in Persas portaverat. Denique gens Ægyptiorium idololatriæ dedita, quia post multos annos deos, eorum retulerat, *Euergeten* eum appellavit.' Hieron. ad loc.

[4] Καὶ αὐτὸν ἔκτεινε Λαοδίκη, καὶ ἐπ᾽ ἐκείνῳ Βερενίκην τε καὶ τὸ Βερενίκης βρέφος. καὶ Πτολεμαῖος ὁ τοῦ Φιλαδέλφου ταῦτα τιννύμενος, Λαοδίκην τε ἔκτεινε, καὶ ἐς Συρίαν ἐνέβαλε, καὶ ἐς Βαβυλῶνα ἤλασε. *Laodice ipsum interfecit, et mox Berenicem cum infantulo. Eam injuriam Ptolemæus Philadelphi filius, ut ulcisceretur, de Laodice sumpsit supplicium, et ingressus Syriam, Babylonem usque pervenit.* Appian. de Bell. Syr. c. 65.

But his sons, that is the sons of the king of the north, should endeavour to vindicate and avenge the cause of their father and their country. "But his sons shall be stirred up, and shall assemble a multitude of great forces; and one shall certainly come, and overflow, and pass through; then shall he return, and be stirred up even to his fortress" (ver. 10.). The *sons* of Seleucus Callinicus were[1] Seleucus and Antiochus; the elder of whom, Seleucus, succeeded him in the throne, and to distinguish him from others of the same name, was denominated *Ceraunus* or *the thunderer*. Where by the way one cannot help observing the ridiculous vanity of princes in assuming or receiving such pompous appellations without deserving them. Seleucus the father was sirnamed *Callinicus* or *the famous conqueror*, though he was so far from gaining any considerable victory, that he was shamefully beaten by the Egyptians in the west, and was made a prisoner by the Parthians in the east. In like manner Seleucus the son was called *Ceraunus* or *the thunderer*, though he was so far from performing any thing worthy of the name, that he was a poor and weak prince in all respects, in mind and body and estate. Great and splendid titles, when improperly applied, are rather a satire and insult upon the persons, than any honour or commendation. Seleucus Ceraunus was indeed *stirred up, and assembled a multitude of great forces,* in order to recover his father's dominions; but [2] being destitute of money, and unable to keep his army in obedience, he was poisoned by two of his generals, after an inglorious reign of two or three years. Upon his decease his brother Antiochus Magnus was proclaimed king, who was more deserving of the title of *great,* than Seleucus was of that of *the thunderer.* The prophet's expression is very [3] remarkable, that "his sons *should* be stirred up, and assemble a multitude of great forces;" but then the number is changed, and only "one *should* certainly come, and overflow, and pass through." Accordingly [4] Antiochus came with a great army, retook Seleucia, and by the means of Theodotus the Ætolian recovered Syria, making himself master of some places by treaty, and of others by force of arms. Then [5] after a truce, wherein both sides treated of peace, but prepared for war, Antiochus *returned,* and overcame in battle Nicolaus the Egyptian general, and had thoughts of invading Egypt itself.

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[5] Συνέβαινε γὰρ Σελεύκειαν ἔτι τότε κατέχεσθαι φρουραῖς ὑπὸ τῶν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου βασιλέων, ἐκ τῶν κατὰ τὸν Εὐεργέτην ἐπικληθέντα Πτολεμαῖον καιρῶν, ἐν οἷς ἐκεῖνος διὰ τὰ Βερενίκης συμπτώματα, καὶ τὴν ὑπὲρ ἐκείνης ὀργὴν, στρατεύσας εἰς τοὺς κατὰ Συρίαν τόπους, ἐγκρατὴς ἐγένετο ταύτης τῆς πόλεως. *Adhuc illa tempestate regum Ægypti præsidiis tenebatur Seleucia, jam inde ab illis temporibus, cum Ptolemæus cognomento Euergeta, propter casum Berenicæ Seleuco regi iratus, bello Syriæ illato, ea urbe est potitus.* Polyb. l. 5. c. 58.

[6] ἀπο τοῦ Ταύρου μέχρι τῆς Ἰνδικῆς χώρας πολέμου καὶ μάχης ἐκράτησε. *a Tauro usque ad Indiam absque bello ac pugna superavit.* Polyæni Strat. l. 8. c. 50.

[7] 'Qui nisi in Ægyptum domestica seditione revocatus esset, totum regnum Seleuci occupasset.' Justin. l. 27. c. 1.

[8] Justin. l. 27. c. 3.

[9] See Usher, Prideaux, Blair, and other chronologers.

[1] 'Post fugam et mortem Seleuci Callinici, duo filii ejus Seleucus cognomento Ceraunus, et Antiochus qui appellatus est Magnus, &c.' Hieron. in loc. col. 1124. Polyb. l. 4. c. 48. Appian. de Bell. Syr. c. 66.

The king of Egypt at that time was Ptolemy Philopator, who was [6] advanced to the crown upon the death of his father Euergetes, not long after Antiochus Magnus succeeded his brother in the throne of Syria. This Ptolemy was [7] a most luxurious and vicious prince, but was roused at length by the near approach of danger. "And the king of the south shall be moved with choler, and shall come forth and fight with him, even with the king of the north: and he shall set forth a great multitude, but the multitude shall be given into his hand" (ver. 11.). Ptolemy Philopator was, no doubt, "moved with choler" for the losses which he had sustained, and for the revolt of Theodotus and others. And he "came forth;" he marched out of Egypt with a numerous army to oppose the enemy,[8] and encamped not far from Raphia, which is the nearest town to Egypt from Rhonocorura. And there he "*fought* with him, even with the king of the north;" for thither likewise came Antiochus with his army,[9] and a memorable battle was fought by the two kings. "And he (the king of the north) set forth a great multitude;" Polybius hath[1] recited the various nations of which Antiochus's army was composed, and all together it amounted to sixty-two thousand foot, six thousand horse, and 102 elephants. But yet "the multitude *was* given into his hand," that is, into the hand of the king of the south; for Ptolemy obtained a complete victory:[2] and of Antiochus's army there were slain not much fewer than ten thousand foot, more than three hundred horse, and above four thousand men were taken prisoners; whereas of Ptolemy's there was killed only fifteen hundred foot, and seven hundred horse. Upon this defeat[3] Raphia and the neighbouring towns contended who should be most forward to submit to the conqueror; and Antiochus was forced to retreat with his shattered army to Antioch, and from thence sent ambassadors to solicit a peace.

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[2] *Σελεύκῳ μὲν δὴ, ἀσθενεῖ τε ὄντι καὶ πενομένῳ, καὶ δυσπειθῆ τὸν στρατὸν ἔχοντι, ἐπεβούλευσαν οἱ φίλοι διὰ φαρμάκων, καί ἐς ἔτη δύο μόνα ἐβασίλευσεν. Seleucus nec veletudine firmus nec opibus, cum exercitum in officio continere non posset, veneno sublatus est purpuratorum perfidia, post exactum regni annum alterum.* Appian. ibid. 'Quumque Seleucus major frater, tertio anno imperii esset occisus in Phrygia, per dolum Nicanoris et Apaturii, &c.' Hieron. ibid. Polyb. ibid.

[3] 'Et propterea nunc infert, quod duo quidem filii provocati sunt, et congregaverunt multitudinem exercituum plurimorum: sed quod unus Antiochus Magnus venerit de Babylone in Syriam, &c.' Hieron. ibid.

[4] Polyb. l. 5. c. 61. Hieron. ibid.

[5] Polyb. ibid. c. 68, 69. 'Quumque pugnasset adversum duces ejus, imo proditione Theodoti obtinuisset Syriam, quæ per successionem jam a regibus Ægypti tenebatur, in tantam venit audaciam contempta luxuria Philopatoris—ut ultrò Ægyptiis bellum conaretur inferre. Hieron. ibid. Antiochus rex Syriæ, veteri inter se regnorum odio stimulante, repentino bello multas urbes ejus [Ptolemæi] oppressit, ipsamque Ægyptum aggreditur.' Justin. l. 30. c. 1.

[6] Ptolemæus in Can. Eusebius in Chron. Usher, Prideaux, and the chronologers.

[7] Polyb. l. 5. c. 34. Strabo, l. 17. p. 1146. Plutarch. in Cleomene, § 33. Justin. l. 30. c. 1.

Ptolemy Philopator was more fortunate in gaining a victory, than prudent in knowing how to make a proper advantage of it. "And when he hath taken away the multitude, his heart shall be lifted up, and he shall cast down many ten thousands; but he shall not be strengthened by it" (ver. 12.). If Ptolemy had pursued the blow that he had given, it is[4] reasonably presumed that he might have deprived Antiochus of his kingdom: but "his heart *was* lifted up" by his success; being delivered from his fears, he now more freely indulged his lusts; and after a few menaces and complaints he granted peace to Antiochus, that he might be no more interrupted in the gratification of his appetites and passions. He had before[5] murdered his father, and his mother, and his brother; and now[6] he killed his wife, who was also his sister; and[7] gave himself up entirely to the management of Agathoclea his harlot, and her brother Agathocles who was his catamite, and their mother Oenanthe who was his bawd. And[8] so forgetful of all the greatness of his name and majesty, he consumed his days in feasting, and his nights in lewdness; and became not only the spectator, but the master and leader of all wickedness. And what availed it to have conquered his enemies, when he was thus overcome by his vices? he was so far from being "strengthened by it," that even[9] his own subjects, offended at his inglorious peace, and more inglorious life, rebelled against him. But the prophet in this passage alluded more particularly to the case of his own countrymen. After the retreat of Antiochus, Ptolemy visited the cities of Cœle Syria and Palestine,[1] which had submitted to him; and among others in his progress he came to Jerusalem. He there offered sacrifices, and was desirous of entering into the holy of holies, contrary to the custom and religion of the place, being (as the[2] writer of the third book of Maccabees says) greatly lifted up by pride and confidence. His curiosity was restrained with great difficulty, and he departed with heavy displeasure against the whole nation of the Jews. At his return therefore to Alexandria, he began a cruel persecution upon the Jewish inhabitants of that city, who had resided there from the time of Alexander, and enjoyed the privileges of the most favoured citizens. "And he cast down many ten thousands;" for it appears from Eusebius,[3] that about this time forty thousand Jews were slain, or sixty thousand as they are reckoned in Jerome's Latin interpretation. No king could be *strengthened* by the loss of such a number of useful subjects. The loss of so many Jews, and the rebellion of the Egyptians, added to the mal-administration of the state, must certainly very much weaken, and almost totally ruin the kingdom.

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[8] Polyb. l. 5. c. 80. Hieron. ibid.

[9] Polyb. ibid. Strabo, l. 16. p. 1102. Hieron. ibid.

[1] Polyb. l. 5. c. 79. Καὶ τῆς μὲν Ἀντιόχου δυνάμεως τὸ πλῆθος ἦν, πεζοὶ μὲν ἑξακισμύριοι καὶ δισχίλιοι, σὺν δὲ τούτοις ἱππεῖς ἑξακισχίλιοι, ϑηρία δὲ δυσὶ πλείω τῶν ἑκατόν. *Summa totius exercitus Antiochi; peditum duo et sexaginta millia; equitum sex; elephanti duo supra centum.*

[2] ἦσαν δὲ οἱ τετελευτηκότες τῶν παρ' Ἀντιόχου, πεζοὶ μὲν οὐ πολὺ λείποντες μυρίων, ἱππεῖς δὲ πλείους τριακοσίων· ζωγρείᾳ δ' ἑάλωσαν ὑπὲρ τοὺς τετρακισχιλιούς.—τῶν δὲ παρὰ Πτολεμαίου, πεζοὶ μὲν εἰς χιλίους καὶ πεντακοσίους ἐτελεύτησαν, ἱππεῖς δὲ εἰς ἑπτακοσίους. *Desideravit autem e suis Antiochus non multo pauciores decem millibus peditum: equites trecentos et eo plures: capti sunt vivi supra quatuor millia.—E Ptolemaicis occisi sunt pedites mille et quingenti: equites septingenti.* Polyb. l. 5. c. 86. 'Inito ergo certamine juxta oppidum Raphiæ, quod in foribus Ægypti est, omnem Antiochus amisit exercitum, &c.' Hieron. ibid.

[3] Polyb. ibid. 'Quumque cessisset Syria, ad extremum fœdere, et quibusdam conditionibus pugna finita est.' Hieron. ibid.

[4] Justin. l. 30. c. 1.——'spoliassetque regno Antiochum, si fortunam virtute juvisset.' Polyb. l. 5. c. 87.

[5] Justin. l. 29. c. 1. Polyb. l. 5. c. 34.

[6] Justin. l. 30. c. 1. Polyb. l. 15. c. 25.

Peace was to continue between the two crowns of Egypt and Syria for some years, and then the king of the north should attempt another invasion. "For the king of the north shall return, and shall set forth a multitude greater than the former, and shall certainly come, after certain years (*at the end of these times,* that is, years) with a great army, and with much riches" (ver. 13.). The following events, you see, were not to take place till "after certain years;" and the peace continued between the two crowns[4] about fourteen years. In that time Ptolemy Philopator[5] died of intemperance and debauchery, and was succeeded by his son Ptolemy Epiphanes, a child of four or five years old. Antiochus too,[6] having taken and slain the rebel Achæus, and having[7] also reduced and settled the eastern parts in their obedience, was at leisure to prosecute any enterprise, and could not let slip so favourable an opportunity of extending his dominions. He had acquired great riches, and collected many forces in his eastern expedition; so that he was enabled to "set forth a greater multitude than the former," and he doubted not to have an easy victory over an infant king. Polybius expressly informs us,[8] that from the king of Bactria and from the king of India he received so many elephants as made up his number 150, besides provisions and riches. Jerome out of ancient authors affirms,[9] that he gathered together an incredible army out of the countries beyond Babylon; and contrary to the league he marched with this army, Ptolemy Philopator being dead, against his son, who was then four years old, and was called Ptolemy Epiphanes, or the illustrious. Justin also says,[1] that Ptolemy Philopator king of Egypt being dead, in contempt of the childhood of his son, who being left heir to the kingdom was a prey even to his domestics, Antiochus king of Syria resolved to take possession of Egypt; as if the thing were as easily executed, as resolved.

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[7] Plutarch in Cleomene, § 33. Polyb. l. 15. passim. Justin. l. 30. c. 1 et 2.

[8] 'Atque ita omnem magnitudinem nominis ac majestatis oblitus, noctes in stupris, dies in conviviis consumit—nec jam spectator rex, sed magister nequitiæ.' Justin. ibid. c. 1.

[9] Polyb. l. 5. c. 107.

[1] For these particulars the third book of Maccabees must be consulted.

[2] ὕβρει καὶ θράσει μεγάλως ἐπηρμένον. 3 Macc. ii. 21.

[3] Ἰουδαῖοι ληφθέντες, τεσσαράκοντα χιλιάδας ὁπλιτῶν ἀποβαλόμενοι. Eusebii Chron. p. 185. 'Victi Judæi: et LX millia armatorum ex numero eorum cæsi.' Interprete Hieron. p. 143.

But Antiochus was not the only one who rose up against young Ptolemy. Others also confederated with him. "And in those times there shall many stand up against the king of the south: also the robbers of thy people shall exalt themselves to establish the vision, but they shall fall" (ver. 14.). Agathocles[2] was in possession of the young king's person; and he was so dissolute and proud in the exercise of his power, that the provinces which before were subject to Egypt rebelled, and Egypt itself was disturbed by seditions; and the people of Alexandria rose up in a body against Agathocles, and caused him, and his sister, and mother, and their associates, to be put to death. Philip too the king of Macedon[3] entered into a league with Antiochus, to divide Ptolemy's dominions between them, and each to take the parts which lay nearest and most convenient to him. And this is the meaning, as Jerome concludes,[4] of the prophet's saying, that many shall rise up together against the king of the south. "Also the robbers of thy people." It is literally[5] *the sons of the breakers,* the sons of the revolters, the factious and refractory ones, *of thy people;* for the Jews were at that time *broken* into factions, part adhering to the king of Egypt, and part to the king of Syria; but the majority were for *breaking away* from their allegiance to Ptolemy. In the Vulgate it is translated,[6] *the sons also of the prevaricators of thy people;* in the Septuagint, *the sons of the pestilent ones of thy people.* What shall they do? "shall exalt themselves to establish the vision;" shall revolt from Ptolemy, and thereby shall contribute greatly, without their knowing it, towards the accomplishment of this prophecy concerning the calamities, which should be brought upon the Jewish nation by the succeeding kings of Syria. That the Jews revolted from Ptolemy is evident from what Jerome affirms,[7] that the provinces which before were subject to Egypt rebelled: and heathen authors intimate,[8] that Antiochus took possession of the cities of Cœle-Syria and Palestine without any opposition, at least they do not mention any. "But they shall fall;" for Scopas[9] came with a powerful army from Ptolemy, and, Antiochus being engaged in other parts, soon reduced the cities of Cœle-Syria and Palestine to their former obedience. He subdued the Jews in the winter season, placed a garrison in the castle of Jerusalem, and returned with great spoils to Alexandria; for he was[1] noted above all men for his avarice and rapacity. The expression of Josephus is remarkable,[2] that the Jews submitted to Scopas by force, but to Antiochus they submitted willingly.

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[4] See Usher, Prideaux, and the chronologers.

[5] Ptolem. in Canone, Eusebius, Justin. l. 30. c. 2. Hieron. &c.

[6] Polyb. l. 8. c. 23.

[7] Polyb. l. 10 et 11. Appian. de Bell. Syr. in principio.

[8] Καὶ λαβὼν ἐλεφαντας, ὥστε γενέσθαι τοὺς ἅπαντας εἰς ἑκατὸν καὶ πεντήκοντα κ. τ. λ. *ibi quoque elephantos alios accepit, ut jam centum quinquaginta bestias haberet, &c.* Polyb. l. 11. c. 34.

[9] —'incredibilem de superioribus locis Babylonis exercitum congregavit. Et Ptolemæo Philopatore mortuo adversum filium ejus, qui tunc quatuor annorum erat, et vocabatur Ptolemæus Ἐπιφανης, rupto fœdere movit exercitum.' Hieron. in loc. col. 1124.

[1] 'Mortuo Ptolemæo Philopatore rege Ægypti, contemptàque parvuli filii ejus ætate, qui in spem regni relictus prædæ etiam domesticis erat, Antiochus rex Syriæ occupare Ægyptum statuit.' Justin. l. 31. c. 1.

[2] Polyb. l. 15. c. 25. 'Tantæ enim dissolutionis et superbiæ Agathocles fuit, ut subditæ prius Ægypto provinciæ rebellarent; ipsaque Ægyptus seditionibus vexaretur.' Hieron. in loc. Justin. l.30. c.2

It was in the absence of Antiochus, that these advantages were obtained by the arms of Egypt, but his presence soon turned the scale, and changed the whole face of affairs. "So the king of the north shall come, and cast up a mount, and take the most fenced cities (or *the city of munitions*), and the arms of the south shall not withstand, neither his chosen people, neither shall there be any strength to withstand. But he that cometh against him shall do according to his own will, and none shall stand before him: and he shall stand in the glorious land, which by his hand shall be consumed" (ver. 15, 16.). Antiochus[3] being willing to recover Judea, and the cities of Cœle-Syria and Palestine, which Scopas had taken, came again into those parts. Scopas was sent again to oppose him, and Antiochus fought with him near the sources of the river Jordan, destroyed a great part of his army, and pursued him to Sidon, where he shut him up with ten thousand men, and closely besieged him. Three famous generals were sent from Egypt to raise the siege; but they could not succeed, and at length Scopas was forced by famine to surrender upon the hard conditions of having life only granted to him and his men; they were obliged to lay down their arms, and were sent away stript and naked. This event, I conceive, was principally intended by his *casting up a mount, and taking the city of munitions;* for Sidon was an exceeding strong city in its situation and fortifications. But if we take the phrase more generally, as our translators understand it, Antiochus, after the success of this battle and of this siege, reduced other countries and took other *fenced cities,* which are mentioned by [4]Polybius, and recited by Jerome out of the Greek and Roman historians. "The arms of the south *could* not withstand *him,* neither his chosen people," neither Scopas, nor the other great generals, nor the choicest troops who were sent against him: but he "*did* according to his own will, and none *was able to* stand before him;" for he soon [5]rendered himself master of all Cœle-Syria and Palestine. Among others[6] the Jews also readily submitted to him, went forth in solemn procession to meet him, received him splendidly into their city, supplied him with plenty of provisions for all his army and elephants, and assisted him in besieging the garrison, which Scopas had left in the citadel. Thus he "*stood* in the glorious land," and his power was established in Judea. "Which by his hand shall be consumed:"

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[3] 'Philippus quoque rex Macedonum, et magnus Antiochus pace facta, adversum Agathoclen et Ptolemæum Epiphanem dimicarent, sub hac conditione, ut proximas civitates regno suo singuli de regno Ptolemæi jungerent.' Hieron. ibid. Polyb. l. 3. c. 2. l. 15. c. 20. Justin. ibid.

[4] 'Et hoc est quod nunc dicit multos consurgere adversùs regem Austri, Ptolemæum scilicet Epiphanem, qui erat ætate puerili.' Hieron. ibid.

[5] ובני פריצי עמך. Vide 1 Sam. xxv. 10.

[6] "Filii quoque prævaricatorum populi tui." Vulg. *οἱ υἱοὶ τῶν λοιμῶν τοῦ λαοῦ σοῦ.* Sept.

[7] —'ut subditæ prius Ægypto provinciæ rebellarent.' Hieron. ibid.

[8] Polyb. l. 3. c. 2. Appian. de Bell. Syr. § 1.

[9] Hieron. in loc. col. 1125. Polyb. apud Joseph. et Joseph. Antiq. l. 12. c. 3. § 3.

[1] Polyb. l. 18. c. 38.

[2] *πολεμούμενον γὰρ αὐτῷ προσέθετο oppugnata enim, in ejus partes concessit. ἑκουσίως αὐτῷ προσέθεντο Ἰουδαῖοι. Judæi ultro deditionem fecerunt.* Joseph. Antiq. l. 12. c. 3. § 3.

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[3] 'Antiochus enim volens Judæam recuperare, et Syriæ urbes plurimas, Scopam ducem Ptolemæi juxta fontes Jordanis, ubi nunc Paneas condita est, inito certamine fugavit, et cum decem millibus armatorum obsedit clausum in Sidone. Ob quem liberandum misit Ptolemæus duces inclytos Eropum, et Menoclem, et Damoxenum. Sed obsidionem solvere non potuit: donec fame superatus Scopas manus dedit, et nudus cum sociis dimissus est.' Hieron. ibid. Joseph. ibid. Valesii Excerpta ex Polyb. p. 77, &c.

[4] Polyb. apud Joseph. ibid. Hieron. ibid.

[5] Liv. l. 33. c. 19. Justin. l. 31. c. 1. Polyb. Legat. 72. l. 28. c. 1.

[6] Josephus Antiq. l. xii. c. 3. § 3.

So this passage is generally understood and translated, and commentators hereupon observe that [7] Josephus relates, that, ‘Antiochus the Great reigning in Asia, the Jews, their country being wasted, suffered many things, as well as the inhabitants of Cœle-Syria. For Antiochus warring against Ptolemy Philopator, and against his son Ptolemy Epiphanes, it was their fate to suffer, whether he was conqueror, or was beaten, so that they were like a ship tost in a tempest, and lying between both were sure to suffer, whichever side prevailed.’ But then they could not be said to be *consumed by the hand of Antiochus* particularly; they were consumed as much or more by Scopas: and the word is capable of another interpretation, which agrees as well with the truth of the Hebrew, and better with the truth of history. It may be translated, *Which shall be perfected*, or prosper, or flourish, *in his hand*. The original will well admit of this sense, and the event confirms it. For Antiochus, to reward and encourage the Jews in their fidelity and obedience to him,[8] gave order that their city should be repaired, and the dispersed Jews should return and inhabit it; that they should be supplied with cattle and other provisions for sacrifices; that they should be furnished with timber and other materials for finishing and adorning the temple; that they should live all according to the laws of their country; that the priests and elders, the scribes and Levites should be exempted from the capitation and other taxes; that those who then inhabited the city, or should return to it within a limited time, should be free from all tribute for three years, and the third part of their tribute should be remitted to them for ever after; and also that as many as had been taken and forced into servitude, should be released, and their substance and goods be restored to them. Where Grotius remarks,[9] that what is said about *finishing* and *completing* the temple, answers exactly to the word *perfected* or *consummated* in the Hebrew. Thus also[1] the Seventy translate it, and thus Theodoret explains it; ‘*And it shall be*

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[7] Τοὺς γὰρ Ἰουδαίους, ἐπ᾽ Ἀντιόχου τοῦ Μεγάλου βασιλεύοντος τῆς Ἀσίας, ἔτυχεν αὐτούς τε πολλὰ ταλαιπωρῆσαι τῆς γῆς αὐτῶν κακουμένης, καὶ τοὺς τὴν Κοίλην Συρίαν νεμομένους. πολεμοῦντος γὰρ αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸν Εὐπάτορα Πτολεμαῖον, καὶ πρὸς τὸν ὑιὸν αὐτοῦ Πτολεμαῖον, τὸν κληθέντα Ἐπιφανῆ, κακοπαθεῖν συνέβαινεν αὐτοῖς καὶ νικῶντος, καὶ πταίοντος ταῦτα πάσχειν. ὥστ᾽ οὐδὲν ἀπέλειπον χειμαζομένης νεὼς, καὶ πονουμένης εκατέρωθεν ὑπο τοὺ κλύδωνος, μεταξὺ τῆς εὐπραγίας τῆς Ἀντιόχου, καὶ τῆς ἐπὶ θάτερον αὐτοῦ τροπῆς τῶν πραγμάτων κείμενοι. *Regnante in Asia Antiocho Magno, accidit ut tum Judæi terra eorum vastata, tum qui Cælen-Syriam incolebant, multa adversa paterentur. Eo enim belligerante adversus Ptolemæum Eupatorem* [Alibi constanter *Philopatorem* eum vocat] *et ejus filium cognomine Epiphanem, contigit illis, ut si is superior fuerit, affligerentur, si inferior, plane eadem paterentur: adeo ut haud dissimiles essent navi in tempestate, fluctibus utrinque vexatæ, ut qui in medio jacerent, dum et Antiocho res prospere cederent et in contrarias partes mutarentur.* Joseph. ibid.

[1] Vide Epist. Antiochi apud Joseph. ibid.

[9] ‘Ubi ἀπαρτισθῆναι est quod hic כלה quod alibi per συντελεῖν (*consummare*) alibi per τελειοῦν (*finire*) aut πληροῦν (*implere*) vertunt lxx.’ Grot. in locum.

[1] Καὶ τελεσθήσεται ἐν τῇ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ. Sept.

perfected by his hand, that is, it shall prosper; for so likewise Josephus hath taught us in his history, that the Jews of their own accord having received Antiochus, were greatly honoured by him.'[2]

Antiochus the Great, like other ambitious princes, the more he attained, aspired the more to conquest and dominion. "He shall also set his face to enter with the strength of his whole kingdom, and upright ones with him: thus shall he do, and he shall give him the daughter of women corrupting her (or *to corrupt her*): but she shall not stand on his side, neither be for him," (ver. 17.) "He shall also set his face to enter with the strength of his whole kingdom," or rather *He shall also set his face to enter by force the whole kingdom:* and Antiochus not contented with having rent the principal provinces from Egypt, was forming schemes [3] to seize upon the whole kingdom. "And upright ones with him; thus shall he do:" If this translation be right, *the upright ones* here intended are the Jews, who marched under the banners of Antiochus, and are so denominated to distinguish them from the other idolatrous soldiers. But the Seventy and the Vulgar Latin [4] exhibit a much more probable translation, that *he shall set things right,* or *make agreement with him,* as the phrase is used before (ver. 6.). Antiochus would have seized upon the kingdom of Egypt by force: but as he was [5] meditating a war with the Romans, he judged it better to proceed by stratagem, and to carry on his designs by treaty rather than by arms. For this purpose "he shall give him the daughter of women," his daughter, so called as being one of the most eminent and beautiful of women: and accordingly [6] Antiochus proposed a treaty of marriage by Eucles the Rhodian, betrothed his daughter Cleopatra to Ptolemy in the seventh year of his reign, and married her to him in the thirteenth. He conducted her himself to Raphia, where they were married; and gave in dowry with her the provinces of Cœle-Syria and Palestine, upon condition of the revenues being equally divided between the two kings. All this he transacted with a fraudulent intention, *to corrupt her,* and induce her to betray her husband's interests to her father. But his designs did not take effect;

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[2] Καὶ συντελεσθήσεται ἐν τῇ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ] Τουτέστιν εὐοδωθήσεται· οὕτω γὰρ ἡμᾶς καὶ ὁ Ἰώσηππος διὰ τῆς ἱστορίας ἐδίδαξεν, ὅτι αὐτόματοι τὸν Ἀντίοχον οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι δεξάμενοι σφόδρα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐτιμήθησαν. *Hoc est, prospere ei succedet. Sic enim nos item Josephus docuit in historia, Judæos Antiocho ultro accepto, magno in honore ab illo habitos fuisse.* Theod. in locum.

[3] Κατὰ σπουδὴν ὁ Ἀντίοχος ἀπῄει, ὡς Αἴγυπτον ἔρημον ἄρχοντος ἁρπασόμενος. *properavit in Ægyptum, ut occuparet orbatam principe.* Appian. de Bell. Syr. c. 4. 'Antiochus rex Syriæ occupare Ægyptum statuit.' Justin. l. 31. c. 1.

[4] Καὶ εὐθεῖα πάντα μετ' αὐτοῦ ποιήσει. Sept. "Et recta faciet cum eo." Vulg.

[5] Appian. de Bell. Syr. c. 5.

[6] ——'filiam suam Cleopatram per Euclem Rhodium, septimo anno regni adolescentis, despondit Ptolemæo, et tertio decimo anno tradidit, data ei dotis nomine omni Cæle-Syria et Judæa.' Hieron. in loc. col. 1126. Appian. de Bell. Syr c. 5. Liv. l. 35. c. 13. Joseph. Antiq. l. 12. c. 4. § 1.

"she shall not stand on his part, neither be for him." Ptolemy and his generals[7] were aware of his artifices, and therefore stood upon their guard: and Cleopatra herself affected more the cause of her husband than of her father; insomuch that[8] she joined with her husband in an embassy to the Romans to congratulate them upon the victories over her father, and to exhort them, after they had expelled him out of Greece, to prosecute the war in Asia, assuring them at the same time that the king and queen of Egypt would readily obey the commands of the senate.

Antiochus having, as he thought, secured all things behind him, engaged in an unhappy war with the Romans. "After this shall he turn his face unto the isles, and shall take many: but a prince for his own behalf shall cause the reproach offered by him, to cease; without his own reproach he shall cause it to turn upon him" (ver. 18.). Antiochus[9] fitted out a formidable fleet of one hundred large ships of war, and two hundred other lesser vessels. With this fleet "he *turned* his face unto the isles" of the Mediterranean; subdued most of the maritime places on the coasts of Asia, Thrace, and Greece; and *took* Samos, Eubœa, and *many* other islands. This was a great indignity and *reproach offered* to the Romans,[1] when their confederates were thus oppressed, and the cities, which they had lately restored to liberty, were enslaved. *But a prince,* or rather *a leader, a general,* meaning the Roman generals, repelled the injury, and *caused his reproach to cease.* Acilius the consul[2] fought with Antiochus at the straits of Thermopylæ, routed him, and expelled him out of Greece: Livius and Æmilius beat his fleets at sea: and Scipio finally obtained a decisive victory over him in Asia near the city Magnesia at the foot of mount Sipylus. Antiochus lost fifty thousand foot, and four thousand horse in that day's engagement: fourteen hundred were taken prisoners, and he himself escaped with difficulty. Upon this defeat he was necessitated to sue for peace,[3] and was obliged to submit to very dishonourable conditions, not to set foot in Europe, and to quit all Asia on this side of mount Taurus, to defray the whole charges of the war, &c. and to give twenty hostages for the performance of these articles, one of whom was his youngest son Antiochus afterwards called Epiphanes. By these means [4] he and his successors became tributary to the Romans: so truly and effectually did they not only "cause the reproach offered by him to cease," but greatly to their honour "*caused* it to turn upon him."

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[7] 'Ptolemæus Epiphanes et duces ejus sentientes dolum, cautius se egerunt, et Cleopatra magis viri partes, quam parentis fovit.' Hieron. ibid.

[8] 'Legati ab Ptolemæo et Cleopatra, regibus Ægypti, gratulantes quod Manius Acilius consul Antiochum regem Græcia expulisset, venerunt: adhortantesque ut in Asiam exercitum traduceret —— reges Ægypti ad ea, quæ censuisset senatus, paratos fore.' Liv. l. 37. c. 3.

[9] Liv. l. 33. c. 19, 20. 38, &c. Appian. de Bell. Syr. c. 3 6. 12. Hieron. in loc. Aurel. Victor de Viris Ill. c. 54. 'statimque Græciam insulasque ejus occupavit.'

[1] Appian. de Bell. Syr. c. 3. sq. Liv. l. 33. c. 39. l. 34. c. 58. Polyb. l. 18. c. 33. sqq.

[2] Liv. l. 36 et 37. Appian. de Bell. Syr. c. 18. 22. Florus, l. 2. c. 8. Justin. l. 31. c. 6, 7. 8.

[3] Polyb. Legat. 24. l. 21. c. 13, 14. Liv. l. 37. c. 45. Appian. de Bell. Syr. c. 30—36. Justin. ibid.

Antiochus did not long survive this disgrace; and the latter end of his life and reign was as mean, as the former part had been glorious. "Then shall he turn his face towards the fort of his own land: but he shall stumble and fall, and not be found" (ver. 19.). Antiochus after the battle,[5] fled away that night to Sardes, and from thence to Apamea, and the next day he came into Syria, to Antioch, "the fort of his own land." It was from thence that he sent ambassadors to sue for peace; and[6] within a few days after peace was granted, he sent part of the money demanded, and the hostages to the Roman consul at Ephesus. He is[7] reported indeed to have borne his losses with great equanimity and temper, and said that he was much obliged to the Romans for easing him from a great deal of care and trouble, and for confining him within the bounds of a moderate empire. But whatever he might pretend, he lived in distress and poverty for a great king, being under the greatest difficulties how to raise the money which he had stipulated to pay to the Romans: and his necessity or his avarice prompted him at last to commit sacrilege. He[8] marched into the eastern provinces, to collect there the arrears of tribute, and amass what treasure he could: and attempting to plunder the rich temple of Jupiter Belus in Elymaïs, he was assaulted by the inhabitants of the country, was defeated, and himself and all his attendants were slain. So Diodorus Siculus, Strabo, Justin, and Jerome relate the manner and circumstances of his death. Aurelius Victor reports it otherwise, and affirms[9] that he was slain by some of his companions, whom in his liquor he had beaten at a banquet; but his account deserves not so much credit as the concurrent testimony of earlier historians. However it was, his death was inglorious, he *stumbled and fell, and was no more found.*

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[4] 1 Macc. viii. 7.

[5] Liv. l. 37. c. 44. Appian. de Bell. Syr. c. 36.

[6] Polyb. Legat. 24. l. 21. c. 14. Liv. l. 37. c. 45.

[7] Cicero pro Deiotaro, c. 13. Valerius Maximus, l. 4. c. 1.

[8] Diodor. Sic. in Excerpt. Valesii. p. 292 et 298. Strabo, l. 16. p. 1080. 'Interea in Syria rex Antiochus, cum gravi tributo pacis, a Romanis victus, oneratus esset, seu inopia pecuniæ compulsus, seu avaritia sollicitatus, qua sperabat se, sub specie tributariæ necessitatis, excusatius sacrilegia commissurum, adhibito exercitu, nocte templum Elymæi Jovis aggreditur. Qua re prodita, concursu insulanrium, cum omni militia interficitur. Justin. l. 32. c. 2. 'Victus ergo Antiochus, intra Taurum regnare jussus est; et inde fugit ad Apamiam, ac Susam, et ultimas regni sui penetravit urbes. Quumque adversum Elymæos pugnaret, cum omni est deletus exercitu.' Hieron. in loc.

[9] 'A sodalibus, quos temulentus in convivio pulsaverat, occisus est.' Aurel. Victor de Viris Illustr. c. 54.

His successor was far from retrieving the splendour and glory of the nation. "Then shall stand up in his estate a raiser of taxes in the glory of the kingdom (or rather, according to the original, and as we read in the margin, *one that causeth an exactor to pass over the glory of the kingdom;*) but within few days he shall be destroyed, neither in anger, nor in battle" (ver. 20.). Seleucus Philopator succeeded his father Antiochus the Great in the throne of Syria: but as Jerome[1] affirms, he performed nothing worthy of the empire of Syria and of his father, and perished ingloriously without fighting any battles. As Appian also testifies, he reigned[2] both idly and weakly, by reason of his father's calamity. He had an inclination to break the peace, and shake off the Roman yoke; but had not the courage to do it. He[3] raised an army with intent to march over mount Taurus to the assistance of Pharnaces king of Pontus: but his dread of the Romans confined him at home, within the bounds prescribed to him; and almost as soon as he had raised, he disbanded his army. The tribute of a thousand talents, which he was obliged to pay annually to the Romans, was indeed a grievous burden to him and his kingdom: and he was little more than "a raiser of taxes" all his days. He was tempted even to commit sacrilege; for[4] being informed of the money that was deposited in the temple of Jerusalem, he sent his treasurer Heliodorus to seize it. This was literally *causing an exactor to pass over the glory of the kingdom,* when he sent his treasurer to plunder that temple, which[5] "even kings did honour and magnify with their best gifts," and where Seleucus himself, "of his own revenues, bare all the costs belonging to the service of the sacrifices." "*But within few days* (or rather *years* according to the prophetic style) he *was to* be destroyed;" and his reign was of short duration in comparison of his father's; for he[6] reigned only twelve years, and his father thirty-seven. Or perhaps the passage may be better expounded thus, that *within few days* or *years,* after his attempting to plunder the temple of Jerusalem, he should *be destroyed:* and not long after that, as all chronologers agree, he was "destroyed, neither in anger nor in battle," neither in rebellion at home, nor in war abroad, but[7] by the treachery of his own treasurer Heliodorus. The same wicked hand, that was the instrument of his sacrilege, was also the instrument of his death. Seleucus having sent his only son Demetrius to be an hostage at Rome[8] instead of his brother Antiochus, and Antiochus being not yet returned to the Syrian court, Heliodorus thought this a fit opportunity to despatch his master, and in the absence of the next heirs to the crown, to usurp it to himself. But he was disappointed in his ambitious projects, and only made way for another's usurped greatness, instead of his own.

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[1] 'Seleucum dicit cognomento Philopatorem filium magni Antiochi, qui nihil dignum Syriæ, et patris gessit imperio; et absque ullis præliis inglorius periit.' Hieron. in loc.

[2] —ἀπράκτως ἅμα καὶ ἀσθενῶς, διὰ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς συμφοράν. *otiosus nec admodum potens, propter cladem quam pater acceperat.* Appian. de Bell. Syr. c. 66.

[3] Diod. Sic. in Excerpt. Valesii. p. 302. Usher's Annals, A. M. 3823. A. C. 181. p. 403.

[4] 2 Macc. iii. 7. Josephus de Maccabæis, § 4.

[5] 2 Macc. iii. 2, 3.

[6] Vide Appian. de Bell. Syr. c. 66.

[7] ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς Ἡλιοδώρου τινὸς τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν ἀποθνήσκει. *insidiis Heliodori cujus-*

Few circumstances are mentioned relating to Seleucus Philopator; many more particulars are predicted of his brother and successor Antiochus Epiphanes, as he was indeed a more extraordinary person, and likewise a greater enemy and oppressor of the Jews. "And in his estate shall stand up a vile person, to whom they shall not give the honour of the kingdom: but he shall come in peaceably, and obtain the kingdom by flatteries" (ver. 21.). Antiochus returning from Rome, [9] was at Athens in his way to Syria, when his brother Seleucus died by the treachery of Heliodorus: and "the honour of the kingdom *was* not *given to him*;" for Heliodorus attempted to get possession of it himself; another [1] party declared in favour of Ptolemy Philometor king of Egypt, whose mother Cleopatra was the daughter of Antiochus the Great, and sister of the late king Seleucus; and neither was Antiochus Epiphanes the right heir to the crown, but his nephew Demetrius the son of Seleucus, who was then an hostage at Rome. However he "*obtained* the kingdom by flatteries." He flattered [2] Eumenes king of Pergamus and Attalus his brother, and by fair promises engaged their assistance, and they the more readily assisted him, as they were at that juncture jealous of the Romans, and were willing therefore to secure a friend in the king of Syria. He flattered too [3] the Syrians, and with great show of clemency obtained their concurrence. He flattered also the [4] Romans, and sent ambassadors to court their favour, to pay them the arrears of tribute, to present them besides with golden vessels of five hundred pounds weight, and to desire that the friendship and alliance, which they had had with his father, might be renewed with him, and that they would lay their commands upon him as upon a good and faithful confederate king; he would never be wanting in any duty. Thus "he *came* in peaceably;" and as he flattered the Syrians, the Syrians flattered him again, and bestowed upon him the title of [5] *Epiphanes* or *the il-*

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dam purpurati oppressus est. App. de Bell. Syr. c. 45.

[8] Vide Appian. ibid.

[9] Appian. ibid.

[1] Hieron. in loc. col. 1127.

[2] Appian. ibid.

[3] 'Simulatione clementiæ obtinuit regnum Syriæ.' Hieron. ibid.

[4] Liv. l. 42. c. 6. 'Petere regem, ut quæ cum patre suo societas atque amicitia fuisset, ea secum renovaretur: imperaretque sibi populus Romanus, quæ bono fidelique socio regi essent imperanda; se nullo usquam cessaturum officio.'

[5] Appian. de Bell. Syr. c. 45.

lustrious: but the epithet of *vile* or rather *despicable,* given him by the prophet, agrees better with his true character. For, as Polybius [6] and other heathen historians describe him, he would steal out of the palace, and ramble about the streets in disguise; would mix with the lowest company, and drink and revel with them to the greatest excess; would put on the Roman gown, and go about canvassing for votes, in imitation of the candidates for offices at Rome; would sometimes scatter money in the streets among his followers, and sometimes pelt them with stones; would wash in the public baths, and expose himself by all manner of ridiculous and indecent gestures; with a thousand such freaks and extravagances, as induced [7] Polybius who was a contemporary writer, and others after him, instead of *Epiphanes* or *the illustrious,* more rightly to call him *Epimanes* or *the madman.*

But frantic and extravagant as he was, he was however successful and victorious. "And with the arms of a flood shall they be overflown from before him (or rather more agreeably to the [8] original, *And the arms of the overflower shall be overflown from before him*), and shall be broken; yea also the prince of the covenant: and after the league made with him he shall work deceitfully" (ver. 22, 23.). "The arms which were overflown from before him," were those of his competitors for the crown, Heliodorus [9] the murderer of Seleucus and his partizans, as well as those of the king of Egypt, who had formed some designs upon Syria, were vanquished by the forces of Eumenes and Attalus, and were dissipated by the arrival of Antiochus, whose presence disconcerted all their measures. "The prince also of the covenant was broken," that is, the high priest of the Jews; and so [1] Theodoret understands and explains it. '*The prince of the covenant:* He speaketh of the pious high priest, the brother of Jason, and foretelleth, that even he should be turned out of his office.' As soon as Antiochus was seated in the throne, he removed Onias from the high priesthood, and preferred Jason the brother of Onias to that dignity, not for any crime committed against him by the former, but for the great sums of money which were offered to him by the latter.[2] For Jason offered to give him no less than three hundred and sixty talents of silver for the high priesthood, besides eighty more upon another account: and good Onias was not only displaced to make way for a wicked usurper, but after a few years, living at Antioch, he was with as great treachery as cruelty murdered by the king's deputy. But though Antiochus had *made a league* with Jason the new high priest, yet he did not faithfully adhere to it, but acted *deceitfully*. For Menelaus the brother of Jason[3] being sent to the Syrian court, with a commission from his brother, to pay the tribute, and to transact some business with the king; he by his address and flattery so far insinuated himself into the royal favour, that he attempted to supplant his elder brother Jason, as Jason had supplanted his elder brother Onias; and proffered to give three hundred talents more for the high priesthood than Jason had given for it. The king readily accepted the proposal, and issued his mandate for the deposing of Jason, and advancing of Menelaus in his room: but he could not effect the change without an armed force, which put Menelaus in possession of the place, and compelled Jason to fly, and take shelter in the land of the Ammonites.

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[6] Polyb. apud Athenæum. l. 5. c. 4. p. 193. l. 10. c. 10. p. 438. Diod. Sic. in Excerptis Valesii, p. 305, 306. Liv. l. 41. c. 24, 25.

[7] Πολύβιος δ᾽ ἐν τῇ ἕκτῃ καὶ εἰκοστῇ τῶν ἱστοριῶν καλεῖ αὐτὸν Ἐπιμανῆ καὶ οὐκ Ἐπιφανῆ, διὰ τὰς πράξεις *Polybius libro vigesimo sexto historiarum eum vocat* ἐπιμανῆ, *non* ἐπιφανῆ, *ob ea quæ ab illo gesta sunt.* Athenæus, l. 10. c. 10. p. 439. Vide etiam l. 2. c. 6. p. 45. l. 5. c. 4. p. 193.

[8] Καὶ βραχίονες τοῦ κατακλύζοντος κατακλυσθήσονται ἀπὸ προσώπου αὐτοῦ. Sept. "Et brachia obruentis obruentur a conspectu ejus." Arab. "Et brachia pugnantis expugnabuntur a facie ejus." Vulg.

[9] 'Heliodore meurtrier de Seleucus, et ses partisens, aussi bien que ceux du roi d'Egypte, qui avoient quelques desseins sur la Syrie, furent vaincus par les forces d'Attalus, et d'Eumenes; et dissipez par l'arivee d'Antiochus, dont la présence deconcerta tous leurs desseins.' Calmet. Vide, si placet, Appian. Syriac. c. 45. Grot. hic.

[1] Καί ἡγούμενος διαθήκης] λέγει γὰρ τὸν ἀρχιερέα τὸν εὐσεβῆ, τὸν τοῦ Ἰάσωνος ἀδελφὸν, καὶ προδιδάσκει, ὅτι κᾀκεῖνον του ἀρχιερατεύειν παύσει *Et dux fœderis*] *Principem sacerdotum intelligi vult pium Jasonis fratrem, præmonetque fore ut illum etiam abdicet pontificatu maximo.* Theod. in locum.

What follows is not assigning a reason for any thing that preceded, and therefore ought not to have been translated "For he shall come up (but, *And he shall come up*), and shall become strong with a small people. He shall enter peaceably even upon the fattest places of the province (or as it is in the margin, *He shall enter into the peaceable and fat places of the province*), and he shall do that which his fathers have not done, nor his fathers' fathers, he shall scatter among them the prey, and spoil, and riches: yea, and he shall forecast his devices against the strong holds, even for a time" (ver. 23, 24.). Antiochus Epiphanes had been many years an hostage at Rome; and coming from thence with only a few attendants, he appeared in Syria little at first, but soon received a great increase, "and *became* strong with a small people." By the[4] friendship of Eumenes and Attalus he "*entered* peaceably" upon the upper provinces; and appointed Timarchus and Heraclides, the one to be governor of Babylon, and the other to be his treasurer, two brothers, with both of whom he had unnatural commerce. He likewise "*entered* peaceably" upon the provinces of Cœle-Syria and Palestine. And wherever he came, he outdid "his fathers," and "his fathers' fathers" in liberality and profusion. "He *scattered* among them the prey, and spoil, and riches."

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[2] 2 Mac. iv. Josephus de Maccabæis, §4.

[3] 2 Mac. ibid. Sulpicii Severi Sacr. Hist. l. 2. p. 85. Edit. Elzevir. 1656.

[4] Appian. de Bell. Syr. c. 45.

The [5] *prey* of his enemies, the *spoil* of temples, and the *riches* of his friends, as well as his own revenues, were expended in public shows, and bestowed in largesses among the people. The writer of the first book of Maccabees affirms, that [6] in the liberal giving of gifts "he abounded above the kings that were before him." Josephus testifies, that [7] he was magnanimous and munificent. Polybius recounts [8] various instances of his extravagance, and relates particularly, that [9] sometimes meeting accidentally with people whom he had never seen before, he would enrich them with unexpected presents; and [1] sometimes standing in the public streets, he would throw about his money, and cry aloud, Let him take it to whom fortune shall give it. His generosity was the more requisite to fix the provinces of Cœle-Syria and Palestine in his interest, because they were claimed as of right belonging to the king of Egypt. Ptolemy Epiphanes was now dead; his queen Cleopatra was dead too; [2] and Eulæus an eunuch, and Lenæus, who were administrators for the young king Ptolemy Philometor, demanded the restitution of these provinces, alleging with very good reason, that they were assigned to the first Ptolemy in the last partition of the empire among Alexander's captains; that they had remained ever since in the possession of the kings of Egypt, till Antiochus the Great took them away unjustly in the minority of Ptolemy Epiphanes the present king's father; and after he had taken them away, he agreed to surrender them again in dowry with his daughter Cleopatra. Antiochus denied these pleas and pretences with the direct contrary assertions; and foreseeing, as well he might foresee, that these demands would prove the ground and occasion of a new war between the two crowns, [3] he came to Joppa to take a view of the frontiers, and to put them into a proper posture of defence. In his progress he came to Jerusalem, where he was honourably received by Jason the high-priest, and by all the people: and as it was evening, he was ushered into the city with torch-light, and with great rejoicings: and from thence he went into Phœnicia, to fortify his own *strong holds*, and to "*forecast* his *devices*" against those of the enemy. The [4] Seventy and the Arabic translator with a little variation in the reading render it to *forecast his devices against Egypt.* Thus he did "even for a time," and employed some years in his hostile preparations.

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[5] Polyb. apud Athenæum, l. 5. c. 5. p. 195.

[6] 1 Macc. iii. 30.

[7] Joseph. Antiqu. l. 12. c. 7. § 2. μεγαλόψυχος τε καὶ φιλόδωρος. *vir magni animi, et largitor.*

[8] Polyb. ibid. l. 5. c. 5. p. 194, &c. l. 10. c. 10. p. 438, &c.

[9] ἐξ ἀπαντήσεως δί τισι τυγχάνων οὓς μὴ ἑωράκει ποτὲ ἐδίδου δωρεὰς ἀπροσδοκήτους. *aliquando fortè obvios, quos nunquam viderat, insperatis muneribus afficeret.* ibid. l. 5. c. 5. p. 194.

[1] ἄλλοτε δὲ ἐν ταῖς δημοσίαις ὁδοῖς ἱστάμενος λέγειν, τινι ἡ τύχη δίδωσι λαβέτω, καὶ ῥίψας τὸ ἀργύριον ᾤχετο. *nonnunquam publica via stantem cum proclamasset, Sumat cui fortuna dederit, jactis sparsisque aureis nummis discessisse.* ibid. l. 10. c. 10. p. 438.

[2] 'Et quum post mortem Cleopatræ Eulaius eunuchus nutricius Philometoris, et Lenæus Ægyptum regerent, et repeterent Syriam quam Antiochus fraude occupaverat, ortum est inter avunculum et puerum Ptolemæum prælium.' Hieron. in loc. col. 1127. Polyb. Legat. 72. l. 28. c. 1. Legat. 82. l. 28. c. 17.

[3] 2 Macc. iv. 21, 22.

At length Antiochus, in the fifth year of his reign, [5] despising the youth of Ptolemy, and the inertness of his tutors, and believing the Romans to be too much employed in the Macedonian war to give him any interruption, resolved to carry hostilities into the enemy's country instead of waiting for them in his own, and marched with a powerful army against Egypt. "And he shall stir up his power and his courage against the king of the south with a great army, and the king of the south shall be stirred up to battle with a very great and mighty army; but he shall not stand: for they shall forecast devices against him. Yea, they that feed of the portion of his meat, shall destroy him, and his army shall overflow (or [6] rather *shall be overflown*): and many shall fall down slain" (ver. 25, 26.). These things [7] Porphyry rightly interprets of Antiochus, who marched against Ptolemy his sister's son with a great army. The king of the south too, that is, the generals of Ptolemy were stirred up to war with very many and exceeding strong forces; and yet could not resist the fraudulent counsels of Antiochus. The two armies engaged [8] between Pelusium and mount Casius, and Antiochus obtained the victory. The [9] next campaign he had greater success, routed the Egyptians, took Pelusium, ascended as far as Memphis, and made himself master of all Egypt, except Alexandria. These transactions are thus related by the [1] writer of the first book of Maccabees: "Now when the kingdom was established before Antiochus, he thought to reign over Egypt, that he might have the dominion of two realms. Wherefore he entered into Egypt with a great multitude, with chariots, and elephants, and horsemen, and a great navy. And made war against Ptolemy king of Egypt: but Ptolemy was afraid of him, and fled; and many were wounded to death. Thus they got the strong cities in the land of Egypt, and he took the spoils thereof." "He shall stir up his power against the king of the south with a great army," says the prophet; "he entered into Egypt with a great multitude," says the historian. "He (the king of the south) shall not stand," says the prophet; "Ptolemy was afraid and fled," says the historian. "Many shall fall down slain," says the prophet; "and many were wounded to death," says the historian. The misfortunes of Ptolemy Philometor are by the prophet ascribed principally to the treachery and baseness of his own ministers and subjects: "for they shall forecast devices against him; yea, they that feed of the portion of his meat shall destroy him." And it is certain that Eulæus [2] was a very wicked minister, and bred up the young king in luxury and effeminacy contrary to his natural inclination. Ptolemy Macron too, [3] who was governor of Cyprus revolted from him, and delivered up that important island to Antiochus; and for the reward of his treason was admitted into the number of the king's principal friends, and was made governor of Cœle-Syria and Palestine. Nay even the Alexandrians, [4] seeing the distress of Philometor, renounced their allegiance; and taking his younger brother Euergetes or Physcon, proclaimed him king instead of the elder brother.

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[4] Καὶ ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον λογιεῖται λογισμούς. Sept. "Et cogitabit adversus Ægyptum cogitationes." Arab. Instead of מבצרים they read מצרים.

[5] Liv. l. 42. c. 29.

[6] "Exercitus ejus inundabitur." Pagn. "Exercitusque ejus opprimetur." Vulg. "Exercitus ejus dissipabitur." Syr.

[7] 'Hæc Porphyrius interpretatur de Antiocho, qui adversus Ptolemæum sororis suæ filium profectus est cum exercitu magno. Sed et rex austri, id est, duces Ptolemæi provocati sunt ad bellum multis auxiliis, et fortibus nimis; et non potuerunt resistere Antiochi consiliis fraudulentis.' Hieron. in loc. col. 1128.

[8] Quumque inter Pelusium et montem Causium prælium commisissent, victi sunt duces Ptolemæi.' Hieron. in loc. col. 1127, 1128.

[9] 2 Macc. v. 1. Hieron. ibid. Joseph. Antiq. l. 12. c. 5. § 2. Valesii Excerpta ex Diodoro, p. 311.

[1] 1 Macc. i. 16, 17, 18, 19.

History hath not informed us, by what means Ptolemy Philometor came into the hands of Antiochus, whether he was taken prisoner, or surrendered himself of his own accord; but that he was in the hands of Antiochus, it is evident beyond all contradiction. "And both these kings' hearts shall be to do mischief, and they shall speak lies at one table; but it shall not prosper: for yet the end shall be at the time appointed" (ver. 27.). After Antiochus was come to Memphis, and the greater part of Egypt had submitted to him,[5] he and Philometor did frequently eat and converse together "at one table:" but notwithstanding this appearance of peace and friendship, their "hearts were really bent to do mischief," and they "spoke lies" the one to the other. For Antiochus[6] pretended to take care of his nephew Philometor's interest, and promised to restore him to the crown, at the same time that he was plotting his ruin, and was contriving means to weaken the two brothers in a war against each other, that the conqueror wearied and exhausted might fall an easier prey to him. On the other side Philometor[7] laid the blame of the war on his governor Eulæus, professed great obligations to his uncle, and seemed to hold the crown by his favour, at the same time that he was resolved to take the first opportunity of breaking the league with him, and of being reconciled to his brother: and accordingly, as soon as ever Antiochus was withdrawn, he made proposals of accommodation, and by the mediation of their sister Cleopatra a peace was made between the two brothers, who agreed to reign jointly in Egypt and Alexandria. But still this artifice and dissimulation did "not prosper" on either side. For neither[8] did Antiochus obtain the kingdom, neither did Philometor utterly exclude him, and prevent his returning with an army, as each intended and expected by the measures which he had taken: for these wars were not to have an "end till the time appointed," which was not yet come.

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[2] Valesii Excerpta ex Diodoro, p. 311, 313.

[3] Valesii Excerpta ex Polybio, p. 126. 2 Macc. x. 13. 1 Macc. iii. 38. 2 Macc. viii. 8.

[4] Porphyr. apud Eusebii Chron. Græc. p. 60 et 68.

[5] 'Nulli dubium est quin Antiochus pacem cum Ptolemæo fecerit, et inierit cum eo convivium, et dolos machinatus sit, &c.' Hieron. in loc. col. 1128.

[6] Polyb. Legat. 84. l. 28. c 19. Liv. l. 44. c. 19. l. 45. c. 11.

[7] Liv. ibid. Polyb. Legat. 82. l. 28. c. 17. Porphyr. apud Eusebium ibid.

Antiochus hoping to become absolute master of Egypt, more easily by the civil war between the two brothers than by the exertion of his own forces, left the kingdom for a while, and returned into Syria. "Then shall he return into his land with great riches, and his heart shall be against the holy covenant; and he shall do exploits, and return to his own land" (ver. 28.). He did indeed "return with great riches;" for the spoils which he took in Egypt were of immense value. The writer[9] of the first book of Maccabees says, "Thus they got the strong cities in the land of Egypt, and he took the spoils thereof. And after that Antiochus had smitten Egypt he returned." Polybius[1] describing his opulence and the great show that he made of gold, silver, jewels, and the like, affirms that he took them partly out of Egypt, having broken the league with the young king Philometor. Returning too from Egypt, he set "his heart against the holy covenant." For it happened while he was in Egypt, that[2] a false report was spread of his death. Jason thinking this a favourable opportunity for him to recover the high priesthood, marched to Jerusalem with a thousand men, assaulted and took the city, drove Menelaus into the castle, and exercised great cruelties upon the citizens. Antiochus hearing of this, concluded that the whole nation had revolted; and being informed that the people had made great rejoicings at the report of his death, he determined to take a severe revenge, and went up with a great army as well as with great indignation against Jerusalem. He besieged and took the city by force of arms, slew forty thousand of the inhabitants, and sold as many more for slaves, polluted the temple and altar with swines' flesh, profaned the holy of holies by breaking into it, took away the golden vessels and other sacred treasures, to the value of eighteen hundred talents, restored Menelaus to his office and authority, and constituted one Philip, by nation a Phrygian, in manners a barbarian, governor of Judea. When he *had done* "these exploits, he returned to his own land." So says the writer of the first book of Maccabees,[3] "When he had taken all away, he went into his own land, having made a great massacre, and spoken very proudly:" So likewise the author[4] of the second book of Maccabees, "When Antiochus had carried out of the temple a thousand and eight hundred talents, he departed in all haste unto Antiochia." Josephus[5] too, to the same purpose, 'When he had gotten possession of Jerusalem, he slew many of the adverse party; and having taken great spoils, he returned to Antioch.' These things are not only recorded by Jews; for as Jerome[6] observes, 'both the Greek and Roman history relates, that after Antiochus returned from Egypt, he came into Judea, that is, *against the holy covenant*, and spoiled the temple, and took away a great quantity of gold; and having placed a garrison of Macedonians in the citadel, he returned into his own land.'

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[8] —'et nihil profecerit: quia regnum ejus non potuerit obtinere, &c.' Hieron. in loc.

[9] 1 Macc. i. 19, 20.

[1] ταῦτα δὲ πάντα συντελέσθη, ἐξ ὧν τὰ μὲν ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου ἐνασφίσατο παρασπονδήσας τὸν Φιλομήτορα βασιλέα παιδίσκον ὄντα. *Omnia porro hæc sic absoluta et exculta sunt partim iis quibus in Ægypto, perfide violato fœderis pacto, regem Ptolemæum Philometora adhuc puerulum defraudaverat.* Polyb. apud Athenæum, l. 5. c. 5. p. 195.

[2] 2 Macc. v. 5—23. 1 Macc. i. 20—28. Joseph. Antiq. l. 12. c. 5. § 3. l. 13. c. 8. § 2. De Bell. Jud. l. i. c. 1. § 1. De Maccab. § 4. Polybius Megalopolitanus, Strabo Cappodox, Nicolaus Damascenus, Timagenes, Castor et Apollodorus apud Joseph. contra Apion. l. 2. § 6. Diodorus Siculus. Ex l. 34. Ecloga prima. et apud Photii Biblioth. Cod. 244. p. 1149. Edit Rothom. 1653.

After[7] two years Antiochus marched into Egypt again. "At the time appointed (and hinted at before, ver. 27.) he shall return, and come toward the south, but it shall not be as the former, or as the latter (or as it is translated in[8] the Vulgar Latin, *the latter shall not be like the former).* For the ships of Chittim shall come against him: therefore he shall be grieved, and return, and have indignation against the holy covenant: so shall he do, he shall even return, and have intelligence with them that forsake the holy covenant" (ver. 29, 30.). Antiochus perceiving that his fine-woven policy was all unravelled, and that the two brothers, instead of wasting and ruining each other in war, had provided for their mutual safety and interest by making peace,[9] was so offended, that he prepared war much more eagerly and maliciously against both, than he had before against one of them. Early therefore in the spring he set forwards with his army, and passing through Cœle-Syria came into Egypt, and the inhabitants of Memphis and the other Egyptians, partly out of love, partly out of fear, submitting to him, he came by easy marches down to Alexandria. But this expedition was *not as* successful as his *former* ones; the reason of which is assigned in the next words, "the ships of Chittim *coming* against him." In the fifth dissertation it was proved, *the coast of Chittim* and *the land of Chittim* is a general name for Greece, Italy, and the countries and islands in the Mediterranean. "*The ships of Chittim*" therefore are the ships which brought the Roman ambassadors, who came from Italy, touched at Greece, and arrived in Egypt, being sent by the senate, at the supplication of the Ptolemies, to command a peace between the contending kings. The story was related out of the Greek and Roman historians in the last dissertation: it is needless therefore to repeat it here: it will be sufficient to add what [1] St. Jerome says upon the occasion. 'When the two brothers Ptolemies, the sons of Cleopatra, were besieged by their uncle in Alexandria, the Roman ambassadors came: one of whom, Marcus Popillius Lenas, when he had found him standing on the shore, and had delivered to him the decree of the senate, by which he was commanded to depart from the friends of the Roman people, and to be content with his own empire; and he would have deferred the matter to consult with his friends; Popillius is said to have made a circle in the sand with the stick that he held in his hand, and to have circumscribed the king, and to have said, the senate and people of Rome order, that in that place you answer, what is your intention. With these words being frighted he said, If this pleases the senate and people of Rome, we must depart; and so presently drew off his army.' The reason of the Romans acting in this imperious manner, and of Antiochus so readily obeying, was, as [2] Polybius suggests, the total conquests that

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[3] 1 Macc. i. 24.

[4] 2 Macc. v. 21.

[5] ἐγκρατὴς δ' οὗτος τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων γενόμενος, πολλοὺς ἀπέκτεινεν τῶν ἐναντία φρονούντων· καὶ χρήματα πολλὰ συλήσας ὑπέστρεψεν εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν. *Ubi autem is in sua potestate habuit Hierosolyma, multos diversarum partium interfecit; magnaque pecuniæ vi direpta, Antiochiam rediit.* Joseph. Antiq. l. 12. c. 5. § 3.

[6] 'Et Græca et Romana narrat historia. postquam reversus est Antiochus expulsus ab Ægyptiis, venisse eum in Judæam, hoc est adversus Testamentum sanctum, et spoliasse templum, et auri tulisse quam plurimum: positoque in arce præsidio Macedonum, reversum in terram suam.' Hieron. in loc. col. 1129.

[7] 'Et post biennium rursum contra Ptolemæum exercitum congregasse, et venisse ad austrum.' Hieron. ibid.

[8] "Non erit priori simile novissimum." Vul.

[9] —'adeo est offensus, ut multo acrius

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infestiusque adversus duos, quam ante adversus unum, pararet bellum:—ipse primo vere cum exercitū Ægyptum petens, in Cœlen-Syriam processit.—[receptus ab iis qui] ad Memphim incolebant, et ab cæteris Ægyptiis, partim voluntate, partim metu, ad Alexandriam modicis itineribus descendit.' Liv. l. 45. c. 11. 12.

[1] 'Quumque duo fratres Ptolemæi Cleopatræ filii, quorum avunculus erat, obsiderentur Alexandriæ, legatos venisse Romanos: quorum unus Marcus Popilius Lenas, quum eum stantem invenisset in littore, et senatus consultum dedisset, quo jubebatur ab amicis populi Romani recedere, et suo imperio esse contentus; et ille ad amicorum responsionem consilium distulisset; orbem dicitur fecisse in arenis baculo quem tenebat in manu, et circumscripsisse regem atque dixisse; Senatus et populus Romanus præcipiunt, ut in isto loco respondeas, quid consilii geras. Quibus dictis ille perterritus ait; Si hoc placet senatui et populo Romano, recedendum est, atque ita statim movit exercitum.' Hieron. in loc.

[2] Μὴ γὰρ γινομένου τούτου καὶ πιστευθέντος, οὐκ ἄν μοι δοκεῖ πειθαρχῆσαι τοῖς ἐπιταττομένοις Ἀντίοχον. *Nam hoc nisi accidisset, neque de ea re constitisset, nunquam, opinor, esset adductus Antiochus, ut imperata faceret.* Polyb. Legat. 92. l. 29. c. 11.

Æmilius, the Roman consul, had just made of the kingdom of Macedonia. It was without doubt a great mortification to Antiochus, to be so humbled, and so disappointed of his expected prey. "Therefore he grieved, and *returned*." He led back his forces into Syria; as [3] Polybius says, grieved and groaning, but thinking it expedient to yield to the times for the present. "And *had* indignation against the holy covenant:" for [4] he vented all his anger upon the Jews: he detached Apollonius with an army of twenty-two thousand men, who coming to Jerusalem slew great multitudes, plundered the city, set fire to it in several places, and pulled down the houses and walls round about it. Then they builded, on an eminence in the city of David, a strong fortress, which might command the temple; and issuing from thence, they fell on those who came to worship, and shed innocent blood on every side of the sanctuary, and defiled it; so that the temple was deserted, and the whole service omitted; the city was forsaken of its natives, and became an habitation of strangers. *So he did,* and after his *return* to Antioch [5] he published a decree, which obliged all persons upon pain of death to conform to the religion of the Greeks: and so the Jewish law was abrogated, the Heathen worship was set up in its stead, and the temple itself was consecrated to Jupiter Olympius. In the transacting and ordering of these matters "he *had* intelligence with them that forsook the holy covenant," Menelaus and the other apostate Jews of his party, who were the king's chief instigators against their religion and their country. For [6] as the writer of the first book of Maccabees says, "In those days went there out of Israel wicked men, who persuaded many, saying, Let us go, and make a covenant with the heathen, that are round about us: Then certain of the people were so forward herein, that they went to the king, who gave them licence to do after the ordinances of the heathen: And they made themselves uncircumcised, and forsook the holy covenant, and joined themselves to the heathen, and were sold to do mischief." Josephus has plainly [7] ascribed the distress of his country to the factions among his countrymen, and to those persons particularly who fled to Antiochus, and besought him that under their conduct he would invade Judea.

It may be proper to stop here, and reflect a little how particular and circumstantial this prophecy is concerning the kingdoms of Egypt and Syria, from the death of Alexander to the time of Antiochus Epiphanes. There is not so complete and regular a series of their kings, there is not so concise and comprehensive an account of their affairs, to be found in any author of those times. The prophecy is really more perfect than any history. No one historian hath related so many circumstances, and in such exact order of time, as the prophet hath foretold them: so that it was necessary to have recourse to several authors, Greek and Roman, Jewish and Christian; and to collect here something from one, and to collect there something from another, for the better explaining and illustrating the great variety of particulars contained in this prophecy. We have been particularly obliged to Porphyry and Jerome, who made use of the same authors for different purposes, and enjoyed the advantages of having those histories entire, which have since either in whole or in part been destroyed. For[8] they had not only Polybius, Diodorus, Livy, Trogus Pompeius, and Justin, some parts of whose works are now remaining; but they had likewise Sutorius Callinicus, Hieronymus, Posidonius, Claudius Theon, and Andronicus Alipius, historians who wrote of those times, and whose works have since entirely perished. If these authors were still extant, and those who are extant were still complete, the great exactness of the prophecy might in all probability have been proved in more particulars than it hath been. This exactness was so convincing, that Porphyry could not pretend to deny it; he rather laboured to confirm it, and drew this inference from it, that the prophecy was so very exact, that it could not possibly have been written before, but must have been written in, or soon after the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, all being true and exact to that time, and no farther. Others after him have asserted the same thing, not only without any proof, but contrary to all the proofs, which can be had in cases of this nature, as it hath been shewn in a former dissertation. The prophecy indeed is wonderfully exact to the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, but it is equally so beyond that time, as you will evidently perceive in the sequel, which cannot all with any propriety be applied to Antiochus, but extends to remoter ages, and reaches even to the general resurrection. No one could thus declare "the times and the seasons (Acts i. 7.) *but he who* hath them in his power.'

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[3] *οὗτος μὲν ἀπήγετο τὰς δυνάμεις εἰς τὴν Αγρίαν* [*Συρίαν* ut putat Usserius], *βαρυνόμενος καὶ στένων, εἰκὼν δὲ τοῖς καιροῖς κατὰ τὸ παρόν. Antiochus copias Agriam* [Syriam] *suas, gravate ille quidem ac gemens, sed tamen abduxit, in presentia tempori cedendum ratus.* Polyb. ibid.

[4] 1 Mac. i. 29—40. 2 Mac. v. 24, 25, 26.

[5] 1 Macc. i. 41—64. 2 Macc. vi. 1—9.

[6] 1 Macc. i. 11, 13, 15.

[7] Josephus de Bell. Jud. l. 1. c. 1. § 1. *οἱ δὲ καταφυγόντες πρὸς Ἀντίοχον ἱκέτευσαν, αὐτοῖς ἡγεμόσι χρώμενον, εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἐμβαλεῖν. illi vero ad Antiochum se receperunt, eique supplicarunt ut ipsis ducibus in Judæam irrumperent.*

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[8] 'Ad intelligendas autem extremas partes Danielis, multiplex Græcorum historia necessaria est; Suctorii videlicet Callinici, Diodori, Hieronymi, Polybii, Posidonii, Claudii Theonis, et Andronici cognomento Alipii, quos et Porphyrius esse se secutum dicit: Josephi quoque et eorum quos ponit Josephus, præcipueque nostri Livii, et Pompeii Trogi, atque Justini, qui omnem extremæ visionis narrant historiam.' Hieron. Præf. in Dan. col. 1074. 'Sutorii videlicet Callinici, Diodori, Hieronymi, Polybii, Posidonii, Claudii Theonis, et Andronici cognomento Alipii. Ita eum locum emenda. In vulgatis est *Suctorius*, et ante *Callinicus* distinguitur, quasi a Sutorio sit diversus. Vossius de Hist. Græc. l. 2. c 13

XVII.—THE SAME SUBJECT CONTINUED.

PART II.

THUS far the meaning and completion of the prophecy is sufficiently clear and evident; there is more obscurity and difficulty in the part that remains to be considered. Thus far commentators are in the main agreed, and few or none have deviated much out of the common road: but hereafter they pursue so many different paths, that it is not always easy to know whom it is best and safest to follow. Some,[1] as Porphyry among the ancients, and Grotius among the moderns, contend that the whole was literally accomplished in Antiochus Epiphanes. Others,[2] as Jerome and most of the Christian fathers, consider Antiochus as a type of Antichrist; as in the seventy-second psalm Solomon is exhibited as a type of Christ, and many things are said of the one which are only applicable to the other. Some again understand what remains, partly of the tyranny of Antiochus, and partly of the great apostacy of the latter days, or the days of the Roman empire. Others again apply it wholly to the invasion and tyranny of the Romans, the subsequent corruptions in the church, and alterations in the empire. There is no writer or commentator, whom we would choose to follow implicitly in all things; but in this we may agree with one, in that with another, and in some instances perhaps differ from all.

The prophet proceeds thus, (ver. 31.) "And arms shall stand on his part, and they shall pollute the sanctuary of strength (the temple, so called by reason of its fortifications), and shall take away the daily sacrifice, and they shall place the abomination that maketh desolate." Porphyry and his adherents [3] would have those to be signified, who were sent by Antiochus two years after he had spoiled the temple, that they might exact tribute from the Jews, and take away the worship of God, and place in the temple of Jerusalem the image of Jupiter Olympius, and the statues of Antiochus, which are here called *the abomination of desolation.* And it is very true, [4] as the writer of the first book of Maccabees saith, that Apollonius and others commissioned by Antiochus, did "pollute the sanctuary, and forbid burnt-offerings, and sacrifice, and drink-offerings in the temple, and set up the abomination of desolation upon the altar, and builded idol-altars throughout the cities of Juda on every side." Josephus likewise [5] affirms, that Antiochus forbade the Jews to offer the daily sacrifices, which they offered to God according to the law: He compelled them also to leave off the service of their God, and to worship those whom he esteemed gods; and to build temples and erect altars to them in every city and village, and to sacrifice swine upon them every day. This interpretation therefore might very well be admitted, if the other parts were equally applicable to Antiochus; but the difficulty, or rather impossibility of applying them to Antiochus, or any of the Syrian kings his successors, obliges us to look out for another interpretation. Jerome and the Christians of his time [6] contend, that all these things were a type of Antichrist, who is about to sit in the temple of God, and to make himself as God: but the fathers had very confused and imperfect notions of Antichrist, the prophecies relating to him having not then received their completion. All things duly considered, no interpretation of this passage appears so rational and convincing as that proposed by Sir Isaac Newton. [7] 'In the same year that Antiochus by the command of the Romans retired out of Egypt, and set up the worship of the Greeks in Judea; the Romans conquered the kingdom of Macedon, the fundamental kingdom of the empire of the Greeks, and reduced it into a Roman province; and thereby began to put an end to the reign of Daniel's third beast. This is thus expressed by Daniel. *And after him arms,* that is the Romans, *shall stand up.* As ממלך signifies [8] *after the king,* Dan. xi. 8.; so ממנו may signify *after him. Arms* are every where in this prophecy of Daniel put for the military power of a kingdom; and they stand up when they conquer and grow powerful. Hitherto Daniel described the actions of the kings of the *north* and *south;* but upon the conquest of Macedon by the Romans, he left off describing the actions of the Greeks, and began to describe those of the Romans in Greece. They conquered Macedon, Illyricum, and Epirus, in the year of Nabonassar 580; thirty-five years after, by the last will and testament of Attalus the last king of Pergamus, they inherited that rich and flourishing kingdom, that is, all Asia westward of mount Taurus; sixty-nine years after they conquered the kingdom of Syria, and reduced it into a province, and thirty-four years after they did the like to Egypt. By all these steps the Roman arms stood up over the Greeks: and after ninety-five years more, by making war upon the Jews, "they polluted the sanctuary of strength, and took away the daily sacrifice, and then placed the abomination of desolation." For this abomination was placed after the days of Christ, Matt. xxiv. 15.: in the sixteenth year of the emperor Adrian, A. C. 132, they placed this abomination by building a temple to Jupiter Capitolinus where the temple of God in Jerusalem had stood. Thereupon the Jews under the conduct of Barchochab rose up in arms against the Romans, and in the war had fifty cities demolished, nine hundred and eighty-five of their best towns destroyed, and five hundred and eighty thousand men slain by the sword; and in the end of the war, A. C. 136, were banished Judea upon pain of death, and thenceforward the land remained desolate of its old inhabitants.' In support of this interpretation it may be farther added, that the Jews themselves, as[9] Jerome informs us, 'understood this passage neither of Antiochus Epiphanes, nor of Antichrist, but of the Romans, of whom it was said above that "the ships of Chittim shall come, and he shall be grieved." After some time, says the prophet, out of the Romans themselves, who came to assist Ptolemy, and menaced Antiochus, there shall arise the emperor Vespasian, there shall arise his arms and seed, his son Titus with an army; and they shall pollute the sanctuary, and take away the daily sacrifice, and deliver the temple to eternal desolation.' Mr. Mede too assigns[1] the same reason for the prophet's passing from Antiochus Epiphanes to the Romans. 'We must know,' says he, 'that after the death of Antiochus Epiphanes the third kingdom comes no more in the holy reckoning, none of the Greek kings after him being at all prophesied of; yea Daniel himself calling the time of Antiochus his reign "the latter end of the Greek kingdom" (viii. 23.). The reason of this is, because during the reign of Antiochus, Macedonia, whence that kingdom sprung (with all the rest of Greece), came under the Roman obedience. From thence therefore the Holy Ghost begins the rise of the fourth kingdom, yea the Roman historians themselves mark out that time for the rise of their empire.' And for this purpose he alleges two quotations from Lucius Florus and Velleius Paterculus. Our Saviour himself making use of the same phrase *the abomination of desolation* in his prediction of the destruction of Jerusalem, may convince us that this part of the prophecy refers to that event.

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[1] 'Cætera quæ sequuntur usque ad finem voluminis, ille [Porphyrius] interpretatur super persona Antiochi qui cognominatus est Epiphanes, &c. Hieron. in Dan. col. 1127.

[2] 'Nostri autem hæc omnia de Antichristo prophetari arbitrantur—Quumque multa quæ postea lecturi et expositari sumus, super Antiochi persona non conveniant, typum eum volunt Antichristi habere—juxta illud quod de Domino Salvatore in septuagesimo primo [secundo apud Hebr. et Sept.] psalmo dicitur, qui prænotatur Salomonis; et omnia quæ de eo dicuntur, Salomoni non valent convenire, &c.' Hieron. ibid.

[3] 'Volunt autem eos significari qui ab Antiocho missi sunt post biennium quam templum expoliaverat, ut tributa exigerent, a Judæis, et auferrent cultum Dei, et in templo Jerusalem, Jovis Olympii simulacrum, et Antiochi statuas ponerent; quas nunc *abominationem desolationis* vocat. Hieron. in loc. col. 1129.

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[4] 1. Macc. i. 45, 46. 54.

[5] Καὶ γὰρ τὰς καθημερινὰς θυσίας, ἃς προσέφερον τῷ Θεῷ κατὰ τὸν νόμον ἐκώλυσεν αὐτοὺς πρόσφερειν. *Nam et sacrificia quotidiana, quæ offerre solebant ex lege, offerre eos vetuit.* ἠνάγκασε δ᾽ ἀυτοὺς ἀφεμένους τῆς περὶ τὸν αὐτῶν Θεὸν θρησκείας, τοὺς ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ νομιζομένους σέβεσθαι· οἰκοδομήσαντας δὲ ἐν ἑκάστῃ πόλει καὶ κώμῃ τεμένη αὐτῶν καὶ βωμοὺς καθιδρύσαντας, θύειν ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῖς σῦς καθ᾽ ἡμέραν. *Coegit etiam eos, Dei ipsorum cultu omisso, eos colere quos ipse Deos existimaret; et cum fana ipsorum oppidatim vicatimque exstruxissent et aras collocassent, quotidie ibi immolare sues.* Joseph. Antiq. l. 12. c. 5. § 4.

[6] 'Quæ universa in typo Antichristi, nostri præcessisse contendunt; qui sessurus est in templo Dei, et se facturus ut Deum.' Hieron. ibid.

[7] Sir Isaac Newton's Observations on Daniel, c. 12. p. 188, &c. See also c. 9. p. 125, &c.

[8] So מן-העת ההיא Nehem. xiii. 21. is *after that time* or *from that time forth.* So likewise in this very chap. ver. 23. מן-התחברות אליו is translated *after the league made with him.* See the particle מן in Noldius and Taylor's Concordance.

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[9] 'Judæi autem hoc nec de Antiocho Epiphane, nec de Antichristo, sed de Romanis intelligi volunt, de quibus supra dictum est, "Et venient trieres," sive Itali atque Romani, "et humiliabitur." Post multa, inquit, tempora de ipsis Romanis, qui Ptolemæo venere auxilio, et Antiocho comminati sunt, consurget rex Vespasianus, surgent brachia ejus et semina, Titus filius cum exercitu; et polluent sanctuarium, auferentque juge sacrificium, et templum tradent æternæ solitudini.' Hieron. ibid.

[1] Mede's Works, b. 4. epist. 41. p. 797. See too b. 3. p. 667. 672. Lucius Florus, l. 2. c. 7. 'Cedente Hannibale, præmium victoriæ Africa fuit, et secutus Africam terrarum orbis. Post Carthaginem vinci neminem puduit; secutæ sunt statim Africam Gentes, Macedonia, Græcia Syria, cæteráque omnia, quodam quasi æstu et torrente fortunæ; sed primi omnium Macedones, affectator quondam imperii populus.' *Hannibal being worsted, Africa became the reward of the victory, and after Africa the whole world also. None thought it a shame to be overcome, after Carthage was: Macedonia, Greece, Syria, and*

What follows can be but in part applied to the times of Antiochus Epiphanes. "And such as do wickedly against the covenant, shall he corrupt by flatteries: but the people that do know their God, shall be strong, and do exploits. And they that understand among the people, shall instruct many: yet they shall fall by the sword, and by flame, by captivity, and by spoil many days" (ver. 32, 33.). If it may be said of Antiochus, that "he *corrupted many* by flatteries," by rewards and promises, to forsake the holy covenant, and to conform to the religion of the Greeks; "but the people that *knew* their God (the Maccabees and their associates) *were* strong, and *did* exploits:" yet it cannot so properly be said of the Maccabees, or any of the devout Jews of their time, that they did "*instruct many,*" and make many proselytes to their religion; neither did the persecution, which Antiochus raised against the Jews, continue "*many days,*" or years according to the prophetic style, for it lasted only a few years. All these things are much more truly applicable to the Christian Jews: for now the daily sacrifice was taken away, the temple was given to desolation, and the Christian church had succeeded in the place of the Jewish, the new covenant in the room of the old. "And such as do wickedly against the covenant, shall he corrupt by flatteries;"

all other nations, as if carried with a certain current and torrent of fortune, did soon follow Africa: But the first who followed were the Macedonians, a people that sometime affected the empire of the world. In Velleius Paterculus, l. 1. c. 6. is an annotation out of one Æmilius Sura in these words: 'Assyrii principes omnium gentium rerum potiti sunt, deinde Medi, postea Persæ, deinde Macedones; exinde duobus regibus, Philippo et Antiocho, quia Macedonibus oriundi erant, haud multo post Carthaginem subactam, devictis, summa imperii ad populum Romanum pervenit.' *The Assyrians had the sovereign dominion the first of all nations, then the Medes and Persians; after them the Macedonians; afterwards those two kings, Philip and Antiochus, being overcome, and that a little after that Carthage was subdued, the imperial power came to the Romans.*

He, that is the power before described, who *took away the daily sacrifice, and placed the abomination of desolation:* nor is such a change of number unfrequent in the Hebrew language. 'There are some,' saith an [2] old commentator, 'who think that the prophet here had respect to the Christians, whom the wicked idolaters endeavoured from the beginning of the rising church to seduce by flatteries; but the persecution of tyrants raged chiefly against the apostles and holy teachers.' The Roman magistrates and officers, it is very well known, made use of the most alluring promises, as well as of the most terrible threatenings, to prevail upon the primitive Christians to renounce their religion, and offer incense to the statues of the emperors and images of the gods. Many were induced to comply with the temptation, and apostatized from the faith, as we learn particularly from the famous [3] epistle of Pliny to Trajan: but the true Christians, *the people who knew their God were strong,* remained firm to their religion, and gave the most illustrious proofs of the most heroic patience and fortitude. It may too with the strictest truth and propriety be said of the primitive Christians, that being dispersed every where, and preaching the gospel in all the parts of the Roman empire, they *instructed many,* and gained a great number of proselytes to their religion: "yet they *fell* by the sword, and by flame, by captivity, and by spoil many days;" for they were exposed to the malice and fury of ten general persecutions, and suffered all manner of injuries, afflictions, and tortures with little intermission for the space of three hundred years.

After these violent persecutions the church obtained some rest and relaxation. "Now when they shall fall, they shall be holpen with a little help; but many shall cleave to them with flatteries. And some of them of understanding shall fall, to try them, and to purge, and to make them white, even to the time of the end; because it is yet for a time appointed" (ver. 34, 35.). Here Porphyry hath many followers, besides Grotius: and he [4] supposeth that by the "little help" was meant Mattathias of Modin, who rebelled against the generals of Antiochus, and endeavoured to preserve the worship of the true God. It is called "a little help," saith he, because Mattathias was slain in battle; and afterwards his son Judas, who was called Maccabæus, fell in fight; and his other brethren were deceived by the fraud of their adversaries. But this is not an exact or just representation of the case. Mattathias[5] was not slain in battle, but died of old age. His son Judas Maccabæus several times vanquished the generals of Antiochus, recovered the holy city, cleansed the sanctuary, restored the public worship of God, and not only survived Antiochus some years, but also received the good news of the dethroning and murdering of his son. His brother Jonathan was made high-priest, and his brother Simon sovereign prince of the Jews; and both these dignities, the high-priesthood and the sovereignty, descended to Simon's son, and continued united in the family for several generations. That therefore could not be deemed "a little help," which prevailed and triumphed over all the power and malice of the enemy, and established the Jewish religion and government upon a firmer basis than before: so far were they from falling again into a state of persecution, as the next verse intimates that they should. It may be concluded then, that Porphyry was mistaken in the sense of this passage. The Jewish doctors seem to have come nearer the mark: for some of them, as Jerome[6] affirms, understood these things of the emperors Severus and Antoninus, who much loved the Jews; and others, of the emperor Julian, who pretended to love the Jews, and promised to sacrifice in their temple. But the most natural way of interpretation is to follow the course and series of events. The church had now laboured under long and severe persecutions from the civil power. "They *had fallen* by the sword, and by flame, by captivity, and by spoil many days." The tenth and last general persecution was begun [7] by Diocletian: it raged, though not at all times equally, ten years; and was suppressed entirely by Constantine, the first Roman emperor, as it is universally known, who made open profession of Christianity; and then the church was no longer persecuted, but was protected and favoured by the civil power. But still this is called only "a little help;" because though it added much to the temporal prosperity, yet it contributed little to the spiritual graces and virtues of Christians. It enlarged their revenues, and increased their endowments; but proved the fatal means of corrupting the doctrine, and relaxing the discipline of the church. It was attended with this peculiar disadvantage, that "many *clave* to them with flatteries." Many became Christians for the sake of the loaves and the fishes, and pretended to be of the religion, only because it was the religion of the emperor. Eusebius, who was a contemporary writer,[8] reckons that one of the reigning vices of the time was the dissimulation and hypocrisy of men fraudulently entering into the church, and borrowing the name of Christians without the reality. Julian himself, as a [9] heathen historian relates, that he might allure the Christians to favour him, publicly professed the faith, from which he had long ago privately revolted; and even went to church, and joined with them in the most solemn offices of religion. He did more; his dissimulation carried him so far as to [1] become an ecclesiastic in lower orders, or a *reader* in the church. Moreover, this is also called "a little help," because the temporal peace and prosperity of the church lasted but a little while. The spirit of persecution presently revived; and no sooner were the Christians delivered from the fury of their heathen adversaries, than they began to quarrel among themselves, and to persecute one another. The [2] Consubstantialists, even in the time of Constantine, led the way by excommunicating and banishing the Arians. The latter, under the favour of Constantius and Valens more than retorted the injury, and were guilty of many horrible outrages and cruelties towards the former. Such more or less have been the fate and condition of the church ever since: and generally speaking, *those of understanding have fallen* a sacrifice to others, some of the best and wisest men to some of the worst and most ignorant. At least, if the persecuted have not been always in the right, yet the persecutors have been always in the wrong. These calamities were to befall the Christians, "to try them; and to purge, and to make them white," not only at that time, but "even to the time of the end, because it is yet for a time appointed:" And we see even at this day, not to allege other instances, how the poor Protestants are persecuted, plundered and murdered, in the southern parts of France.

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[2] 'Sunt qui putent hic prophetam aspicere ad Christianos, quos impii idolatræ conati fuerunt ab initio nascentis ecclesiæ seducere blanditiis. Potissimè autem sæviit tyrannorum persecutio in apostolos et sanctos doctores.' Clarius in locum.

[3] Plinii Epist. l. 10. Epist. 97.

[4] 'Parvulum auxilium, Mattathiam significari arbitratur Porphyrius de vico Modin; qui adversum duces Antiochi rebellavit, et cultum veri Dei servare conatus est. Parvum autem, inquit, auxilium vocat, quia occisus est in prælio Mattathias; et postea Judas filius ejus, qui vocabatur Maccabæus, pugnans cecidit; et cæteri fratres ejus adversariorum fraude decepti sunt.' Hieron. in loc, col. 1130.

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[5] For these particulars the two books of Maccabees, Josephus, Usher, Prideaux, &c. must be consulted.

[6] 'Hebræorum quidam hæc de Severo et Antonino principibus intelligunt, qui Judæos plurimum dilexerunt. Alii vero de Juliano imperatore:—Judæos amare se simulans, et in templo eorum immolaturum se esse promittens.' Hieron. ibid.

[7] Eusebii Eccles. Hist. l. 8. c. 2 et 15, &c. Lactant de Mort. Persecut. c. 12 et 48. 'Sic ab eversa ecclesia usque ad restitutam fuerunt anni decem, &c.'

The principal source of these persecutions is traced out in the following verses. "And the king (who shall cause these persecutions) shall do according to his will, and he shall exalt himself, and magnify himself above every god, and shall speak marvellous things against the God of gods, and shall prosper till the indignation be accomplished; for that that is determined shall be done" (ver. 36.). From this place, as [3] Jerome asserts, the Jews as well as the Christians of his time understood all to be spoken of Antichrist. But Porphyry and others who follow him, suppose it to be spoken of Antiochus Epiphanes, that he should be exalted against the worship of God, and grow to that height of pride, that he should command his statue to be placed in the temple at Jerusalem. But if it might be said of Antiochus, that he *spoke marvellous things against the God of Israel;* yet it could not be so well affirmed of him, that he *magnified and exalted himself above every god;* when [4] in his public sacrifices and worship of the gods he was more sumptuous and magnificent than all who reigned before him; and when in his solemn shows and processions were carried the images of all who among men were called or reputed gods, or dæmons, and even heroes; as Athenæus reports out of Polybius. He was certainly very superstitious, though sometimes his extravagances and necessities might induce him to commit sacrilege. It is a strong argument in favour of the Jewish and Christian interpretation, that St. Paul appears to have understood this passage much in the same manner, because he applies the same expressions (2 Thess. ii. 3, 4.) to "the man of sin, the son of perdition, who opposeth and exalteth himself above all that is called God, or that is worshipped; so that he as God sitteth in the temple of God, shewing himself that he is God." The thread of the prophecy will also conduct us to the same conclusion. For the prophet was speaking of the persecutions, which should be permitted for the trial and probation of the church, after the empire was become Christian: and now he proceeds to describe the principal author of these persecutions. *A king* or *kingdom* as we have shewn before, and it appears in several instances, signifies any government, state, or potentate: and the meaning of this verse we conceive to be, that after the empire was become Christian, there should spring up in the church an antichristian power, that should act in the most absolute and arbitrary manner, exalt itself above all laws divine and human, dispense with the most solemn and sacred obligations, and in many respects enjoin what God had forbidden, and forbid what God had commanded. This power began in the Roman emperors, who summoned councils, and directed and influenced their determinations almost as they pleased. After the division of the empire, this power still increased, and was exerted principally by the Greek emperors in the east, and by the bishops of Rome in the west; as we shall see in the several particulars hereafter specified by the prophet. This power too was to continue in the church, and "prosper till the indignation be accomplished; for that that is determined, shall be done." This must denote some particular period; or otherwise it is no more than saying, that God's indignation shall not be accomplished till it be accomplished. This is the same as what before was called (viii. 19.) "the last end of the indignation," and (ix. 27.) "the consummation:" and it meaneth the last end and consummation of God's indignation against his people the Jews. This seemeth to be expressed plainer in the following chapter, (ver. 7.) "And when he shall have accomplished to scatter the power of the holy people, all these things shall be finished." So long this antichristian power should continue. We see it still subsisting in the church of Rome: and it was an ancient tradition among the Jewish doctors that the destruction of Rome and the restoration of the Jews should fall out about the same period. It is a saying of the famous rabbi David Kimchi in his comment upon Obadiah,[5] when Rome shall be laid waste, there shall be redemption for Israel. The curious reader may see more authorities cited by Mr. Mede in a small Latin tractate upon this subject.

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[8] ——εἰρωνείαν τ' ἄλεκτον τῶν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ὑποδυομένων, καὶ τὸ Χριστιανῶν ἐπιπλάστως σχηματιζομένων ὄνομα. — *et fraudulentam simulationem eorum qui callide in ecclesiam irrepebant, et Christianorum nomen falsò ac specie tenus præferebant.* Euseb. de Vita Const. l. 4. c. 54.

[9] 'Utque omnes, nullo impediente, ad sui favorem illiceret, adhærere cultui Christiano fingebat, a quo jampridem occultè desciverat—Et—progressus in eorum ecclesiam, sollemniter numine orato discessit.' Ammian. Marcell. l. 21. c. 2.

[1] Theodoret Eccles. Hist. l. 3. c. 2.—— καὶ τοῦ τῶν ἀναγνωστῶν ἠξιώθη χοροῦ, καὶ τὰς ἱερὰς βίβλους ἐν τοῖς ἐκκλησιαστικοῖς συλλόγοις ὑπανεγίνωσκε τῷ λαῷ. *in lectorum numerum adscriptus est, et sacros libros in ecclesiasticis conventibus populo recitavit.*

[2] See Socrates, Sozomen, &c. and Jortin's Remarks on Ecclesiastical History, vol. 3. p. 104, 105.

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[3] 'Ab hoc loco Judæi dici de Antichristo putant—Quod quidem et nos de Antichristo intelligimus. Porphyrius autem et cæteri qui sequuntur eum, de Antiocho Epiphane dici arbitrantur, quod erectus sit contra cultum Dei, et in tantam superbiam venerit, ut in templo Jerosolymis simulacrum suum poni jusserit.' Hieron. in loc. col. 1131.

[4] *ἐν δὲ ταῖς πρὸς τὰς πόλεις θυσίαις, καὶ ταῖς πρὸς τοὺς θεοῦς τιμαῖς, πάντας ὑπερέβαλλε τοὺς βεβασιλευκότας. omnes quotquot regnarunt, sacrorum magnificentia, quæ illius sumptu in claris urbibus fiebant, cultuque ac veneratione deorum exsuperasse. πάντων γὰρ τῶν παρ᾽ ἀνθρώποις λεγομένων ἢ νομιζομένων θεῶν ἢ δαιμόνων προσέτι δὲ ἡρώων εἴδωλα διήγετο. omnium enim quotquot apud homines vel creduntur vel dicuntur esse dii, aut dæmones, atque adeo heroum simulacra gestabantur.* Polyb. apud Athen. l. 5. c. 5. p. 194, 195.

In this prophecy the antichristian power is described as exerted principally in the eastern empire, it was before described as exerted in the western empire, under the figure *of the little horn* of the fourth beast. "Neither shall he regard the God of his fathers, nor the desire of women, nor regard any God; for he shall magnify himself above all" (ver. 37.). That "he *should not* regard the God of his fathers," could not be truly affirmed of Antiochus,[6] who compelled all, and especially the Jews and Samaritans, to conform their worship to the religion of the Greeks: and what were the idols that he set up among them, but the Grecian deities, as Jupiter Olympius in the temple of Jerusalem, and Jupiter Xenius, or the defender of strangers, in the temple of the Samaritans? This therefore, as Jerome rightly observes, agrees better with Antichrist than with Antiochus. *By not regarding the God of his fathers*, Mr. Mede[7] understands the Roman states cashiering and casting off the pagan deities and heathen gods which were worshipped in their empire. But the conversion of the Roman state was hinted before, (ver. 34.) and other events have been pointed out since; so that it would be breaking in upon the series and order of the prophecy, to resume that subject again. The character too here given, doth not seem in any part of it, to be designed by way of commendation. It is not mentioned to the honour, but to the reproach of the power here described, that he should forsake the religion of his ancestors, and in a manner set up a new religion. It was not the prophet's intention to praise him for renouncing the idolatry of his heathen fathers, but to blame him for apostatizing in some measure from the religion of his Christian fathers; as he did actually both in the Greek and Latin church, by worshipping *Mahuzzim* instead of the true God blessed for ever. Another property of the power here described is, that "he *should* not regard *the desire of women:*" and neither could this with any truth be declared of Antiochus, who besides having a wife,[8] was lewd and vicious to such a degree, that he had no regard to common decency, but would prostitute his royal dignity, and gratify and indulge his lusts publicly in the presence of the people. He had a favourite concubine, whom he called after his own name Antiochis. To her he assigned two cities in Cilicia, Tarsus and Mallus, for her maintenance; and the inhabitants rather than they would submit to such an indignity, rebelled against him. As Jerome says,[9] the interpretation is easier of Antichrist, that he should therefore counterfeit chastity, that he might deceive many. In the Vulgar Latin it is indeed[1] *And he shall regard the desire of women:* but this reading is plainly contrary to the original, and to most other versions; unless with Grotius we understand the copulative *and*, when it follows a negative, as becoming a negative too, and signifying *neither*. Grotius explains it of Antiochus,[2] that he should not spare even women: but the words in the original will not by any fair construction admit of this interpretation. The word in the original for *women*[3] signifieth properly *wives*, as *desire* doth *conjugal affection.* The meaning therefore of *not regarding the desire of women* is neglecting and discouraging marriage; as both the Greeks and Latins did to the great detriment of human society, and to the great discredit of the Christian religion. The Julian and Papian laws which were enacted in the most flourishing times of the Romans for the favour and encouragement of those who were married, and had children,[4] Constantine himself repealed, and allowed equal or greater privileges and immunities to those who were unmarried and had no children. Nay he[5] held in the highest veneration those men, who had devoted themselves to the divine philosophy, that is to a monastic life; and almost adored the most holy company of perpetual virgins, being convinced that the God, to whom they had consecrated themselves, did dwell in their minds. His example was followed by his successors: and the married clergy were discountenanced and depressed; the monks were honoured and advanced; and in the fourth century like a torrent overran the eastern church, and soon after the western too. This was *evidently not regarding the desire of wives*, or conjugal affection. At first only second marriages were prohibited, but in time the clergy were absolutely restrained from marrying at all. So much did the power here described "magnify himself above all," even God himself, by contradicting the primary law of God and nature; and making that dishonourable, which the Scripture (Heb. xiii. 4.) hath pronounced "honourable in all."

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[5] 'Cum devastabitur Roma, erit Israeli redemptio.' See Mede's Works, b. 5. c. 7. 'Placita doctorum Hebræorum de Babylonis seu Romæ excidio, p. 902.

[6] 1 Macc. i. 41—64. 2 Macc. vi. 1, &c. Joseph. Antiq. l. 12. c. 5. § 4. 'Hoc magis Antichristo quam Antiocho convenit. Legimus enim Antiochum idolorum Græciæ habuisse cultum, et Judæos atque Samaritas ad venerationem suorum deorum compulisse.' Hieron. in loc.

[7] Mede's Works, b. 3. p. 668.

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[8] —'luxuriosissimus fuisse dicitur, et in tantum dedecus per stupra et corruptelas venisse regiæ dignitatis; ut mimis quoque et scortis publice jungeretur, et libidinem suam populo præsente compleret.' Hieron. ibid. Vide etiam Theodoret. in loc. p. 689. 2 Macc. iv. 30.

[9] 'de Antichristo facilior interpretatio est; quod ideo simulet castitatem, ut plurimos decipiat.' Hieron. ibid.

[1] "Et erit in concupiscentiis fœminarum." Vulg.

[2] 'Apud Hebræos ו negativam sequens negat, et valet *nec*, ut sensus sit, *neque desiderium mulierum*, id est, neque fœminas, quanquam amabiles, curabit quicquam, nulla sexus illius tangetur misericordia.' Grot. in locum.

[3] See Mede's Works, b. 3. p. 668. And it might have been translated in this place *desire of wives*, as well as *desire of women*; for there is no other word used in the original for *wives*, above once or twice in the whole Scripture, but this נשים which is here turned *women*. With the like use of the word *desire*, the spouse in the Canticles, vii. 10. expresseth her well beloved to be her husband; "I am my beloved's and his desire is towards me," that is, he is my husband; for so twice before she

More proofs are alleged in the next verse, of his apostatizing from the true religion of his ancestors. "But in his estate shall he honour the God of forces (or Mahuzzim); and a God whom his fathers knew not, shall he honour with gold and silver, and with precious stones, and pleasant things" (ver. 38.). How can this with any propriety, or with any degree of sense, be applied to Antiochus? The god Mahuzzim, as[6] Jerome remarks, Porphyry hath ridiculously interpreted the God of

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expressed herself, ii. 16. "My beloved is mine, and I am his;" and vi. 3. "I am my beloved's, and my beloved is mine." So Ezek. xxiv. 16. the Lord threatening to take away Ezekiel's wife, saith, "Behold, I take away from thee the desire of thine eyes" מחמד ציניך, and afterwards ver. 18. it followeth, "And at even my wife died." Yea, the Roman language itself is not unacquainted with this speech. Cicero ad uxorem, 'En mea lux, meum desiderium.'

[4] Euseb. de Vit. Constantini l. 4. c. 26. Sozomen, l. i. c. 9. Jortin's Remarks on Eccles. Hist. vol. 3. p. 231.

[5] διαφερόντως δ' ἠξιοῦτο τιμῆς πλείονος, τοὺς τὸν σφῶν βίον τῇ κατὰ Θεὸν ἀναθέντας φιλοσοφίᾳ. τὸν οὖν πανάγιον τῶν ἀει παρθένων τοῦ Θεοῦ χορὸν μονονουχὶ καὶ σέβων διετέλει, ταῖς τῶν τοιῶνδε ψυχαῖς ἔνοικον αὐτὸν ὑπάρχειν ᾧ καθιέρωσαν ἑαυτὰς Θεὸν πειθόμενος. *Præ cæteris vero eos maxime honorabat, qui se totos divinæ philosophiæ addixissent. Ipsum quidem sanctissimum perpetuarum Dei virginum cætum tantum non venerabatur, cum ipsum cui se consacraverant Deum, in earum mentibus habitare, pro certo haberet.* Euseb. de Vit. Const. l. 4. c. 28.

[6] 'Deum *Maozim* ridicule Porphyrius interpretatus est, ut diceret in vico Modin, unde fuit Mattathias et filii ejus, Antiochi duces Jovis posuisse statuam, et compulisse Judæos, ut ei victimas immolarent, id est, Deo Modin.' Hieron. in loc.

Modin, the town from whence came Mattathias and his sons, and where the generals of Antiochus compelled the Jews to sacrifice to Jupiter, that is, to the God of Modin. The "God whom his fathers knew not," Grotius also says[7] was Baal Semen, who was the same as Jupiter Olympius: but if so, how was he unknown to the Macedonians? It is necessary therefore to conclude with Jerome, that[8] this likewise agrees better with Antichrist than with Antiochus. The word *Mahuzzim* is taken personally, and is retained in several translations.[9] It is derived from a radical verb signifying *he was strong;*[1] and the proper meaning of it is *munitions, bulwarks, fortresses:* but the Hebrews often using abstracts for concretes, it signifies equally *protectors, defenders,* and *guardians,* as Mr. Mede hath shewn in several instances.[2] This being the derivation and signification of the word, the verse may literally be translated thus: *And the god Mahuzzim in his estate shall he honour; even a god whom his fathers knew not, shall he honour with gold and silver, and with precious stones, and desirable things.* There are examples of the same construction in other parts of Scripture, as particularly in Psal. lxxxvi. 9. "they shall glorify thy name;" where[3] in the original the verb and particle prefixed to the noun are the same as in this passage. But if it be thought requisite to separate *God* and *Mahuzzim*, and to express the force of the particle ל, then the verse may be translated thus: *And with God,* or *instead of God, Mahuzzim in his estate shall he honour; even with God,* or *instead of God,*[4] *those whom his fathers knew not shall he honour with gold and silver, and with precious stones, and desirable things.* However it be translated, the meaning evidently is, that he should establish the worship of *Mahuzzim,* of *protectors, defenders,* and *guardians.* He should worship them as God, or with God: and who is there so little acquainted with ecclesiastical history, as not to know that the worship of *saints* and *angels* was established both in the Greek and Latin church? They were not only invocated and adored as patrons, intercessors, and guardians of mankind; but festival days were instituted to them; miracles were ascribed to them; churches were erected to them; their very relics were worshipped; and their shrines and images were adorned with the most costly offerings, and "*honoured* with gold and silver, and with precious stones, and *desirable* things." And what renders the completion of the prophecy still more remarkable is, that they were celebrated and adored under the title of *Mahuzzim*, of *bulwarks* and *fortresses*, of *protectors* and *guardians* of mankind. Mr. Mede and Sir Isaac Newton[5] have proved this point by a great variety of authorities cited from the fathers and other ancient writers. It may be proper to recite some of the principal. Basil a monk, who was made bishop of Cæsarea in the year 369, and died in the year 378, concludes his oration upon the martyr Mamas with praying, 'that[6] God would preserve the church of Cæsarea unshaken, *being guarded with the great towers of the martyrs*.' In his oration upon the forty martyrs, whose relics were dispersed in all places thereabouts; 'These are they,'[7] saith he, 'who having taken possession of our country, *as certain conjoined towers*, secure it from the incursions of our enemies:' and he farther invokes them, 'O ye common keepers of mankind, good companions of our cares, coadjutors of our prayers, most powerful ambassadors to God, &c.' Chrysostome in his thirty-second homily upon the epistle to the Romans, speaking of the relics of Peter and Paul, 'This corpse,'[8] saith he, meaning of Paul, 'fortifies that city of Rome *more strongly than any tower, or than ten thousand rampires*, as also doth the corpse of Peter.' Are not these strong *Mahuzzim?* In his homily likewise upon the Egyptian martyrs he speaketh after this manner,[9] 'The bodies of these saints fortify our city *more strongly than any impregnable wall of adamant;* and *as certain high rocks* prominent on every side, not only repel the assaults of these enemies who fall under the senses and are seen by the eyes, but also subvert and dissipate the snares of invisible demons, and all the stratagems of the devil.' Hilary also will tell us, that neither the *guards* of saints, nor ['angelorum munitiones'] the *bulwarks* of angels are wanting to those who are willing to stand. Here *angels* are *Mahuzzim,* as *saints* were before. The Greeks at this day, in their Preces Horariæ, thus invocate the blessed virgin, 'O thou virgin mother of God, thou impregnable *wall,* thou *fortress* of salvation, [מעון ישועות Psal. xxviii.] we call upon thee, that thou wouldst frustrate the purposes of our enemies, and be a *fence* to this city:' thus they go on, calling her *The Hope, Safeguard, and Sanctuary of Christians.* Gregory Nyssen in his third oration upon the forty martyrs, calleth them [δορυφόροι καὶ ὑπερασπισταὶ] *guarders and protectors:* Eucherius his St. Gervase *the perpetual* ['propugnator'] *protector of the faithful.* Theodoret[1] calleth the holy martyrs. *Guardians of cities, Lieutenants of places, Captains of men, Princes, Champions, and Guardians, by whom disasters are turned from us, and those which came from devils debarred and driven away.* By these and other authorities it appears, not only that *Mahuzzim* were worshipped, but they were worshipped likewise as *Mahuzzim.* This superstition began to prevail in the fourth century; and in the eighth century, in the year 787, the worship of images and the like was fully established by the seventh general council, and the second which was held at Nice: such different fortune attended that city, that there the first general council established orthodoxy, and there also the seventh established idolatry by law.

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[7] 'Is Deus est summus Phœnicum Deus *Baal Semen,* quem Græci appellant *Jovem Olympium,* quasi translato nomine.' Grot. in loc.

[8] 'Hoc magis Antichristo quam Antiocho convenit.' Hieron. ibid.

[9] Καὶ θεὸν Μαωζεὶμ ἐπὶ τόπου ἀυτοῦ δοξάσει. Sept. "Deum autem Maozim in loco suo venerabitur." Vulg. Lat.

[1] 'מעח *Robur,* Item, *Arx, Munitio,* a עוז *Roboravit, Roberavit se, Roboratus fuit.*' Buxtorf.

[2] Mede's Works, b. 3. p. 669, 670. Wherefore the Septuagint five times in the Psalms render the word מעח *Mahoz* ὑπερασπίστης, and the Vulgar Latin as often *protector.* The places are these; Psal. xxvii. 1. xxviii. 8. xxxi. 3. 5. xxxvii. 39.

[3] יכבדו לשמר *glorificabunt omen tuum.*

[4] אשר often signifies *ille qui, illi qui,* as in Numb. xxii. 6. Ruth. ii. 2. Gen. vii. 23. Josh. xvii. 16. 1 Sam. xxx. 27, 28, 29, 30, 31. The accusative case is placed before the verb, as מעוים is in the former period; and otherwise there is no accusative case governed by the verb יכבד.

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[5] Mede's Works, b. 3. p. 673, 674. Sir Isaac Newton's Observations on Daniel, c. 14.

[6] *ἄσειστον τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ταύτην, φρουρουμένην τοῖς μεγάλοις πύργοις τῶν μαρτύρων διατηρήσειε. ecclesiam hanc quæ magnis martyrum turribus munitur, custodiat inconcussam.* Basil. Homil. 23. fin.

[7] *οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ τὴν καθ' ἡμᾶς χώραν διαλαβόντες οἱονεὶ πύργοι τινὲς συνεχεῖς, ἀσφάλειαν ἐκ τῆς τῶν ἐναντίων καταδρομῆς παρεχόμενοι. Hi sunt qui regionem nostram obtinentes, veluti densæ quædam turres ipsum adversus hostium incursum tuto communiunt.* Idem Hom. 19. § 8. *ὦ κοινοὶ φύλακες τοῦ γένους τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἀγαθοὶ κοινωνοὶ φροντίδων, δεήσεως συνεργοὶ, πρεσβευταὶ δυνατώτατοι κ. τ. λ. O communes generis humani custodes, boni curarum socii, precum fautores, legati potentissimi, &c.* ibid.

[8] *τοῦτο τὸ σῶμα, τειχίζει τὴν πόλιν ἐκείνην, ὃ παντὸς πύργου καὶ μυρίων ἐστὶ περιβόλων ἀσφαλέστερον· καὶ μετὰ τούτου τὸ Πέτρου. Hoc corpus urbem illam quasi mœniis cingit, quod omni turre et vallis innumeris tutius est: et cum hoc etiam Petri corpus.* Chrysost. in Epist. ad Rom. Hom. 32. § 3.

[9] *τὰ γὰρ τῶν ἁγίων σώματα τούτων τείχους παντὸς ἀδάμαντος καὶ ἀῤῥαγοῦς ἀσφαλέστερον ἡμῖν τειχίζει τὴν πόλιν· καὶ καθάπερ σκόπελοί τινες ὑψηλοὶ προβεβλημένοι πανταχόθεν, οὐχὶ τὰς τῶν αἰσθητῶν τούτων, καὶ ὁρωμένων ἐχθρῶν προσβολὰς ἀποκρούονται μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς τῶν ἀοράτων δαιμόνων ἐπιβουλὰς, καὶ πᾶσαν τοῦ διαβόλου μεθοδείαν ἀνατρέπουσί τε, καὶ διαλύουσιν. Sanctorum enim horum corpora quovis adamantino et inexpugnabili muro tutius nobis urbem muniunt; et tamquam excelsi quidam scopuli undique prominentes, non horum, qui sub sensus cadunt, et oculis cernuntur, hostium impetus propulsant tantum, sed etiam invisibilium dæmonum insidias omnesque diaboli fraudes subvertunt, ac dissipant.* Encom. in Ægypt. Mart. § 1.

Other instances of his regard to *Mahuzzim* are produced in the next verse. "Thus shall he do in the most strong holds with a strange god, whom he shall acknowledge, and increase with glory: and he shall cause them to rule over many, and shall divide the land for gain" (ver. 39.). Porphyry[2] explains this of Antiochus fortifying the city of Jerusalem, and placing garrisons in the other cities, and persuading the people to worship Jupiter; and then giving much honour and glory to those whom he had so persuaded, and causing them to rule over the other

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[1] καὶ ὡς πολιούχους τιμῶσι καὶ φύλακας. *veneranturque tanquam urbium præsides atque custodes.* οὗτοι γέ εἰσιν ἀτεχνῶς πρόμοι ἀνθρώπων, καὶ πρόμαχοι, καὶ ἐπίκουροι, καὶ τῶν κακῶν ἀποτρόπαιοι, τὰς ὑπὸ τῶν δαιμόνων ἐπιφερομένας ἀποδιοπομπούμενοι βλάβας. *Hi sunt vere hominum duces, et propugnatores, et auxiliatores, malorumque depulsores, damna, quæ a dæmonibus infliguntur, procul arcentes.* Theodoret. de Græc. affect. Cur. Serm. 8. p. 593. 600. vol. iv.

[2] 'Quod Porphyrius ita edisserit: faciet hæc omnia, ut muniat arcem Jerusalem, et in cæteris urbibus ponat præsidia, et Judæos doceat adorare Deum alienum: haud dubium quin Jovem significet. Quem quum illis ostenderit, et adorandum esse persuaserit: tunc dabit deceptis honorem, et gloriam plurimam: et faciet cæteris qui in Judæa fuerint dominari, et pro prævaricatione possessiones dividet, et dona distribuet.' Hieron. in loc. col. 1132.

Jews, and dividing possessions and distributing rewards to them for their prevarication. But if all the rest could be accommodated to Antiochus, how could Jupiter whom he had always worshipped, be called "a strange god whom he *should* acknowledge?" The worship of *Mahuzzim* was indeed the worship of a strange god, both to those who imposed it, and to those who received it in the Christian church. But for the better understanding of this part of the prophecy, it may be proper to propose a more literal translation of it: *Thus shall he do; to the defenders of Mahuzzim, together with the strange god whom he shall acknowledge, he shall multiply honour; and he shall cause them to rule over many, and the earth he shall divide for a reward.* Mr. Mede's[3] translation is somewhat different: but I conceive it is neither so literal, nor so just to the original: *And he shall make the holds of the Mahuzzim withal* (or jointly) *to the foreign god, whom acknowledging he shall increase with honour; and shall cause them to rule over many, and shall distribute the earth for a reward.* Let us examine and compare the translations together. In our Bible-translation it is, "Thus shall he do in the most strong holds," or as we read in the margin, *in the fortresses of munitions, with a strange god:* but here *Mahuzzim* is not taken personally, as it was in the foregoing verse. Mr. Mede translates it thus, *And he shall make the holds of the Mahuzzim withal* (or jointly) *to the foreign god:* but then he doth not express the force of the particle prefixed to *holds* in the Hebrew, which ought not to be neglected. "Whom he shall acknowledge and increase with glory," says our Bible-translation: but there is no conjunction like *and* before *increase,* and no preposition like *with* before *glory* in the original. Mr. Mede hath avoided the former objection by changing the verb into a participle, *Whom acknowledging he shall increase with honour;* but the latter objection remains still in its full strength. The latter part is much the same in all translations: but in our Bible-translation there is nothing to which *them* can be referred, "And he shall cause *them* to rule over many;" for it cannot well be said, that *he shall cause* the strong holds *to rule over many.* Let us now consider, how these inconveniences may be wholly avoided by a new translation. *Thus shall he do;*[4] So the same words are translated ver. 30; but then here a stop is to be made. *To the defenders of Mahuzzim,*[5] or *to the priests of Mahuzzim:* Here the force of the particle is expressed; here again the abstract is used for the concrete, as in the foregoing verse, *holds* or *fortresses* for *defenders* and *supporters,* or *priests* as it may be translated; and this notion of the word I find approved and confirmed by Father Houbigant.[6] It is manifest, that persons must be meant, because they are said afterwards to *rule over many*. *Together with the strange god*[7] *whom he shall acknowledge:* This is the most useful signification of the preposition; and if *Mahuzzim* be not considered as *the strange god*, it is difficult to say who *the strange god is*. *He*[8] *shall multiply honour:* Here is no conjunction, nor preposition inserted without authority from the original. *He shall multiply honour:* the noun is the same as the verb in the verse preceding, *he shall honour*. *He shall multiply honour* to the defenders and champions of Mahuzzim, as well as to Mahuzzim themselves. Deifying Mahuzzim, he shall also glorify their priests and ministers:[9] *and he shall cause them to rule over many, and the earth he shall divide for a reward.* The prophecy thus expounded, the completion becomes obvious and evident to the meanest capacity. The defenders and champions of Mahuzzim were the monks, and priests, and bishops: and of them it may most truly and properly be said, that they were *increased with honour*, that they *ruled over many, and divided the land for gain*. Mr. Mede[1] applies the latter part to the Mahuzzim themselves: and he paraphrases it after this manner: 'Yea he shall distribute the earth among his Mahuzzim; so that besides several patrimonies which in every country he shall allot them, he shall share whole kingdoms and provinces among them: Saint George shall have England; St. Andrew, Scotland; St. Denis, France; St. James, Spain; St. Mark, Venice, &c. and bear rule as presidents and patrons of their several countries.' But it appears more natural and easy to understand it of the principal teachers and propagators of the worship of Mahuzzim, the bishops, and priests, and monks, and religious orders: and that they have been honoured, and reverenced, and almost adored in former ages: that their authority and jurisdiction have extended over the purses and consciences of men; that they have been enriched with noble buildings and large endowments, and have had the choicest of the lands appropriated for church-lands; are points of such public notoriety, that they require no proof, as they will admit of no denial.

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[3] Mede's Works, b. 3. p. 667.

[4] ועשה *Sic faciet.*

[5] למבצרי מעזים *propugnatoribus Mahuzzimorum.*

Such was the degeneracy of the Christian church, and now we shall see its punishment, especially in the eastern part of it. "And at the time of the end shall the king of the south push at him, and the king of the north shall come against him like a whirlwind with chariots, and with horsemen, and with many ships, and he shall enter into the countries, and shall overflow, and pass over" (ver. 40.). These things also [2] Porphyry refers to Antiochus: that in the eleventh year of his reign he warred again against his sister's son, Ptolemy Philometor, who hearing of his coming gathered together many thousands of the people; but Antiochus like a whirlwind with chariots, and with horsemen, and with a great fleet entered into many countries, and in passing over laid all waste; and came to the famous land, that is Judea, and fortified the citadel out of the ruins of the walls of the city, and so marched forward into Egypt. But here Porphyry may be convicted of falsifying history; for after Antiochus was dismissed out of Egypt by the Romans, he never ventured to go thither again. The eleventh [3] was the last year of his reign: and all [4] historians agree, that the latter part of his reign was employed in his eastern expedition, in reducing Artaxias king of Armenia to his obedience, and in collecting the tribute among the Persians; and before he returned, he died. Others therefore have said, [5] that the prophet here resumes his former subject of the wars between Antiochus Epiphanes king of Syria, and Ptolemy Philometor king of Egypt. But it is not likely, after giving an account of the conclusion of those wars by the interposition of the Romans, that he should return to them again. Having hitherto deduced things in a regular series, it is more probable that he should continue that series, and proceed to other subsequent events, than that of a sudden he should stop short, and revert to Antiochus, after the intermixture of so many other affairs. But the question is not so much what it was probable for him to do, as what he actually hath done: and we shall find, that the remaining parts of the prophecy are applicable to other subsequent events than to the transactions of Antiochus. The kings of the *south* and the *north* are to be taken and explained according to the times, of which the prophet is speaking. As long as the kingdoms of Egypt and Syria were subsisting, so long the Egyptian and Syrian kings were the kings of the south and the north: but when these kingdoms were swallowed up in the Roman empire, then other powers became the kings of the south and the north. "And at the time of the end (that is, as Mr. Mede[6] rightly expounds it, *in the latter days of the Roman empire*) shall the king of the south push at him," that is, the Saracens, who were of the Arabians, and came from the south; and under the conduct of their false prophet Mohammed and his successors, made war upon the emperor Heraclius, and with amazing rapidity deprived him of Egypt, Syria, and many of his finest provinces. They were only to *push at*, and sorely wound the Greek empire, but they were not to subvert and destroy it. "And the king of the north shall come against him like a whirlwind with chariots, and with horsemen, and with many ships, and he shall enter into the countries, and shall overflow and pass over:" that is, the Turks, who were originally of the Scythians, and came from the north; and after the Saracens seized on Syria, and assaulted with great violence the remains of the Greek empire, and in time rendered themselves absolute masters of the whole. The Saracens dismembered and weakened the Greek empire, but the Turks totally ruined and destroyed it: and for this reason, we may presume, so much more is said of the Turks than of the Saracens. Their *chariots* and their *horsemen* are particularly mentioned; because their armies consisted chiefly of horse, especially before the institution of the Janizaries, and their standards still are horse tails. Their *ships* too are said to be *many;* and indeed without many ships they could never have gotten possession of so many islands and maritime countries, nor have so frequently vanquished the Venetians, who were at that time the greatest naval power in Europe. What fleets, what armies, were employed in the besieging and taking of Constantinople, of Negropont or Eubœa, of Rhodes, of Cyprus, and lastly of Candy or Crete? The words "shall enter into the countries, and overflow, and pass over," give us an exact idea of their *overflowing* the western parts of Asia, and then *passing over* into Europe, and fixing the seat of their empire at Constantinople, as they did under their seventh emperor Mohammed the Second.

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[6] 'למבצרי מעזים *custodibus Maozim*, ex בצר, significatu Arabico, *videre, esse intelligentem*, ut significentur sacerdotes, qui dei istius cultum callebant, atque in eo populum instituebant. Liquet ex verbo המשילם *dominos faciet eos*, notari in vocabulo, מבצרי personas, non munitiones.' Houbigant in loc.

[7] עם־אלוה נכר אשר הכיר *una cum deo alieno quem agnoscet.*

[8] ירבה כבוד *multiplicabit honorem.* Ver. 38. יכבד *honorabit.*

[9] והמשילם ברבים *et dominari faciet eos in multos:* ואדמה יחלק במחיר *terramque partietur in mercedem.*

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[2] 'Et hæc Porphyrius ad Antiochum refert: quod undecimo anno regni sui rursus contra sororis filium Ptolemæum Philometorem dimicaverit. Qui audiens venire Antiochum, congregavit multa populorum millia. Sed Antiochus quasi tempestas valida in curribus, et in equitibus, et in classe magna ingressus sit terras plurimas, et transeundo universa vestaverit: veneritque ad terram inclytam, id est, Judæam,—et arcem munierit de ruinis murorum civitatis, et sic perrexerit in Ægyptum.' Hieron. in loc.

[3] 'Obiit cum regnasset annos solidos undecim.' Petavii Rat. Temp. Part 1. l. 4. c. 10. So likewise Eusebius, Jerome, and Sulpicius Severus. Usher's Annals, A M. 3840. Prideaux Connect. Part 2. b. 3. Anno 164.

[4] 1 Macc. iii. 31, &c. vi. 1, &c. 2 Macc. ix. 1, &c. Joseph. Antiq. l. 12. c. 8. § 1. Valesii Excerpta ex Polybio, p. 145. Appian. de Bell. Syr. c. 45. Diodorus Siculus apud Hieron. col. 1131.

[5] Menochius, Sanctius, Maldonatus, &c. apud Poli Synops. Calmet, Houbigant, &c. in locum.

Among his other conquests this king of the north was to take possession of the Holy Land, and to subdue the neighbouring countries; but the mixed people of Arabia were to escape out of his hands. "He shall enter also into the glorious land, and many countries shall be overthrown; but these shall escape out of his hand, even Edom, and Moab, and the chief of the children of Ammon" (ver. 41.). Porphyry and those of his opinion affirm,[7] that Antiochus marching hastily against Ptolemy the king of the south, did not meddle with the Idumeans, and Moabites, and Ammonites, who were situated on the side of Judea; lest his being engaged in another war should render Ptolemy the stronger. Grotius saith,[8] that Antiochus spared these nations, because they obeyed all his commands; and therefore the Maccabees made war upon them, as the friends of Antiochus. An ancient commentator, and venerable father, Theodoret, on the contrary asserts,[9] that neither do these things any more than the rest fit Antiochus; for having overthrown these nations, he constituted rulers over them, one of whom was Timotheus the commander of the Ammonites This Timotheus, I suppose, was the same who is mentioned in the fifth chapter of the first book of Maccabees. The diversity of these accounts demonstrates the difficulty of accommodating this passage to Antiochus. If we believe Theodoret, it cannot be applied to Antiochus in any sense. If we rather follow Porphyry or Grotius, it can be applied to Antiochus only in an improper sense. The words are, "Many countries shall be overthrown, but these shall escape out of his hand." The manner of expression sufficiently implies, that he should attempt to conquer *these* as well as the rest, but not with the same success. *These* should not like the rest *be overthrown;* they should deliver themselves, and *escape out of his hand:* and we read of no such transaction in the history of Antiochus. We shall find that the whole may be much better accommodated to the Othman empire. "He shall enter also into the glorious land:" the same expression *of the glorious land* was used before (ver. 16.); and in both places it is rendered by the Syriac translator[1] *the land of Israel.* Now nothing is better known, than that the Turks took possession of the Holy Land, and remain masters of it to this day. Sultan Selim entered into Jerusalem in his way to Egypt.[2] "And many countries shall be overthrown:" Aleppo, Damascus, Gaza, and the neighbouring cities and countries were forced to submit, and receive the yoke of the conqueror. "But these shall escape out of his hand, even Edom, and Moab, and the chief of the children of Ammon:" these were some of the people who inhabited Arabia, and the Arabians the Turks have never been able with all their forces to subdue entirely. Sultan Selim their ninth emperor, was the conqueror of the neighbouring countries, and annexed them to the Othman empire; but he could not make a complete conquest of the Arabians. By large gifts [3] he brought over some of their chieftains, and so bribed them to a submission: and ever since his time, [4] the Othman emperors have paid them an annual pension of forty thousand crowns of gold for the safe passage of the caravans and pilgrims going to Mecca: and for their farther security the Sultan commonly orders the Basha of Damascus to attend them with soldiers and water-bearers, and to take care that their number never fall short of fourteen thousand. This pension was not paid for some years on account of the war in Hungary: and what was the consequence? One of the Arabian princes in the year 1694, with several thousands of his countrymen, attacked and plundered the caravan going on pilgrimage to Mecca, and made them all prisoners. The neighbouring Bashas were sent against him; but the prince defeated them all by a stratagem, and put them to flight. Among the prisoners who had been taken was the most illustrious Chan of Tartary, whom the Arabians dismissed upon his parole, that he would carry their complaints to the Sultan, and procure the continuance of the pension. He stood to his engagement, and never ceased importuning the Othman court, till the arrears of the pension were duly paid. But notwithstanding this pension, the Arabians, as often as they find a lucky opportunity, rob and plunder the Turks as well as other travellers. An instance of the same kind happened lately, and is related in the London Gazette of Feb. 11, 1758. 'Constantinople, December 23. The Mecca caravan, which has been lately plundered by the Arabs, was attacked by a numerous body of that people; some say, from 30 to 40,000. The action lasted sixteen hours. They first cut off the Basha of Sidon, who marched out as usual to supply the pilgrims with provisions; he was killed in the engagement; then they turned and attacked the caravan. The Emir Hadgé, or commanding Basha, offered them 1000 purses of money to desist; but they refused any terms, being determined by a mere principle of revenge, for their tribes having been laid aside as conductors or guards to the caravan, and others substituted in their place; and it is thought the removal of their favourite, Ezade-Basha, from that post to Aleppo, had also some share in it. At the return to Damascus of the fugitive soldiery, who convoyed the caravan, those in the town rose up in arms against them, as traitors to their faith; a great slaughter ensued, and continued some time; but there are advices since, that all is quieted there. The Basha of the caravan fled to Gaza, with about fifteen or sixteen of his people, and it is thought he will lose his head. The riches lost to many cities of this empire, which are either taken by the Arabs, or dispersed in the deserts, are computed to amount to an immense sum, as they are supplied from India with all sorts of valuable merchandise, spices, &c. by that canal. A like accident happened in the year 1694, under Ahmed the Second.' Other instances of the same kind have happened since; and are also recorded in the London Gazette; but I cannot recollect the dates, and at present have not the collection of Gazettes to apply to upon this occasion. So constantly have the Arabs maintained the same spirit in all ages; and there is no power that can effectually control them. Armies have been sent against parties of the Arabians, but without success. These free-booters have commonly been too cunning for their enemies: and when it was thought that they were well nigh surrounded and taken, they have still *escaped out of their hands.* So well doth this particular prediction relating to some of the tribes of the Arabians agree with that general one concerning the main body of the nation, (Gen. xvi. 12.) "He will be a wild man; his hand will be against every man, and every man's hand against him: and he shall dwell in the presence of all his brethren."

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[6] Mede's Works, b. 3. p. 674. and b 4. p. 816.

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[7] 'Antiochus, aiunt, festinans contra Ptolemæum regem austri, Idumæos, et Moabitas et Ammonitas, qui ex latere Judææ erant, non tetigit; ne occupatus alio prælio, Ptolemæum redderet fortiorem.' Hieron. in loc.

[8] 'His pepercit Antiochus, quod omnia imperata facerent. Vide 1 Macc. v. Ideo Maccabæi his populis, ut Antiochi amicis, bellum intulere.' Grot. in loc.

[9] Οὐδὲ ταῦτα δὲ ἁρμόττει τῷ Ἀντιόχῳ· καὶ γὰρ τούτους καταστρεψάμενος, ἡγεμόνας αὐτοῖς κατέστησεν, ὧν εἷς ἦν ὁ Τιμόθεος Ἀμμανιτῶν ἡγούμενος. *Neque hæc Antiocho conveniunt; etenim cum hos subigesset, duces ipsis præfuit, ex quibus unus erat Timotheus dux Ammanitarum.* Theodoret. in loc. p. 690.

[1] "Stabitque in terra Israelis." ver. 16. "Pervenietque ad terram Israelis." ver. 41. Syr.

[2] Savage's Abridgment of Knolles and Rycaut, vol. 1. p. 243. Prince Cantemir's Hist. of the Othman Empire in Selim I. § 21. p. 163. Joannis Leunclavii Pandect. Hist. Turcic. c. 210. p. 486. Edit. Paris. Pauli Jovii Hist. l. 17 et Rerum Turc. Comment. in Selymo.

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[3] Savage, ibid. p. 248. 'Itaque Selymus per idoneos homines plures eorum duces data fide ad se Memphim evocavit, et summa liberalitate prosecutus est: quorum exemplo fiebat, ut cæteri quotidie accederent, acceptisque muneribus in verba ejus continuo jurarent.' Pauli Jovii Hist. l. 18. p. 1064. Edit. Gryphii. 1561.

[4] Prince Cantemir's Hist. of the Othman Empire in Ahmed II. § 49. p. 393. with the note, and also in Bajazet II. § 1. p. 116. with note 2.

But though the Arabians should *escape out of his hands,* yet Egypt should *not escape,* but fall under his dominion together with the adjoining countries. "He shall stretch forth his hand also upon the countries, and the land of Egypt shall not escape. But he shall have power over the treasures of gold and of silver, and over all the precious things of Egypt: and the Libyans and the Ethiopians shall be at his steps" (ver. 42, 43.). We read, saith Jerome,[5] that Antiochus did these things in part: but what follows relating to the Libyans and Ethiopians, our doctors assert, agrees better with Antichrist; for Antiochus did not possess Libya and Ethiopia. Theodoret[6] too affirms, that these things also by no means fit Antiochus, for he neither possessed Libya, nor Ethiopia, nor even Egypt itself. This prophecy then cannot belong to Antiochus; and indeed the proper application is to the Othman emperor. "He shall stretch forth his hand also upon the countries:" This implies that his dominions should be of large extent; and he hath *stretched forth his hand* upon many, not only Asian and European, but likewise African countries. Egypt in particular was destined to submit to his yoke: "And the land of Egypt shall not escape; but he shall have power over the treasures of gold and of silver, and over all the precious things of Egypt:" and the conquest of Egypt with the neighbouring countries follows next in order after the conquest of Judea with the neighbouring countries, as in the prophecy, so likewise in history. The Othman emperor Selim,[7] having routed and slain Gauri sultan of Egypt in a battle near Aleppo, became master of all Syria and Judea. He then marched into Egypt against Tumanbäi the new sultan, whom also having vanquished and taken prisoner, he barbarously ordered him to be hanged before one of the gates of Cairo: and so put an end to the government of the Mamalucs, and established that of the Turks in Egypt. The prophecy says particularly, that "he should have power over the treasures of gold and of silver, and over all the precious things of Egypt:" And history informs us, that when [8] Cairo was taken, 'the Turks rifled the houses of the Egyptians, as well friends as foes, and suffered nothing to be locked up or kept private from them: and Selim caused 500 of the chiefest families of the Egyptians to be transported to Constantinople, as likewise a great number of the Mamalucs wives and children, besides the sultan's treasure and other vast riches.' And since that time, it is impossible to say what immense treasures have been drained out of this rich and fertile, but oppressed and wretched country. The prophecy says farther, that some others also of the African nations should submit to the conqueror, "the Libyans and the Ethiopians should be at his steps:" And we read in history, that after the conquest of Egypt,[9] 'the terror of Selim's many victories now spreading wide, the kings of Afric bordering upon Cyreniaca, sent their ambassadors with

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[5] 'Hæc Antiochum ex parte fecisse legimus. Sed quod sequitur, *per Libyas et Æthiopias transibit*, magis nostri asserunt Antichristo convenire. Antiochus enim Libyam quam plerique Africam intelligunt, Æthiopiamque non tenuit.' Hieron. in loc.

[6] Καὶ ταῦτα δὲ ἥκιστα ἁρμόττει τῷ Ἀντιόχῳ· οὔτε γὰρ Λιβύας, οὔτε Αἰθιοπίας ἐκράτησεν, οὔτε δὲ αὐτῆς τῆς Αἰγύπτου. *Et hæc*

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item minime conveniunt Antiocho: qui neque Libya, neque Æthiopia, neque etiam ipsa Ægypto potitus est. Theod. ad loc. p. 691.

[7] Prince Cantemir's Hist. in Selim I. § 16. p. 156, &c. Savage's Abridgment of Knolles and Rycaut, vol. i. p. 240, &c. Pauli Jovii Hist. l. 18. et Rerum Turc. Comment. in Selymo. Leunclav. Annales Turc. p. 341. Edit. Paris. p. 265. Edit. Venet. Pandect. Hist. Turc. c. 207, &c.

[8] Savage, ibid. p. 246 et 248. Pauli Jovii. Hist. l. 18.

[9] Savage, ibid. p. 248. 'Ipsique Africæ reges Cyreniacæ finitimi, qui pendere tributa, et Sulthanis certo fœdere parere consueverant, legationes destinabant.—Omnesque hæ gentes, quæ ad Æthiopiam vergunt, sicuti amicitiam potius, quam imperium Sulthanorum agnoscebant, ita victoriæ fama perductæ, in Turcarum fidem facile concessere.' Pauli Jovii Hist. l. 18. p. 1062 et 1065.

proffers to become his tributaries. Other more remote nations also towards Ethiopia were easily induced to join in amity with the Turks.' At this present time also many places in Africa besides Egypt, as Algiers, Tunis, &c. are under the dominion of the Turks. One thing more is observable with regard to the fate of Egypt, that the particular prophecy coincides exactly with the general one, as it did before in the instance of Arabia. It was foretold by Ezekiel, (xxix. 14. xxx. 12.) that Egypt should always be "a base kingdom," and subject to strangers; and here it is foretold, that in the latter times it should be made a province to the Turks, as we see at this day.

The two next, which are the two last verses of this chapter, I conceive, remain yet to be fulfilled. "But tidings out of the east, and out of the north shall trouble him: therefore he shall go forth with great fury to destroy, and utterly to make away many. And he shall plant the tabernacles of his palace (or rather *of his camp*) between the seas in the glorious holy mountain (or as it is in the margin *the mountain of delight of holiness*); yet he shall come to his end, and none shall help him" (ver. 44, 45.). Prideaux[1] and other learned men, as well as Porphyry and Grotius, refer this passage to Antiochus; and to his hearing of the revolt of the provinces in the east, and of Artaxias in the north: and to his going forth therefore in great anger and with a great army to reduce them to their obedience. But if this part might be fitly applied to Antiochus, yet how could he be said afterwards to "plant the tabernacles of his *camp* between the seas in the glorious holy mountain;" for he returned no more into Judea, but died in that eastern expedition? Porphyry therefore[2] considers the word *Aphedno,* which we translate *his palace* or *his camp,* as the proper name of a place situated between the two great rivers, Tigris and Euphrates: but as Jerome replies, he cannot produce any history, wherein mention is made of any such place; neither can he say which is "the glorious *and* holy mountain;" besides the folly of interpreting two seas by two rivers. Father Houbigant[3] understands it as the name of a place situated in the mountains, in which mountains the book of Maccabees relates Antiochus to have died. This place, says he, was "between two seas," namely the Caspian and Euxine, in Armenia itself, where Artaxias prepared rebellion. But neither doth he procure any authority for his assertions. Where doth he read of any such place as *Aphedno* between the Caspian and Euxine seas? Where doth he read that Antiochus died in the mountains of Armenia? The book of Maccabees, which he allegeth, testifieth no such thing. Both the[4] books of Maccabees agree, that Antiochus died returning out of Persia, through Babylon according to the first book, through Ecbatana according to the second, *in the mountains* indeed, but it is not said in what mountains. Antiochus was victorious in Armenia, and did not die there. Besides, with what propriety could any mountain in Armenia be called "the glorious holy mountain?" Theodotion and Aquila too[5] render it *Aphedanos*, the proper name of a place, as doth Jerome also, who taketh it for a place near Nicopolis, which formerly was called Emmaus. Indeed if it be the name of any place, it must be some place in the Holy Land; because in the Psalms (cvi. 24.) "the pleasant land," in Jeremiah (iii. 19.) "the pleasant land, the goodly heritage," and in Ezekiel (xx. 6.) "the glory of all lands," and constantly throughout the book of Daniel, "the pleasant land" (viii. 9.) "the glorious land" (xi. 16.) and again "the glorious land" (ver. 41.), are appellatives of the Holy Land; and so consequently "the glorious holy mountain" must be Sion, or Olivet, or some mountain in the Holy Land, which lieth "between the seas,"[6] the Dead Sea on the east, and the Mediterranean on the west. But after all *Aphedno* doth not seem to be the name of any place. They who render it as the proper name of a place, most probably did not know what else to make of it: but the word[7] occurs in Jonathan's Targum of Jeremiah, (xliii. 10.) and there it signifies *a pavilion*, "and he shall spread his royal pavilion over them;" and to the same purpose it should be translated here, *he shall plant the tabernacles of his camp between the seas in the glorious holy mountain.* This prophecy then cannot by the help of any explanation be made to fit and agree with Antiochus: and in our application of it to the Othman empire, as these events are yet future, we cannot pretend to point them out with any certainty and exactness. Mr. Mede[8] supposeth, that 'the tidings from *the east and north* may be that of the return of Judah and Israel from those quarters. For Judah was carried captive at the first into the *east*, and Israel by the Assyrian into the *north* (namely in respect of the Holy Land) and in those parts the greatest number of each are dispersed at this day. Of the reduction of Israel from the *north*, see the prophecies Jer. xvi. 14, 15. and chap. xxiii. 8. also chap. xxxi. 8. Or if this *tidings from the north* may be some other thing, yet *that from the east* I may have some warrant to apply to the Jews' return, from that of the *sixth vial* in the Apocalypse, xvi. 12. where the waters of the great river Euphrates are dried up, to prepare the way of the *kings of the east*.' If this application be not admitted, yet it is universally known, that the Persians are seated to the east of the Othman dominions, and the Russians to the north. Persia hath indeed of late years been miserably torn and distracted by intestine divisions; but when it shall unite again in a settled government under one sovereign, it may become again, as it hath frequently been, a dangerous rival and enemy to the Othman emperor. The power of Russia is growing daily; and it is a current tradition among the common people in Turkey, that their empire shall one time or other be destroyed by the Russians. Sir Paul Rycaut in his account of the[9] Present State of the Greek Church, speaking of the respect and reverence which the Muscovites have for the see of Constantinople, says also that 'the Greeks on the other side have an esteem and affection for the Muscovites, as for those whom ancient prophecies mention to be designed by God, for their avengers and deliverers in after-ages.' Which, if it proveth nothing more, yet proveth that the Greek church interpreted this prophecy much in the same sense as we explain it. However this may be, the Porte is at all times jealous of the junction of the two powers of Persia and Russia, and exerts all its policy to prevent it. They are certainly two very formidable neighbours to the Turks; and who can say what tidings may or may not come from thence to trouble the Porte? who can say, how unlikely soever it be at present, that they may not hereafter be made instruments of providence in the restoration of the Jews? Whatever be the motive and occasion, the Turk "shall go forth with great fury to destroy, and utterly to make away many." The original word, which we translate "utterly to make away," signifies *to anathematize, to consecrate, to devote to utter perdition*,[1] so that it strongly implies, that this war should be made upon a religious account. "And he shall plant the tabernacles of his *camp* between the seas in the glorious holy mountain." It is a notion advanced by some commentators,[2] that here both the Turk and the Pope are signified, the former of whom hath fixed his seat between the Mediterranean and Euxine seas at Constantinople, and the latter between the Mediterranean and Adriatic at Rome; both Antichrists, the one without, the other within the temple of God. But such notions are more ingenious than solid, and have rather the resemblance of worth than the substance. "Between the seas in the glorious holy mountain" must denote, as we have shewn, some part of the Holy Land. There the Turk shall encamp with all his power, "yet he shall come to his end, and none shall help him," shall help him effectually, or deliver him. The same times and the same events seem to be presignified in this prophecy, as in that of Ezekiel concerning *Gog of the land of Magog*. He likewise is a northern power. He is represented as of Scythian extraction,[3] (xxxviii. 2.) "He cometh from his place out of the north parts" (ver. 15.). His army too is described as consisting chiefly of "horses and horsemen" (ver. 4.). He likewise hath "Ethiopia and Libya with him" (ver. 5.). "He shall come up against the people of Israel in the latter days" (ver. 16.), after their return from captivity (ver. 8.). He too shall encamp "upon the mountains of Israel" (xxxix. 2.). He shall also "fall upon the mountains of Israel, and all the people that is with him" (ver. 4.). There the divine judgments shall overtake him (xxxviii. 22, 23.), and God shall be "magnified *and* sanctified in the eyes of many nations."

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[1] Prideaux Connect. Part 2. b. 3. Anno 164. Houbigant in locum, &c. &c. Porphyr. apud Hieron. col. 1133. Grotius in loc. 'Nuntius belli a Partho et Armenio. Parthi ad *orientem* Antiocho, Armenii ad *septentrionem.* De Partho testimonium habemus Taciti, ubi de Judæis agit: "Rex Antiochus demere superstitionem et mores Græcorum dare adnixus, quo minus teterrimam gentem in melius mutaret, Parthico bello prohibitus est."'

[2] '*Aphedno,* qui inter duo latissima situs est flumina, Tigrim et Euphratem. Quumque hucusque processerit, in quo monte inclyto sederit, et sancto, dicere non potest; quamquam inter duo maria eum sedisse probare non potest; et stultum sit duo Mesopotamiæ flumina, duo maria interpretari.' Hieron. in loc. col. 1133.

[3] 'Accipimus *Aphedno,* ut nomen loci, in montibus narrat liber Machabæorum Antiochum occidisse. Hic locus erat *inter duo maria,* nimirum mare Caspium et Pontum Euxinum, in Armenia ipsa, ubi rebellionem parabat Artaxias.' Houbigant in loc

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[4] 1 Macc. iv. 4. 2 Macc. ix. 2. 28.

[5] 'Theodotio: *Et figet tabernaculum suum in Aphedano inter maria.* Aquila: *Et plantabit tabernaculum prætorii sui in* Αφαδανῳ *inter maria.* Aphedno juxta Nicopolim, quæ prius Emmaus vocabatur.' Hieron. col. 1134.

[6] 'Inter duo maria, mare videlicet quod nunc appellatur Mortuum ab oriente, et mare Magnum.' Hieron. col. 1154.

[7] אפרניה *Et extendet tentorium suum super eos.*

[8] Mede's Works, b. 4. p. 816.

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[9] C. 3. p. 83.

[1] 'החרים *Anathematizavit, Anathemate* vel *anathemati, internecioni, perditioni, devovit : consecravit, devotum effecit.*' Buxtorf.

[2] See Poole, and his additional commentators.

At that time there shall be great tribulation (xii. 1.), "such as never was since there was a nation, even to that same time:" and after that shall be the general resurrection (ver. 2.), "and many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake, some to everlasting life, and some to shame and everlasting contempt." They certainly are guilty of manifest violence and injury to the sacred text, and rack and torture the words to confess a meaning which they never meant, who contend that nothing more was meant in this passage, than the persecution of the Jews by Antiochus, and the Maccabees after some time coming out of the holes and caves of the earth, wherein they had concealed themselves from the fury and cruelty of their enemies. These critics usually pretend to be strong advocates for the literal and obvious meaning of the prophecies: but here they pervert the plainest expressions into figures, and prefer the most forced to the most natural interpretation. The troubles under Antiochus were neither in degree nor in duration to be compared to what the nation had suffered under Nebuchadnezzar; so that the time of Antiochus could not be reckoned "a time of trouble, such as never was since there was a nation." The Maccabees too came out of their lurking holes and caves, and recovered their city, and cleansed the sanctuary, even before the death of Antiochus himself: but the resurrection in this place is described as something subsequent to the destruction of the king of the north. Besides, how could the Maccabees, who were a set of brave virtuous men, zealously devoted to their religion, liberty, and country, by coming forth from the rocks and caves to oppose the enemy in the open field, be said to "awake, some to everlasting life, and some to shame and everlasting contempt?" Such expressions can with truth and propriety be applied only to the general resurrection of the just and unjust: and though it be said, "many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake," yet that is no objection to the truth here delivered; for as Theodoret[4] observed long ago, the prophet hath said *many* for *all*, in the same manner as St. Paul hath put *many* for *all*, when he said, "If through the offence of one many be dead, much more the grace of God, and the gift by grace which is by one man, Jesus Christ, hath abounded unto many" (Rom. v. 15.): and again (ver. 19.) "As by one man's disobedience many were made sinners, so by the obedience of one shall many be made righteous." The proper conclusion of all is the general resurrection, and the consequent happiness of the wise and good; (ver. 3.) "And they that be wise, shall shine as the brightness of the firmament, and they that turn many to righteousness as the stars for ever and ever."

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[3] Vide Bocharti Phaleg. l. 3. c. 13. col. 117, &c.

The angel having thus finished his prophecy of the things "noted in the scripture of truth," an inquiry is made relating to the time of these events. It was said before (xi. 40.) "At the time of the end shall the king of the south push at him:" and here the question is asked (ver. 6.) "How long shall it be to the end of these wonders?"[5] The answer is returned in the most solemn manner (ver. 7.), "that it shall be for a time, times, and a half." "A time, times, and a half," as there hath been occasion to shew in a former dissertation, are three prophetic years and a half; and three prophetic years and a half are 1260 prophetic days; and 1260 prophetic days are 1260 years. The same time therefore is prefixed for the desolation and oppression of the eastern church, as for the tyranny of the little horn (vii. 25.) in the western church: and it is wonderfully remarkable, that the doctrine of Mohammed was first forged at Mecca, and the supremacy of the Pope was established by virtue of a grant from the wicked tyrant Phocas, in the very same year of Christ 606. 'It is to be observed,' says Dean Prideaux,[6] 'that Mahomet began this imposture about the same time that the Bishop of Rome, by virtue of a grant from the wicked tyrant Phocas, first assumed the title of Universal Pastor, and thereon claimed to himself that supremacy which he hath been ever since endeavouring to usurp over the Christian church. [Phocas made this grant A.D. 606, which was the very year that Mahomet retired to his cave to forge that imposture there, which two years after, A.D. 608, he began to propagate at Mecca.] And from this time both having conspired to found themselves an empire in imposture, their followers have been ever since endeavouring by the same methods, that is, those of fire and sword, to propagate it among mankind; so that Antichrist seems at this time to have set both his feet upon Christendom together, the one in the east, and the other in the west; and how much each hath trampled upon the church of Christ, the ages ever since succeeding have abundantly experienced.' There is a farther notation of the time in the following words, "And when he shall have accomplished to scatter the power of the holy people, all these things shall be finished:" when the Jews shall be recalled from their dispersion, then all these things shall receive their full and final completion. The prophet, not sufficiently understanding this answer,[7] inquired, (ver. 8.) *What,* or *how long, shall be these latter times* or *latter wonders?* And it is answered again, (ver. 11.) that *from the time of taking away the daily sacrifice, and setting up the abomination that maketh desolate, there shall be a thousand two hundred and ninety days.* The days still are prophetic days or years: but even if they were natural days, they could by no manner of computation be accommodated to the times of Antiochus Epiphanes. The *setting up of the abomination of desolation* appears to be a general phrase, and comprehensive of various events. It is applied by the writer of the first book of Maccabees (i. 54.) to the profanation of the temple by Antiochus, and his setting up the image of Jupiter Olympius upon the altar of God. It is applied by our Saviour (Matt. xxiv. 15.) to the destruction of the city and temple by the Romans, under the conduct of Titus, in the reign of Vespasian. It may for the same reason be applied to the Roman emperor Adrian's building a temple to Jupiter Capitolinus, in the same place where the temple of God had stood; and to the misery of the Jews, and the desolation of Judea that followed. It may with equal justice be applied to the Mohammedans invading and desolating Christendom, and converting the churches into mosques: and this latter event seemeth to have been particularly intended in this passage. If this interpretation be true, the religion of Mohammed will prevail in the east the space of 1260 years; and then a great and glorious revolution will follow; perhaps the restoration of the Jews, perhaps the destruction of Antichrist; but another still greater and more glorious will succeed: and what can this be so probably as the full conversion of the Gentiles to the church of Christ and the beginning of the millennium or reign of the saints upon earth? For (ver. 12.) "blessed is he that waiteth, and cometh to the thousand three hundred and five and thirty days." Here are then three different periods assigned, 1260 years, 1290 years, and 1335 years: and what is the precise time of their beginning and consequently of their ending, as well as what are the great and signal events, which will take place at the end of each period, we can only conjecture, time alone can with certainty discover. If we are mistaken in our conjectures, it is no more than Mr. Mede[8] and other much more learned men have been, who have gone before us in this argument. It is indeed no wonder that we cannot fully understand and explain these things: for as the angel said to Daniel himself, (ver. 4 and 9.) though "many *should* run to and fro," should inquire and examine into these things, "and *thereby* knowledge *should* be increased;" yet the full understanding of them is reserved for the time of the end, "the words are closed up, and sealed till the time of the end." But however the great uncertainty of these events, which remain yet to be fulfilled, cannot shake the credit and certainty of those particulars, which have already been accomplished. As Prideaux judiciously observes,[9] it is the nature of such prophecies not to be thoroughly understood, till they are thoroughly fulfilled. Not that such prophecies are therefore like the pagan oracles, of an ambiguous, equivocal, and delusive nature. Obscure they may be, but there is a wide difference between obscurity and equivocation. The pagan oracles were purposely worded in such a manner, that if they failed in one sense, they might hold good in another, though directly the contrary:[1] the Scripture-prophecies have a determined meaning, and though sometimes they may comprehend more events than one, yet are they never applicable to contrary events. The pagan oracles were delivered for the immediate direction of those who consulted them; and therefore a mistake at first was of more fatal consequence: the Scripture-prophecies were intended more for the instruction and illumination of future ages, and therefore it is sufficient if time shall illustrate the particulars. The pagan oracles are no sooner understood than they are despised, whereas the reverse is true of the Scripture-prophecies, and the better you understand, the more you will admire them. The completion of the former demonstrates their fraud and futility, the completion of the latter their truth and dignity.

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[4] πολλοὶ δὲ ἀντὶ τοῦ πάντες ἔφη. καὶ γὰρ ὁ μακάριος Παῦλος ἀντὶ τοῦ πάντες οἱ πολλοὶ τέθεικε λέγων κ. τ. λ. Multi *autem pro* omnes *dixit. Etenim beatus quoque Paulus* multi *pro* omnes *posuit, cum dixit,* &c. Theod. in loc. p. 693.

[5] עד־מתי קץ הפלאות "*Usque quo finis mirabilium?*" Pagnin. "Usque quo finis horum mirabilium?" Vul. "Εως πότε τὸ πέρας ὧν εἴρηκας τῶν θαυμασίων;" Sept.

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[6] Life of Mahomet, p. 13. 8th Edit. See also Bp. Jewel's Reply to Harding, p. 181.

[7] מה אחרית אלה.

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[8] See Mede's Works, b. 3. p. 717. De numeris Danielis.

[9] Prid. Connect. part 2 b. 3. in the conclusion.

[1] As in these instances—

'Crœsus Halym penetrans magnam pervertet opum vim.
'Aio te, Æacida, Romanos vincere posse.'

Upon the whole, what an amazing prophecy is this, comprehending so many various events, and extending through so many successive ages, from the first establishment of the Persian empire, above 530 years before Christ, to the general resurrection! And the farther it extends, and the more it comprehends, the more amazing surely, and the more divine it must appear, if not to an infidel like Porphyry, yet to all who like Grotius have any belief of revelation. How much nobler and more exalted the sense, more important and more worthy to be known by men and to be revealed by God, when taken in this extended view, and applied to this long and yet regular series of affairs, by the most easy and natural construction: than when confined and limited to the times and actions of Antiochus, to which yet it cannot be reconciled by the most strained and unnatural interpretation! What stronger and more convincing proofs can be given or required of a divine providence, and a divine revelation, that there is a God who directs and orders the transactions of the world, and that Daniel was a prophet inspired by him, "a man greatly beloved," as he is often addressed by the angel! Our blessed Saviour (Matt. xxiv. 15.) hath bestowed upon him the appellation of "Daniel the prophet;" and that is authority for any Christian: but in this work have been produced such instances and attestations of his being a prophet, as an infidel cannot deny, or if he denies, cannot disprove. The character that is given of him by Josephus is nothing more than strictly his due. It expresseth the sense of the Jewish church; and the same must be the sentiments of every man, who will consider and compare the prophecies and events together. This historian is commending the superior excellence of Daniel's predictions; 'for he was wont,' [2] says he, 'not only to foretel future things, as other prophets also did; but he likewise determined the time, wherein they should happen.' Afterwards having mentioned some of Daniel's prophecies he [3] proceeds thus: 'All these things, God having shewn them to him, he left in writing, that they who read them, and behold the events might admire Daniel for the honour vouchsafed unto him by God; and by these things might be convinced how much the Epicureans are mistaken, who deny a providence, and allow not that God regards human actions, nor that all things are governed by a blessed and immortal Being for the preservation of the whole, but assert that the world is carried on at random without a guide or ruler: which, if it was without a governor as they pretend, would have been destroyed by the blind impulse, and have perished and come to nought, as we see ships, which are destitute of pilots, overwhelmed by the storms, and chariots overturned and broken to pieces, which have no drivers. For by these things predicted by Daniel, they appear to me widely to err from the truth, who declare, that God hath no care of human affairs: for we should not see all things succeed according to his prophecies, if it happened that the world was governed by chance.'

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[2] Οὐ γὰρ τὰ μέλλοντα μόνον προφητεύων διετέλει, καθάπερ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι προφῆται, ἀλλὰ καὶ καιρὸν ὥριζεν εἰς ὃν ταῦτα ἀποβήσεται, *Non enim futura solum, quemadmodum et alii vates, prædicere solebat, sed et tempus, quo hæc eventura erant, præfinivit.* Joseph. Antiq. l. 10. c. 11. § 7.

[3] ταῦτα πάντα ἐκεῖνος, Θεοῦ δείξαντος αὐτῷ, συγγράψας κατέλειψεν· ὥστε τοὺς ἀναγινώσκοντας, καὶ τὰ συμβαίνοντα σκοποῦντας, θαυμάζειν ἐπὶ τῇ παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ τιμῇ τὸν Δανιῆλον· καὶ τοὺς Ἐπικουρείους ἐκ τούτων εὑρίσκειν πεπλανημένους, οἳ τήν τε πρόνοιαν ἐκβάλλουσι τοῦ βίου, καὶ τὸν Θεὸν οὐκ ἀξιοῦσιν ἐπιτροπεύειν τῶν πραγμάτων, οὐδ᾽ ὑπὸ τῆς μακαρίας καὶ ἀφθάρτου πρὸς διαμονὴν τῶν ὅλων οὐσίας κυβερ-

In short we see how well Daniel deserves the character which his contemporary Ezekiel hath given him (xiv. and xxviii.) for his *piety* and *wisdom:* and these usually go together, for as the angel saith, (ver. 10.) "none of the wicked shall understand, but the wise shall understand." Happy are they, who both know the will of God, and do it!

νᾶσθαι τὰ σύμπαντα, ἄμοιρον δ' ἡνιόχου καὶ φροντιστοῦ τὸν κόσμον αὐτομάτως φέρεσθαι λέγουσιν. ὃς εἰ τοῦτον ἀπροστατητος ἦν τὸν τρόπον, καθάπερ καὶ τὰς ναῦς ἐρήμους κυβερνητῶν καταδυομένας ὁρῶμεν ὑπὸ τῶν πνευμάτων, ἢ καὶ τὰ ἅρματα, περιτρεπόμενα μὴ ἔχοντα τοὺς ἡνιοχοῦντας, συντριβεὶς ἂν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀπρονοήτου φορᾶς, ἀπολώλει καὶ διεφθείρετο. τοῖς γὰρ προειρημένοις ὑπὸ Δανιήλου, δοκοῦσί μοι σφόδρα τῆς ἀληθοῦς δόξης διαμαρτάνειν, οἱ τῷ Θεῷ μηδεμίαν εἶναι περὶ τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων ἀποφαινόμενοι πρόνοιαν. οὐ γὰρ ἂν κατὰ τὴν ἐκείνου προφητείαν, εἰ συνέβαινεν αὐτοματισμῷ τινὶ τὸν κόσμον διάγειν, πάντα ἑωρῶμεν ἀποβαίνοντα. *Ista omnia, a Deo sibi monstrata, scriptis consignata reliquit: ut qui ea legerint, et eventus perspexerint, Danielum mirentur ob tam insignem honorem illi a Deo habitum; et Epicureos* magno *in errore versari deprehendant, qui providentiam e vita ejiciunt, et a Deo res* humanas *curari non existimant, nec omnia a natura beata et immortali (ad universitatis rerum perennitatem) regi et administrari* volunt, *sed sine rectore et curatore mundum suopte impetu ferri asseverant: qui si ita ut illi autumant præside careret, quemadmodum naves sine gubernatoribus videmus procellis* et fluctibus *obrui, currusque aurigis destitutos percelli, temerario* sane *motu labefactus concideret periretque. Cumque ista prædicta fuerint a Danielo, videntur mihi a vera opinione multum aberrare, qui Deum non curare pronunciant quid agat genus humanum: non enim vaticiniis ejus eventus respondisse conspiceremus, si omnia in mundo temeritate regerentur.* Joseph. ibid.

XVIII.—OUR SAVIOUR'S PROPHECIES RELATING TO THE DESTRUCTION OF JERUSALEM.

IN FOUR PARTS.—PART I.

THE Jewish church, consisting only of a single nation, and living under a theocracy or the immediate government of God, experienced continual interpositions of a particular extraordinary providence in its favour and protection, and was from time to time instructed by prophets raised up and sent one after another as occasions required. But the Christian church being designed to comprehend the whole world, was like the world at first erected by miracle, but like the world too is since governed by a general ordinary providence, by established laws, and the mediation of second causes. This difference in the nature and constitution of the two churches, is the reason why prophecies, and miracles, and other supernatural powers, which were continued so long, and repeated so frequently in the Jewish church, were in the Christian church confined to the first ages, and limited chiefly to the persons of our blessed Saviour, and his disciples, and their companions. There were *prophets* (Acts xi. 27.) who "came from Jerusalem unto Antioch." "One of them named Agabus" (ver. 28.) foretold the "great dearth, which came to pass in the days of Claudius Cæsar." The same prophet foretold likewise (Acts xxi. 10, 11.) the bonds and imprisonment of St. Paul. Philip the Evangelist had also (ver. 9.) "four daughters, virgins, which did prophesy." Prophetic as well as other spiritual gifts abounded in the primitive church; "*their* sons and *their* daughters *did* prophesy, (Acts ii. 17.) *their* young men saw visions, and *their* old men *dreamed* dreams." But the only prophecies, which the Spirit of God hath thought fit to record and preserve, are some delivered by our blessed Saviour himself, and by his apostles, particularly St. Paul and St. John.

Our blessed Saviour, as he was the great subject of prophecy, so was an illustrious prophet himself; as he excelled in all other spiritual gifts and graces, so was eminent in this also; and gave ample proofs of his divine commission by his prophecies as well as by his miracles. What he said upon one occasion, is equally applicable to all his predictions, that their accomplishment is a sufficient attestation of his being the Messiah; (John xiii. 19.) "Now I tell you before it come, that when it is come to pass, ye may believe that I am he." He foretold not only his own passion, death, and resurrection, but also the manner and circumstances of them, that he should be betrayed by one of the twelve, even by Judas Iscariot the son of Simon; that all the rest should be offended because of him that very night, and notwithstanding their protestations to the contrary should forsake him and fly: that Peter particularly, who was more zealous and eager than the rest, before the cock crew twice, should deny him thrice; that he should be betrayed to the chief priests, and be delivered to the Gentiles to mock, and to scourge, to spit upon, and to kill him; that he should be crucified, and the third day should rise again, and appear to his disciples in Galilee. He foretold that his apostles should be enabled of plain fishers to become fishers of men; that they should be indued with power from on high to speak with new tongues and to work miracles; that they should go forth into all nations, and publish the glad tidings of the gospel unto the uttermost parts of the earth. He foretold the persecutions and sufferings which his disciples should undergo, and particularly by what manner of death Peter in his old age should glorify God, and that John should survive till after the destruction of Jerusalem. He foretold the rejection of the Jews and the calling of the Gentiles; that the kingdom of heaven should be taken away from the former, and be given to the latter, who should bring forth the fruits thereof; that the number of his disciples from small beginnings should increase wonderfully, as a little seed groweth into a tree, and a little leaven leaveneth the whole lump; that his church shall be so founded upon a rock, that it should stand for ever, and all the powers of hell should not prevail against it. These things were most of them contrary to all human appearances, and impossible to be foreseen by human prudence or effected by human power: and he must be thoroughly acquainted with the hearts of men, and with the direction and disposition of future events, who could foretel them with such certainty and exactness: and some of them are actually accomplishing in the world at this present time.

But none of our Saviour's prophecies are more remarkable than those relating to the destruction of Jerusalem, as none are more proper and pertinent to the design of these discourses: and we will consider them as they lie in the twenty-fourth chapter of St. Matthew, taking in also what is superadded by the other evangelists upon parallel occasions. These prophecies were delivered by our Saviour about forty years, and were committed to writing by St. Matthew about thirty years before they were to take effect. St. Matthew's is universally allowed to be the first of the four Gospels;[1] the first in time, as it is always placed the first in order. It was written, as most writers affirm,[2] in the eighth year after the ascension of our Saviour. It must have been written before the dispersion of the apostles, because St. Bartholomew is said to have taken it along with him into India,[3] and to have left it there, where it was found several years afterwards by Pantænus. If the general tradition of antiquity be true, that it was written originally in Hebrew, it certainly was written before the destruction of Jerusalem, for there was no occasion for writing in that language after the destruction of Jerusalem and the dispersion of the Jews into all nations. It is asserted upon good authority,[4] that the Gospels of Mark and Luke were approved and confirmed, the one by St. Peter, the other by St. Paul. So Papius bishop of Hierapolis and Clemens Alexandrinus say expressly that the Gospel of St. Mark was written at the desire of the new converts, and ratified by St. Peter. So the learned Origen affirms, that the second Gospel is that of Mark, who wrote as Peter dictated to him; and the third Gospel is that of Luke, which is commended by Paul. So Tertullian saith, that Mark's Gospel is affirmed to be Peter's, whose interpreter Mark was; and Luke's Gospel they are wont to ascribe to Paul. So Jerome saith, that the Gospel according to Mark, who was the disciple and interpreter of Peter, is said to be Peter's. These authorities are more than sufficient to weigh down the single testimony of Irenæus to the contrary; but besides these Gregory Nazianzen, Athanasius, and other fathers might be alleged to prove, that the Gospels of Mark and Luke received the approbation, the one of St. Peter, the other of St. Paul: and it is very well known, that both these apostles suffered martyrdom under Nero. The Gospel of St. Mark must have been written at latest in the reign of Nero; for he died in that reign, in the eighth year of Nero, according to Jerome.[5] The Gospel of St. Luke was written before the Acts of the Apostles, as appears from the preface to the latter; and the Acts of the Apostles concluding with St. Paul's dwelling at Rome two years, it is probable that this book was written soon after that time, and before the death of St. Paul. It may be concluded then as certain that three of the four Gospels were written and published before the destruction of Jerusalem; Dr. Lardner himself, who fixed the time of writing the three first Gospels later than most other authors, yet maintains that they were all published some years before the destruction of Jerusalem;[6] and in all probability the writers themselves were dead before that period; St. Matthew and St. Mark were certainly so: and consequently it cannot with any colour of reason be pretended, that the predictions were written after the events. St. John is the only Evangelist, who lived and wrote after the destruction of Jerusalem; and he purposely omits these prophecies, to prevent this very cavil, as we may suppose with reason. Neither can it be pretended, that these predictions were interpolations made afterwards,[7] because they are inserted in several places, and woven into the very substance of the Gospels; and because they are cited and alluded to by ancient writers, as well as other parts; and because they were not to be accomplished all at once, but required several ages to their perfect completion; and we see them, in some instances, fulfilling to this very day.

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[1] πρῶτον μὲν γέγραπται τὸ κατὰ τὸν ποτὲ τελώνην, ὕστερον δὲ ἀπόστολον Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ Ματθαῖον. *Primum evangelium scriptum esse a Matthæo, prius quidem publicano, postea vero apostolo Jesu Christi.* Origen. apud Euseb. Eccles. Hist. l. 6. c. 25.

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[2] 'On croit que saint Matthieu commença à travailler à son evangile, la huitiéme année après la resurrection du Sauveur; c'est-a-dire, l'an 41 de l'ere vulgaire. Presque tous les anciens manuscrits Grecs le marquent ainsi à la fin de son volume.' Calmet Preface. 'Magno consensu perhibent Patres, Matthæum, in gratiam credentium ex Judæis in Palæstina, evangelium suum scripsisse, et quidem, ut multi addunt, Hierosolymis, octavo post ascensionem Christi anno, qui Claudii imperatoris primus fuit.' Wetstein.

[3] Euseb. Eccles. Hist. l. 5. c. 10. Hieron. Catalog. Script. Eccles. in Pantæno. p. 112. vol. 4. par. 2.

[4] Papias et Clemens Alex. apud Euseb. Hist. Eccles. l. 2. c. 15. Origen. apud Euseb. l. 6. c. 25. Tertull. advers. Marcion. l. 4. § 5. Hieron. de Script. Eccles. p. 101. vol. 4.

[5] 'Mortuus est autem octavo Neronis anno.' De Script. Eccles. p. 105.

In the conclusion of the twenty-third chapter of St. Matthew, our Saviour had with the most merciful severity, with the most compassionate justice, pronounced the sentence of desolation upon Jerusalem; (ver. 37, 38.) "O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, thou that killest the prophets, and stonest them which are sent unto thee, how often would I have gathered thy children together, even as a hen gathereth her chickens under her wings, and ye would not! Behold your house is left unto you desolate." In like manner upon another occasion, when he was approaching to Jerusalem, (Luke xix. 41, 42.) "he beheld the city, and wept over it, saying, If thou hadst known, even thou, at least in this thy day, the things which belong unto thy peace! but now they are hid from thine eyes." So deeply was our Saviour affected, and so tenderly did he lament over the calamities, which were coming upon his nation! Such a generous and amiable pattern of a patriot spirit hath he left to his disciples; and so contrary to truth is the insinuation of a noble writer,[8] that there is nothing in the Gospels to recommend and encourage the love of one's country.

When our Saviour uttered that pathetic lamentation recorded in the twenty-third chapter of St. Matthew, he was in the temple, speaking to a mixt audience of his disciples and the multitude: and as he was departing out of the temple, (ver. 1st. of the twenty-fourth chapter) "his disciples came to him for to shew him the buildings of the temple," intimating what a pitiable calamity they thought it, that so magnificent a structure should be destroyed. In the other Gospels they are represented as saying, (Mark xiii. 1.) "Master, see what manner of stones, and what buildings are here;" and as speaking of the temple, (Luke xxi. 5.) "how it was adorned with goodly stones, and gifts." The gifts of ages were reposited there, the [9] presents of kings and emperors, as well as the offerings of the Jews: and as the whole temple was built with the greatest cost and magnificence, so nothing was more stupendous than the uncommon measure of the stones. The disciples appear to have admired them particularly, and to have thought them very extraordinary; and indeed they were of a size almost incredible. Those employed in the foundations [1] were in magnitude forty cubits, that is above sixty feet, a cubit being somewhat more than a foot and a half: and the superstructure was worthy of such foundations. There were some stones of the whitest marble forty-five cubits long, five cubits high, and six cubits broad, as a priest of the temple hath described them.

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[6] See Vol. 1. of his Supplement to the Credibility of the Gospel History.

[7] See this argument pursued more at large in Dr. Jortin's Remarks on Ecclesiastical History, vol. 1. p. 72—77.

[8] Shaftsbury's Characteristics, vol. 1. p. 99.

Such a structure as this, one would have expected, might have endured for many generations; and was indeed worthy of the highest admiration: but notwithstanding our Saviour assures his disciples, (ver. 2.) "There shall not be left here one stone upon another, that shall not be thrown down." Our Saviour in his prophecies frequently alludes to phrases and expressions used by the ancient prophets; and as the prophet Haggai (ii. 15.) expresseth the building of the temple by *a stone being laid upon a stone,* so Christ expresseth the destruction of it by *one stone not being left upon another.* In the same manner he speaketh of and to the city, (Luke xix. 44.) "They shall lay thee even with the ground, and shall not leave in thee one stone upon another." It is a proverbial and figurative manner of expression, to denote an utter destruction; and the prophecy would have been amply fulfilled, if the city and temple had been utterly ruined, though every single stone had not been overturned. But it happened in this case, that the words were almost literally fulfilled, and scarce *one stone was left upon another.* For when the Romans had taken Jerusalem, [2] Titus or dered his soldiers to dig up the foundations both of all the city and the temple. The temple was a building of such strength and grandeur, of such splendour and beauty, that it was likely to be preserved, as it was worthy to be preserved, for a monument of the victory and glory of the Roman empire. Titus was accordingly very desirous of preserving it,[3] and protested to the Jews, who had fortified themselves within it, that he would preserve it, even against their will. He had [4] expressed the like desire of preserving the city too, and sent Josephus and other Jews again and again to their countrymen, to persuade them to a surrender. But an overruling providence directed things otherwise. The Jews [5] themselves first set fire to the porticos of the temple, and then the Romans. One of the [6] soldiers, neither waiting for any command, nor trembling for such an attempt, but urged by a certain divine impulse, threw a burning brand in at the golden window, and thereby set fire to the buildings of the temple itself. Titus [7] ran immediately to the temple, and commanded his soldiers to extinguish the flame. But neither exhortations nor threatenings could restrain their violence. They either could not hear, or would not hear; and those behind encouraged those before to set fire to the temple. He was still for preserving the holy place. He commanded his soldiers even to be beaten for disobeying him: but their anger, and their hatred of the Jews, and a certain warlike vehement fury overcame their reverence for their general, and their dread for his commands. A soldier in the dark set fire to the doors: and thus, as Josephus [8] says, the temple was burnt against the will of Cæsar. Afterwards, as we read in the Jewish Talmud [9] and in Maimonides, Turnus Rufus, or rather Terentius Rufus,[1] who was left to command the army at Jerusalem, did with a ploughshare tear up the foundation of the temple; and thereby signally fulfilled those words of Micah, (iii. 12.) "Therefore shall Zion for your sake be ploughed as a field." Eusebius [2] too affirms, that it was ploughed up by the Romans, and he saw it lying in ruins. The city also shared the same fate,[3] and was burnt and destroyed as well as the temple. The Romans[4] burnt the extremest parts of the city, and demolished the walls. Three towers only,[5] and some part of the wall were left standing, for the better encamping of the soldiers, and to shew to posterity what a city and how fortified the valour of the Romans had taken. All the rest of the city was so demolished and levelled with the ground, that they who came to see it, could not believe that it was ever inhabited. After the city was thus taken and destroyed,[6] great riches were found among the ruins, and the Romans dug it up in search of the treasures, which had been concealed and buried in the earth. So literally were our Saviour's words accomplished in the ruin both of the city and of the temple: and well might Eleazar[7] say, that God had delivered his most holy city to be burnt, and to be subverted by their enemies; and[8] wish that they all had died, before they saw that holy city demolished by the hands of their enemies, and the sacred temple so wickedly dug up from the foundations.

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[9] Vide Joseph. de Bell. Jud. l. 5. c. 13. § 6.

[1] πέτραι δὲ τεσσαρακονταπέχεις τὸ μέγεθος ἦσαν τοῦ δομήματος. *Saxis vero in exstructione usi sunt quadragenorum cubitorum magnitudinis.*—Ἦν δὲ ἄξια τῶν τοιούτων θεμελίων καὶ τὰ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἔργα. *Tantis autem fundamentis digna erant opera illis imposita.*——τῶν δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ λίθων ἔνιοι μῆκος πέντε καὶ τεσσαράκοντα πηχῶν ἦσαν ὕψος πέντε, εὖρος δὲ ἕξ. *Saxorum autem, quibus exstructum erat templum, quædam erant* XLV *cubitos longa, alta* V, *et lata* VI. Joseph de Bell. Jud. l. 5. c. 5. § 1. 2. 6.

[2] κελεύει Καῖσαρ ἤδη τήν τε πόλιν ἅπασαν καὶ τὸν νεὼν κατασκάπτειν. *jubet eos Cæsar totam funditus jam evertere civitatem et templum.* Joseph. de Bell. Jud. l. 7. c. 1. § 1.

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[3] *τηρήσω δὲ τὸν ναὸν ὑμῖν, καὶ μὴ θέλουσι. Vobis autem etiam invitis templum servabo.* Joseph. de Bell. Jud. l. 6. c. 2. § 4.

[4] Joseph. de Bell. Jud. l. 5. c. 8. § 1. c. 9. § 2, &c. c. 11. § 2. l. 6. c. 2. § 1.

[5] Joseph. de Bell. Jud. l. 6. c. 2. § 9.

[6] *ἔνθα δὴ τῶν στρατιωτῶν τις, οὔτε παράγγελμα περιμείνας, οὔτε ἐπὶ τηλικούτῳ δείσας ἐγχειρήματι, δαιμονίῳ ὁρμῇ τινὶ χρώμενος κ.τ.λ. Quo tempore miles quidam, non expectato cujusquam mandato, neque tantum facinus, veritus, divino quodam impetu fretus, &c.* Joseph. de Bell. Jud. l. 6. c. 4. § 5.

[7] Joseph. ibid. § 6 et 7.

[8] *ὁ μὲν οὖν ναὸς οὕτως, ἄκοντος Καίσαρος, ἐμπιπρᾶται. Et templum quidem hoc modo exuritur, invito Cæsare.* Joseph. ibid. § 7.

[9] See them quoted in Lightfoot, Whitby, Wetstein, &c. upon the place.

[1] Τερέντιος Ῥοῦφος· οὗτος γὰρ ἄρχων τῆς στρατιᾶς κατελέλειπτο. *Terentius Rufus; namque is exercitui præfectus relictus erat.* Joseph. de Bell. Jud. l. 7. c. 2.

[2] Eusebii Demons. Evangel. l. 6. c. 13.

[3] Joseph. de Bell. Jud. l. 6. c. 6. § 3. c. 7. § 2. c. 8. § 5.

In this plain manner our Saviour, now drawing near to his fatal hour, foretold the absolute ruin and destruction of the city and temple. The disciples were curious to know more of these events, when they should be, and how they should be; but yet thought it not proper to ask him at present, the multitude probably still flocking about him: and therefore they take an opportunity of coming unto him "privately as he *was sitting* upon the mount of Olives," from whence was a good prospect of the city and temple, and there prefer their request to him, ver. 3.) "Tell us when shall these things be, and what shall be the sign of thy coming, and of the end of the world?" These are only different expressions to denote the same period with the destruction of Jerusalem; for when they conceived would be the destruction of Jerusalem, then they conceived would be the coming of Christ; and when they conceived would be the coming of Christ, then they conceived would be "the end of the world," or rather[9] (as it should be rendered) *the conclusion of the age*. "The end of the world," or *the conclusion of the age*, is the same period with the destruction of Jerusalem; for there being two ages (as they were called) among the Jews, the one under the law, the other under the Messiah; when the city and temple were destroyed, and the Jewish polity in church and state was dissolved, the former age must of course be concluded, and the age under the Messiah be commenced. It is true the phrase συντέλεια τοῦ αἰῶνος most usually signifies *the end of the world* properly so called; as in the parable of the tares (Matt. xiii. 39.) "the harvest is (συντέλεια τοῦ αἰῶνος) the end of the world; as therefore the tares (ver. 40.) are gathered and burnt in the fire, so shall it be (ἐν τῇ συντελείᾳ τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου) in the end of this world." And again (ver. 49.) "So shall it be (ἐν τῇ συντελείᾳ τοῦ αἰῶνος) at the end of the world, the angels shall come forth, and sever the wicked from among the just." In like manner our Saviour says to his disciples, (Matt. xxviii. 20.) "Lo, I am with you alway, (ἕως τῆς συντελείας τοῦ αἰῶνος) even unto the end of the world." But here the phrase appears to be used much in the same manner as in the Epistle to the Hebrews, (ix. 26.) "But now once in the end of the world hath he appeared to put away sin by the sacrifice of himself;" "in the end of the world," ἐπὶ συντελείᾳ τῶν αἰώνων, in the conclusion of the Jewish age or ages: And these, I think, are all the places where the phrase occurs in Scripture. *The coming of Christ* is also the same period with the destruction of Jerusalem, as may appear from several places in the Gospels, and particularly from these two passages, "There are some standing here (saith our blessed Lord, Matt. xvi. 28.), who shall not taste of death, till they see the Son of man coming in his kingdom," that is, evidently, there are some standing here who shall live, not till the end of the world, to the coming of Christ to judge mankind, but till the destruction of Jerusalem, to the coming of Christ in judgment upon the Jews. In another place (John xxi. 22.) speaking to Peter concerning John, he saith, "If I will that he tarry till I come, what is that to thee?" what is it to thee, if I will that he live till the destruction of Jerusalem? as in truth he did, and longer. *The coming of Christ* and *the conclusion of the age* being therefore only different expressions to denote the same period with the destruction of Jerusalem, the purport of the question plainly is, *when shall the destruction of Jerusalem be, and what shall be the signs of it?* In the parallel place of St. Mark (xiii. 4.) the question is put thus, "When shall these things be, and what shall be the sign when all these things shall be fulfilled?" In the parallel place of St. Luke (xxi. 7.) the question is put thus, "When shall these things be, and what sign will there be when these things shall come to pass?" So that the disciples ask two things, first the *time* of the destruction of Jerusalem, "when shall these things be?" and secondly the *signs* of it, "and what shall be the sign when all these things shall be fulfilled," as it is in St. Mark, "and what will be the sign when these things shall come to pass," as it is in St. Luke, "and what shall be the sign of thy coming and of the *conclusion of the age*," as it is in St. Matthew. The latter part of the question our Saviour answereth first, and treateth of the *signs* of his coming and the destruction of Jerusalem, from the 4th to the 31st verse inclusive; and then passeth on to the other part of the question concerning the *time* of his coming: And these two heads of our Saviour's answer shall likewise in the same method and order be made the subject of this and some subsequent discourses.

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[4] Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ τάς τε ἐσχατιὰς τοῦ ἄστεος ἐνέπρησαν, καὶ τὰ τείχη κατέσκαψαν. *Romani vero extremas urbis partes incenderunt, et mœnia funditus everterunt.* Joseph. l. 6. c. 9. § 4.

[5] Joseph. de Bell. Jud. l. 7. c. 1. § 1.

[6] Joseph. ibid. c. 5. § 2.

[7] προήκατο δὲ τὴν ἱερωτάτην αὐτοῦ πόλιν πυρὶ καὶ κατασκαφαῖς πολεμίων. *Urbemque sibi sacratissimam tradidisset hostibus ut incendio periret et funditus dirueretur.* Joseph. ibid. c. 8. § 6.

[8] ἀλλ᾽ εἴθε πάντες ἐτεθνήκειμεν, πρὶν τὴν ἱερὰν ἐκείνην πόλιν χερσὶν ἰδεῖν κατασκαπτομένην πολεμίων, πρὶν τὸν ναὸν τὸν ἅγιον οὕτως ἀνοσίως ἐξορωρυγμένον. *Atque utinam omnes fuissemus mortui, priusquam illam sacram civitatem hostium manibus exscindi videremus, priusquam templum tanta impietate funditus erui.* Joseph. ibid. § 7.

[9] συντέλεια τοῦ αἰῶνος.

Our blessed Saviour treateth of the signs of his coming and the destruction of Jerusalem from the 4th to the 31st verse inclusive; by *signs* meaning the circumstances and accidents which should forerun, usher in, and attend this great event: And I am persuaded the whole compass of history cannot furnish us with a prophecy more exactly fulfilled in all points than this hath been.

False Christs our Saviour mentions as the first sign of his coming, (ver. 4 and 5.) "Take heed that no man deceive you: For many shall come in my name, saying, I am Christ; and shall deceive many." With this he begins in all the evangelists, and in all useth almost the very same words; only in St. Luke (xxi. 8.) he addeth, "the time draweth near;" and indeed within a little time this part of the prophecy began to be fulfilled. For very soon after our Saviour's decease appeared Simon Magus, (Acts viii. 9, 10.) "and bewitched the people of Samaria, giving out that himself was some great one: To whom they all gave heed, from the least to the greatest, saying, This man is the great power of God." He boasted himself likewise[1] among the Jews, as the Son of God. Of the same stamp and character was also [2]Dositheus the Samaritan, who pretended that he was the Christ foretold by Moses. In the reign of Claudius, about twelve years after the death of our Saviour, when Cuspius Fadus was procurator of Judea, a certain impostor, named Theudas, persuaded a great multitude with their best effects to follow him to the river Jordan; for he said that he was a prophet, and promised to divide the river for their passage, and saying these things he deceived many, [3]saith Josephus. But Fadus sent a troop of horse against them, who falling unexpectedly upon them, killed many, and made many prisoners; and having taken Theudas himself alive, they cut off his head, and brought it to Jerusalem. A few years afterwards, in the reign of Nero, and under the procuratorship of Felix, these impostors arose so frequent, that [4] many of them were apprehended and killed every day. They seduced great numbers of the people still expecting the Messiah; and well therefore might our Saviour caution his disciples against them.

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[1] Irenæi, l. 1. c. 20. Theodoret. Hæretic. Fab. l. 1. c. 1.

[2] καὶ μετὰ τοὺς Ἰησοῦ δὲ χρόνους ἠθέλησε καὶ ὁ Σαμαρεὺς Δοσίθεος πεῖσαι Σαμαρεῖς, ὅτι αὐτὸς εἴη ὁ προφητευόμενος ὑπὸ Μωσέως Χριστός· καὶ ἔδοξέ τινων τῇ ἑαυτοῦ διδασκαλίᾳ κεκρατηκέναι. *Post Jesu tempora voluit et Dositheus quidam Samarita suis persuadere, se esse Christum illum, quem Moyses prædixerat, visusque est nonnullos sibi sua doctrina conciliare.* Origen. contra Celsum, l. 1. c. 57. Vide etiam l. 6. c. 11. In Matt. Tract. 27. p. 851. col. 2. vol. 3. Edit. Benedict.

[3] καὶ ταῦτα λέγων πολλοὺς ἠπατησεν. *et hujusmodi sermonibus plurimos decepit.* Joseph. Antiq. l. 20. c. 4. § 1.

The next signs he giveth of his coming are several terrible calamities, as wars and rumours of war, famines, and pestilences, and earthquakes in divers places, (ver. 6 and 7.) "And ye shall hear of wars and rumours of wars: see that ye be not troubled: for all these things must come to pass, but the end is not yet. For nation shall rise against nation, and kingdom against kingdom: and there shall be famines, and pestilences, and earthquakes in divers places." Accordingly, there were "wars and rumours of wars," as appears in all the historians of those times, and above all in Josephus. To relate the particulars would indeed be to transcribe great part of his history of the Jewish wars. There were more especially "rumours of wars," [5] when Caligula the Roman emperor ordered his statue to be set up in the temple of Jerusalem, which the Jews refused to suffer, and persisted in their refusal; and having therefore reason to apprehend a war from the Romans, were in such a consternation that they omitted even the tilling of their lands: but this storm was soon blown over, and their fears were dissipated by the timely death of that emperor.

It is said moreover, that "nation shall rise against nation, and kingdom against kingdom." Here, as [6] Grotius well observes, Christ declares that greater disturbances than those which happened under Caligula, should fall out in the latter times of Claudius, and in the reign of Nero. That of "nation against nation" portended the dissensions, insurrections, and mutual slaughter of the Jews, and those of other nations, who dwelt in the same cities together: as particularly at [7] Cæsarea, where the Jews and Syrians contended about the right of the city, which contention at length proceeded so far, that above twenty thousand Jews were slain, and the city was cleared of the Jewish inhabitants. At this blow the [8] whole nation of the Jews were exasperated; and dividing themselves into parties, they burnt and plundered the neighbouring cities and villages of the Syrians, and made an immense slaughter of the people. The Syrians in revenge destroyed not a less number of Jews, and every city, as [9] Josephus expresseth it, was divided into two armies. At [1] Scythopolis the inhabitants compelled the Jews who resided among them to fight against their own countrymen, and after the victory basely setting upon them by night, murdered above thirteen thousand of them, and spoiled their goods. At [2] Ascalon they killed two thousand and five hundred, at Ptolemais two thousand, and made not a few prisoners. The Tyrians put many to death, and imprisoned more. The people of Gadara did likewise, and all the other cities of Syria, in proportion as they hated or feared the Jews. At Alexandria[3] the old enmity was revived between the Jews and heathens, and many fell on both sides, but of the Jews to the number of fifty thousand. The [4] people of Damascus too conspired against the Jews of the same city, and assaulting them unarmed, killed ten thousand of them. That of "kingdom against kingdom" portended the open wars of different tetrarchies and provinces against one another: as [5] that of the Jews who dwelt in Peræa against the people of Philadelphia concerning their bounds, while Cuspius Fadus was procurator; and [6] that of the Jews and Galilæans against the Samaritans, for the murder of some Galilæans going up to the feast of Jerusalem while Cumanus was procurator; and [7] that of the whole nation of the Jews against the Romans and Agrippa and other allies of the Roman emperor, which began while Gessius Florus was procurator. But as [8] Josephus saith, there was not only sedition and civil war throughout Judea, but likewise in Italy, Otho and Vitellius contending for the empire.

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[4] *τούτων μέν ὁ Φῆλιξ πολλοὺς καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν —— λαμβάνων ἀνῄρει. horum quidem multos.—quotidie captos, Felix sustulit.* Joseph. ibid. c. 7. § 5.

[5] Joseph. Antiq. l. 18. c. 9. De Bell. Jud. l. 2. c. 10. Philo contra Flacc. Tacitus Hist. l. 5. c. 9.

[6] 'Indicat Christus majores quam sub Caio evenerant cædes imminere ultimis temporibus Claudianis, et Neronis principatu. Illud ἔθνος ἐπὶ ἔθνος significat Judæos et qui aliarum erant gentium iisdem in civitatibus morantes mutuis inter se cædibus collidendos: quod contigit Cæsareæ primum, deinde Scythopoli, Ptolemaide, Tyri, Gadaris, rursum Alexandriæ, deinde et Damasci. Illud autem *βασιλεία ἐπὶ βασιλείαν* significat tetrarcharum aut provinciarum aperta inter se bella.—Huc referri debet Judæorum in Peræa habitantium bellum adversus Philadelphenos ob finium controversiam, Cuspio Fado procuratore; Judæorum et Galilæorum bellum adversus Samaritas, procuratore Cumano; postremo bellum primum a sicariis quos vocabant, deinde ad universa Judæorum gente sumtum adversus Romanos et Agrippam aliosque Romani imperii socios, quod initium habuit Gessio Floro procuratore.' Grot.

[7] Joseph. Antiq. l. 20. c. 7. § 7, &c. De Bell. Jud. l. 2. c. 13. § 7. c. 18. § 1.

It is farther added, "and there shall be famines, and pestilences, and earthquakes in divers places." There were *famines*, as particularly that prophesied of by Agabus, and mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles, (xi. 28.) and by Suetonius[9] and other profane historians referred to by Eusebius, "which came to pass in the days of Claudius Cæsar," and was so severe at Jerusalem, that, as Josephus[1] saith, many perished for want of victuals.—And *pestilences*, for these are the usual attendants upon famines. Scarcity and badness of provisions almost always end in some epidemical distemper. We see many died by reason of the famine in the reign of Claudius: and Josephus[2] farther informs us, that when Niger was killed by the Jewish zealots, he imprecated besides other calamities famine and pestilence upon them (*λιμόν τε καὶ λοιμὸν*, the very words used by the evangelist), all which, saith he, God ratified and brought to pass against the ungodly.—"And earthquakes in divers places," as particularly that[3] in Crete in the reign of Claudius, mentioned by Philostratus in the life of Apollonius, and those also mentioned by Philostratus at Smyrna, Miletus, Chios, Samos, in all which places some Jews inhabited; and those[4] at Rome mentioned by Tacitus; and that[5] at Laodicea in the reign of Nero, mentioned by Tacitus, which city was overthrown, as were likewise Hierapolis and Colosse: and that in Campania,[6] mentioned by Seneca; and that at Rome[7] in the reign of Galba mentioned by Suetonius; and that in Judea mentioned by Josephus.[8] For by night there broke out a most dreadful tempest, and violent strong winds with the most vehement showers, and continual lightnings, and horrid thunderings, and prodigious bellowings of the shaken earth: and it was manifest, as he saith, that the constitution of the universe, was confounded for the destruction of men; and any one might easily conjecture, that these things portended no common calamity.

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[8] Ibid. c. 18. § 1.

[9] Ibid. § 2. καὶ πᾶσα πόλις εἰς δύο διήρητο στρατόπεδα. *et unaquaque civitas in duos divisa erat exercitus.*

[1] Ibid. § 3. Vita Josephi, § 6.

[2] De Bell. Jud. l. 2. c. 18. § 5.

[3] Ibid. § 7 et 8. [4] Ibid. c. 20. § 2.

[5] Joseph. Antiq. l. 20. c. 1. § 1.

[6] Ibid. c. 5. De Bell. Jud. l. 2. c. 12. § 3, &c. [7] Ibid. c. 17.

[8] Οὐ μόνον δὲ κατὰ τὴν Ἰουδαιαν στάσις ην καὶ πόλεμος ἔμφυλιος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας. *Verum non solum per Judæam erat seditio et bellum civile, sed etiam in Italia.* De Bell. Jud. l. 4. c. 9. § 9.

[9] Suetonius in Claudio, 18. Taciti Annal. l. 12. c. 43 Euseb. Eccles. Hist. l. 2. c. 8.

To these St. Luke addeth (xxi. 11.) that "there shall be fearful sights and great signs from heaven." Josephus[9] in the preface to his history of the Jewish war undertakes to relate the signs and prodigies, which preceded the taking of the city:

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[1] *πολλῶν ὑπ᾽ ἐνδείας ἀναλωμάτων φθειρομένων. multis alimentorum inopia pereuntibus.* Joseph. Antiq. l. 20. c. 2. § 6. ibid. c. 4. § 2.

[2] *ἃ δὴ πάντα κατὰ τῶν ἀσεβῶν ἐκύρωσεν ὁ Θεός. Quæ sane universa contra improbos rata habuit Deus.* Joseph. de Bell. Jud. l. 4. c. 6. § 1.

[3] 'Gravis terræ motus qui in Creta accidit Claudio imperante meminit Philostratus in vita Apollonii. Item terræ motuum Smyrnæ, Mileti, Chii, Sami paulo ante tempora excisæ urbis Hierosolymorum.' Grot. in loc.

[4] Tacit. Annal. l. 12. c. 43.

[5] Tacit. Annal. l. 14. c. 27. Orosius, l. 7. c. 7.

[6] Nat. Quæst. l. 6. c. 1.

[7] Suet. Galb. c. 18.

[8] Joseph. de Bell. Jud. l 4. c. 4. § 5. *διὰ γὰρ τῆς νυκτὸς ἀμήχανος ἐκρήγνυται χειμὼν, ἄνεμοί τε βίαιοι σὺν ὄμβροις λαβροτάτοις, καὶ συνεχεῖς ἀστραπαὶ, βρονταί τε φρικώδεις, καὶ μυκήματα σειομένης τῆς γῆς ἐξαίσια. πρόδηλον δ᾽ ἦν, ἐπ᾽ ἀνθρώπων ὀλέθρῳ, τὸ κατάστημα τῶν ὅλων συγκεχυμένον· καὶ οὐχὶ μικροῦ τις ἂν εἰκάσαι συμπτώματος τὰ τέρατα. Nocte enim gravissima erumpit tempestas, ventusque violentus cum imbre vehementi conjunctus, et crebra fulgura, horrendaque tonitrua, et ingentes terræ concussæ mugitus: manifestumque erat, hominum in exitium, mundi statum fuisse conturbatum: eratque ut quis conjiceret ea non vulgares portendere calamitates.*

[9] *καὶ τὰ πρὸ ταύτης σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα. quæque præcesserant signa et prodigia.* Joseph. ibid. l. 1. proœm. § 11.

and he relates accordingly, that[1] a star hung over the city like a sword, and the comet continued for a whole year; that[2] the people being assembled to celebrate the feast of unleavened bread, at the ninth hour of the night there shone so great a light about the altar and the temple, that it seemed to be bright day, and this continued for half an hour; that[3] at the same feast a cow, led by the priest to sacrifice, brought forth a lamb in the middle of the temple; that[4] the eastern gate of the temple, which was of solid brass and very heavy, and was scarcely shut in an evening by twenty men, and was fastened by strong bars and bolts, was seen at the sixth hour of the night opened of its own accord, and could hardly be shut again; that[5] before the setting of the sun there was seen over all the country chariots and armies fighting in the clouds, and besieging cities; that[6] at the feast of Pentecost, as the priests were going into the inner temple by night as usual to attend their service, they heard first a motion and noise, and then a voice as of a multitude, saying, Let us depart hence; and[7] what he reckons as the most terrible of all, that one Jesus, an ordinary country fellow, four years before the war began, and when the city was in peace and plenty, came to the feast of tabernacles, and ran crying up and down the streets day and night, 'A voice from the east, a voice from the west, a voice from the four winds, a voice against Jerusalem and the temple, a voice against the bridegrooms and the brides, a voice against all the people.' The magistrates endeavoured by stripes and torture, to restrain him; but he still cried with a mournful voice, 'Woe, woe to Jerusalem!' This he continued to do for seven years and five months together, and especially at the great festivals; and he neither grew hoarse nor was tired: but went about the walls, and cried with a loud voice, 'Woe, woe to the city, and to the people, and to the temple;' and as he added at last, 'Woe, woe also to myself,' it happened that a stone from some sling or engine immediately struck him dead. These were, indeed, "fearful signs and great sights from heaven:" and there is not a more creditable historian than the author who relates them, and who appeals to the testimony of those who saw and heard them. But it may add some weight to his relation, that Tacitus, the Roman historian, also gives us a summary account of the same occurrences. He saith that[8] there happened several prodigies, armies were seen engaging in the heavens, arms were seen glittering, and the temple shone with the sudden fire of the clouds, the doors of the temple opened suddenly, and a voice greater than human was heard, that the gods were departing, and likewise a great motion of their departing. Dr. Jortin's[9] remark is very pertinent, 'If Christ had not expressly foretold this, many, who give little heed to portents, and who know that historians have been too credulous in that point, would have suspected that Josephus exaggerated, and that Tacitus was misinformed; but as the testimonies of Josephus and Tacitus confirm the predictions of Christ, so the predictions of Christ confirm the wonders recorded by these historians.' But even allowing all that incredulity can urge—that in the great calamities of war, and famine, and pestilence, the people always grow superstitious, and are struck with religious panics;—that they see nothing then but prodigies and portents, which in happier seasons are overlooked;—that some of these appear to be formed in imitation of the Greek and Roman historians, as particularly the cow's bringing forth a lamb; that armies fighting in the clouds, seen in calamitous times in all ages and countries, are nothing more than meteors, such as the aurora borealis;—in short, allowing that some of these prodigies were feigned, and others were exaggerated, yet the prediction of them is not the less divine on that account. Whether they were supernatural, or the fictions only of a disordered imagination, yet they were believed as realities, and had all the effects of realities, and were equally worthy to be made the objects of prophecy. "Fearful sights and great signs from heaven" they certainly were, as much as if they had been created on purpose to astonish the earth.

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[1] ὑπὲρ τὴν πόλιν ἄστρον ἔστη ῥομφαίᾳ ϖαραπλήσιον, καὶ παρατείνας ἐπ᾽ ἐνιαυτὸν κομήτης. *supra civitatem stetit sidus simile gladio, et anni spatio ardere perseverabat cometes.* ibid. l. 6. c. 5. § 3.

[2] ἀθροιζομένου τοῦ λαοῦ πρὸ τὴν τῶν Ἀζύμων ἑορτὴν,—κατὰ νυκτὸς ἐννάτην ὥραν, τοσοῦτον φῶς περιέλαμψε τὸν βωμὸν καὶ τὸν ναὸν, ὡς δοκεῖν ἡμέραν εἶναι λαμπρὰν, καὶ τοῦτο ϖαρέτεινεν ἐφ᾽ ἡμίσειαν ὥραν. *populo ad festum diem Azymorum congregato,—hora noctis nona, tanta lux circa altare templumque circumfusa est, ut dies clarus esse videretur, atque hoc horæ dimidiæ spatio duravit.* Ibid.

[3] καὶ κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ἑορτὴν βοῦς μὲν, αχθεῖσα ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως πρὸς τὴν θυσίαν, ἔτεκεν ἄρνα ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ μέσῳ. *in eadem quoque solennitate, vacca, cum a pontifice ad sacrificium adduceretur, agnum in medio templo enixa est.* Ibid.

[4] ἡ δὲ ἀνοτολικὴ πύλη κ. τ. λ. *sed et janua, &c.* Ibid.

[5] πρὸ ἡλίου δύσεως ὤφθη μετέωρα ϖερὶ ϖᾶσαν τὴν χώραν ἅρματα καὶ φάλαγγες ἔνοπλοι διάττουσαι τῶν νεφῶν, καὶ κυκλούμεναι τὰς πόλεις. *ante solis occasum per universum regionem currus in aere sublimes ferri, et armatæ phalanges per nubes discurrere, urbesque circumvallare sunt visæ.* Ibid.

[6] κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἑορτὴν, ἣ Πεντεκοστὴ καλεῖται, νύκτωρ οἱ ἱερεῖς ϖαρελθόντες εἰς τὸ ἔνδον ἱερὸν, ὥσπερ αὐτοῖς ἔθος ἦν πρὸς τὰς λειτουργίας, πρῶτον μὲν κινήσεως ἀντιλαϐέσθαι ἔφασαν καὶ κτύπου, μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ φωνῆς ἀθροάς, μεταϐαίνωμεν ἐντεῦθεν. *Festo autem die qui Pentecoste appellatur, sacerdotes noctu templum ingressi ad obeunda ex more ministeria, primùm quidem motum ac strepitum se exaudisse dixerunt, tum deinde vocem quasi confertæ multitudinis simul clamantis, Migremus hinc.* Ibid.

[7] τὸ δὲ τούτων φοϐερώτερον· Ἰησους γάρ τις κ. τ. λ. *Quod vero his omnibus terribilius est, Jesus quidam, &c.* Ibid.

But notwithstanding all these terrible calamities our Saviour exhorts his disciples not to be troubled. The Jews may be under dreadful apprehensions, as they were particularly in the case of Caligula above mentioned; but "be not ye troubled, for all these things must come to pass, but the end is not yet," but the destruction of Jerusalem is not yet. "All these are *only* the beginning of sorrows" (ver. 8.) *ἀρχὴ ὠδινῶν*. Great troubles and calamities are often expressed in Scripture-language metaphorically by the pains of travailing women. All these are only the first pangs and throes, and are nothing to that hard labour which shall follow.

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[8] 'Evenerant prodigia—Visæ per cœlum concurrere acies, rutilantia arma, et subito nubium igne collucere templum. Expassæ repente delubri fores, et audita major humana vox, Excedere deos. Simul ingens motus excedentium.' Tacit. Hist. l. 5. c. 13.

[9] Remarks on Eccles. Hist. vol. 1. p. 41.

From the calamities of the nation in general, he passeth to those of the Christians in particular: and indeed the former were in great measure the occasion of the latter; famines, pestilences, earthquakes, and the like calamities, being reckoned judgments for the sins of the Christians, and the poor Christians being often maltreated and persecuted on that account, as we learn from some of the earliest apologists for the Christian religion. Now the calamities which were to befal the Christians were cruel persecutions, (ver. 9.) "Then shall they deliver you up to be afflicted, and shall kill you; and ye shall be hated of all nations (not only of the Jews, but likewise of the Gentiles) for my name's sake." St. Mark and St. Luke are rather more particular. St. Mark saith (xiii. 9, 11.) "They shall deliver you up to councils; and in the synagogues ye shall be beaten, and ye shall be brought before rulers and kings for my sake, for a testimony against them. But when they shall lead you, and deliver you up, take no thought beforehand what ye shall speak, neither do ye premeditate; but whatsoever shall be given you in that hour, that speak ye; for it is not ye that speak, but the Holy Ghost." St. Luke saith (xxi. 12—15.) "But before all these they shall lay their hands on you, and persecute you, delivering you up to the synagogue, and into prisons, being brought before kings and rulers for my name's sake. And it shall turn to you for a testimony. Settle it therefore in your hearts, not to meditate before, what ye shall answer. For I will give you a mouth and wisdom, which all your adversaries shall not be able to gainsay nor resist." We need look no farther than the Acts of the Apostles for the completion of these particulars. There are instances enow of the sufferings of some Christians, and of the deaths of others. Some are "delivered to councils," as Peter and John (iv. 5, &c.). Some are "brought before rulers and kings," as Paul before Gallio (xviii. 12.), Felix (xxiv.), Festus and Agrippa (xxv.). Some have "a mouth and wisdom which all their adversaries were not able to gainsay nor resist," as it is said of Stephen, (vi. 10.) that "they were not able to resist the wisdom and the spirit by which he spake," and Paul made even Felix to *tremble* (xxiv. 25.), and the gospel still prevailed against all opposition and persecution whatever. Some are *imprisoned,* as Peter and John (iv. 3.). Some are *beaten,* as Paul and Silas (xvi. 23.). Some are *put to death,* as Stephen (vii. 59.), and James the brother of John (xii. 2.). But if we would look farther, we have a more melancholy proof of the truth of this prediction, in the persecutions under Nero, in which (besides numberless other Christians) fell those [1] two great champions of our faith, St. Peter and St. Paul. And it was 'nominis prælium,' as Tertullian[2] calleth it; it was a war against the very name. Though a man was possessed of every human virtue, yet it was crime enough if he was a *Christian;* so true were our Saviour's words, that they should be hated of all nations "for his name's sake."

But they were not only to be hated of all nations, but were also to be betrayed by apostates and traitors of their own brethren, (ver. 10.) "And then shall many be offended, and shall betray one another, and shall hate one another." By reason of persecution "many shall be offended," and apostatize from the faith; as particularly those mentioned by St. Paul in his second Epistle to Timothy, (i. 15.) "Phygellus and Hermogenes, who with many others in Asia turned away from him," and (vi. 10.) "Demas who forsook him, having loved this present world." But they shall not only apostatize from the faith, but also "shall betray one another, and shall hate one another." To illustrate this point we need only cite a sentence out of Tacitus, speaking of the persecution under Nero. At first, says he,[3] several were seized who confessed, and then by their discovery a great multitude of others were convicted and barbarously executed.

False teachers too and false prophets were to infest the church, (ver. 11.) "And many false prophets shall rise, and shall deceive many." Such particularly was Simon Magus, and his followers the Gnostics were very numerous. Such also were the Judaizing teachers, "false apostles," as they are called by St. Paul, (2 Cor. xi. 13.) "deceitful workers, transforming themselves into the apostles of Christ." Such also were "Hymeneus and Philetus," of whom the apostle complains (2 Tim. ii. 17, 18.) that they affirmed "the resurrection to be past already, and overthrew the faith of some."

The genuine fruit and effect of these evils was lukewarmness and coolness among Christians, (ver. 12.) "And because iniquity shall abound, the love of many shall wax cold." By reason of these trials and persecutions from without, and these apostasies and false prophets from within, the love of many to

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[1] Euseb. Eccles. Hist. l. 2. c. 25.

[2] Tertull. Apol c. 2.

[3] 'Primo correpti qui fatebantur, deinde indicio eorum multitudo ingens—convicti sunt. Et pereuntibus addita ludibria, &c' Tacit. Annal. l. 15. c. 44.

Christ and his doctrine, and also their love to one another, shall wax cold. Some shall openly desert the faith, (as ver. 10.) others shall corrupt it, (as ver. 11.) and others again (as here) shall grow indifferent to it. And (not to mention other instances) who can hear St. Paul complaining at Rome (2 Tim. iv. 16.) that "at his first answer no man stood with him, but all men forsook him;" who can hear the divine author of the Epistle to the Hebrews exhorting them (x. 25.) "not to forsake the assembling of themselves together, as the manner of some is;" and not conclude the event to have sufficiently justified our Saviour's prediction?

But he that shall endure unto the end; (ver. 13.) but he who shall not be terrified by these trials and persecutions; he who shall neither apostatize from the faith himself, nor be seduced by others: he who shall not be ashamed to profess his faith in Christ, and his love to the brethren; "the same shall be saved," saved both here and hereafter. "There shall not an hair of your head perish," as it is in St. Luke (xxi. 18.); and indeed it is very remarkable, and was certainly a most signal act of providence, that none of the Christians perished in the destruction of Jerusalem. So true and prophetic also was that assertion of St. Peter upon this same occasion, (2 Pet. ii. 9.) "The Lord knoweth how to deliver the godly out of temptations."

But notwithstanding the persecutions and calamities of the Christians, there was to be an universal publication of the gospel, before the destruction of Jerusalem, (ver. 14.) "And this gospel of the kingdom (this gospel of the kingdom of God) shall be preached in all the world, for a witness unto all nations, and then shall the end come;" and then shall the destruction of Jerusalem and the end of the Jewish polity come to pass; when all nations shall be or may be convinced of the crying sin of the Jews in crucifying the Lord of glory, and of the justice of God's judgments upon them for it. The Acts of the Apostles contain only a small part of the history of a small part of the Apostles; and yet even in that history we see, the gospel was widely disseminated, and had taken root in the most considerable parts of the Roman empire. As early as in the reign of Nero,[4] the Christians were grown so numerous at Rome, as to raise the jealousy of the government, and the first general persecution was commenced against them under pretence of their having set fire to the city, of which the emperor himself was really guilty, but willing to transfer the blame and odium upon the poor innocent Christians. Clement, who was a contemporary and fellow-labourer with St. Paul, says of him in particular, that he was a preacher both in the east and in the west,[5] that he taught the whole world righteousness, and travelled as far as to the utmost borders of the west: and if such were the labours of one apostle, though the chiefest of the apostles, what were the united labours of them all? It appears indeed from the writers of the history of the church, that before the destruction of Jerusalem the gospel was not only preached in the Lesser Asia, and Greece, and Italy, the great theatres of action then in the world; but was likewise propagated as far northward as Scythia, as far southward as Ethiopia, as far eastward as Parthia and India, as far westward as Spain and Britain. Our ancestors of this island seem to have lain as remote from the scene of our Saviour's actions as almost any nation, and were a rough inhospitable people,[6] as unlikely to receive so civilized an institution as any people whatever. But yet there is some probability,[7] that the gospel was preached here by St. Simon the apostle; there is much greater probability, that it was preached here by St. Paul; and there is absolute certainty, that Christianity was planted in this country, in the days of the apostles, before the destruction of Jerusalem. Agreeably to this,[8] Eusebius informs us, that the apostles preached the gospel in all the world; and some of them passed beyond the ocean to the Britannic isles. Theodoret likewise affirms,[9] that the apostles had induced every nation and kind of men to embrace the gospel, and among the converted nations he reckons particularly the Britons. St. Paul himself in his Epistle to the Colossians (i. 6. 23.) speaketh of the gospel's being "come into all the world, and preached to every creature under heaven:" and in his Epistle to the Romans (x. 18.) very elegantly applies to the lights of the church what the Psalmist said of the lights of heaven, "their sound went into all the earth, and their words unto the ends of the world." But how improbable, and in all human appearance impossible was it, that a few poor fishermen and such inferior illiterate persons should propagate and establish a new religion, in so short a space of time, throughout the world? Doubtless it was not man's but God's work, and from the same Divine Spirit proceeded both the prophecy and the completion!

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[4] Tacit. Annal. l. 15. c. 44.

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[5] *κῆρυξ γενόμενος ἔν τε τῇ ἀνατολῇ καὶ ἐν τῇ δύσει,—δικαιοσύνην διδάξας ὅλον τὸν κόσμον, καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ τέρμα τῆς δύσεως ἐλθών. Præco factus in oriente ac occidente—totum mundum docens justitiam, et ad occidentis terminum veniens.* Clem. Rom. Ep. ad Corinth. i. c. 5.

[6] 'Britannos hospitibus feros.' Hor. 3. Od. iv. 33.

[7] See Stillingfleet's Origines Britannicæ, c. 1. Collier's Eccles. Hist. b. 1. Usserii Britann. Eccles. Antiquitates, c. 1, &c.

[8] *ὑπὲρ τὸν ὠκεανὸν παρελθεῖν ἐπὶ τὰς καλουμένας Βρεττανικὰς νήσους.—trans oceanum evasisse, ad eas insulas quæ Britannicæ vocantur.* Demonstr. Evang. l. 3. c. 5.

[9] Theod. Serm. 9. tom. 4. p. 610. *Καὶ οὐ μόνον Ρωμαίους—ἀλλὰ καὶ—Βρεττανοὺς—καὶ ἁπαξαπλῶς πᾶν ἔθνος καὶ γένος ἀνθρώπων—κ. τ. λ. neque solum Romanos—sed et—Britannos—atque, ut semel dicam, omne hominum genus nationesque omnes, &c.*

We have deduced the prophecies as low as to the siege of Jerusalem; and now let us stop to make a few short reflections upon what hath been said.

The first reflection that naturally occurs, is the strange and surprising manner in which these prophecies have been fulfilled, and the great argument that may thence be drawn from the truth of our Saviour's divine mission: but we shall have a fitter opportunity for enlarging upon this hereafter.

Another reflection we may make on the sincerity and ingenuity of Christ, and the courage and constancy of his disciples. Had Jesus been an impostor, he would, like all other impostors, have fed his followers with fair hopes and promises: but on the contrary we see, that he denounced persecution to be the lot of his disciples, he pointeth out to them the difficulties they must encounter, the fiery trials they must undergo; and yet they did not therefore stagger in their faith, they did not therefore like faint-hearted soldiers forsake their colours and desert his service. One hardly knoweth whom to admire most, him for dealing so plainly with them, or them for adhering so steadily to him. Such instances are rarely found of openness on one side, and of fidelity on the other.

A third reflection we may make on the sudden and amazing progress of the gospel, that it should spread so far and so wide before the destruction of Jerusalem. The greatness of the work that was wrought, the meanness of the instruments which wrought it, and the short time that it was wrought in, must force all considering men to say (Psal. cxviii. 23.) "This is the Lord's doing, it is marvellous in our eyes." The Mohammedan religion indeed in less than a century overran a great part of the world; but then it was propagated by the sword, and owed its success to arms and violence. But the Christian religion was diffused over the face of the earth in the space of forty years, and prevailed not only without the sword, but against the sword; not only without the powers civil and military to support it, but against them all united to oppress it. And what but the Spirit of God could bid it thus go forth (Rev. vi. 2.) "conquering and to conquer?" "Had this counsel or this work been of men," as Gamaliel argued, (Acts v. 28.) "it would have come to nought; but being of God, nothing could overthrow it."

A fourth reflection we may make (and it is the last that I shall make) that seldom any state is ruined, but there are evident signals and presages of it. Few people have their fate particularly foretold by prophets, like the Jews; nor indeed can the fate of any people be so particularly foretold, the time, the manner, and all the circumstances preceding and succeeding, without divine inspiration. So many passages and circumstances cannot be particularly foretold unless particularly revealed : but in the general, without the spirit of prophecy, it is no difficult matter to perceive when cities and kingdoms are tending towards their final period and dissolution. There are as certain tokens and symptoms of a consumption and decay in the body politic, as in the body natural. I would not presage ill to my country; but when we consider the many heinous and presumptuous sins of this nation, the licentiousness and violation of all order and discipline, the daring insolence of robbers and smugglers in open defiance of all law and justice, the factions and divisions, the venality and corruption, the avarice and profusion of all ranks and degrees among us, the total want of public spirit and ardent passion for private ends and interests, the luxury, and gaming, and dissoluteness in high life, and the laziness, and drunkenness, and debauchery in low life, and above all, that barefaced ridicule of all virtue and decency, and that scandalous neglect, and I wish I could not say contempt of all public worship and religion; when we consider these things, these signs of the times, the stoutest and most sanguine of us all must tremble at the natural and probable consequences of them. God give us grace, that we may "*know* (Luke xix. 42.) at least in this our day, the things which belong unto *our* peace, before they are hid from *our* eyes." Never may such blindness happen to us, as befel the Jews; but may we (Isa. lv. 6, 7.) "seek the Lord while he may be found, and call upon him while he is near; and return unto the Lord, and he will have mercy upon us, and to our God, for he will abundantly pardon."

XIX.—THE SAME SUBJECT CONTINUED.

PART II.

THE preceding discourse was concerning the *signs* of the destruction of Jerusalem, that is, the circumstances and accidents, which were to be the forerunners and attendants of this great event. Those are already specified which passed before the siege, and now we proceed to treat of those which happened during the siege and after it. Never was prophecy more punctually fulfilled, and it will be very well worth our time and attention to trace the particulars. "When ye therefore shall see the abomination of desolation, spoken of by Daniel the prophet, stand in the holy place (whoso readeth, let him understand), Then let them which be in Judea, flee into the mountains" (Matt. xxiv. 15, 16.). Whatever difficulty there is in these words, it may be cleared up by the parallel place in

St. Luke, (xxi. 20, 21.) "And when ye shall see Jerusalem compassed with armies, then know that the desolation thereof is nigh. Then let them which are in Judea, flee to the mountains." So that "the abomination of desolation" is the Roman army, and "the abomination of desolation *standing* in the holy place" is the Roman army besieging Jerusalem. This, saith our Saviour, is "the abomination of desolation spoken of by Daniel the prophet," in the ninth and eleventh chapters; and so let every one who readeth those prophecies, understand them. The Roman army is called *the abomination* for its ensigns and images which were so to the Jews. As Chrysostom affirms[1] every idol and every image of a man was called *an abomination* among the Jews. For this reason as Josephus[2] informs us, the principal Jews earnestly entreated Vetellius, governor of Syria, when he was conducting his army through Judea against Aretas king of the Arabians, to lead it another way; and he greatly obliged them by complying with their request. We farther learn from Josephus,[3] that after the city was taken, the Romans brought their ensigns into the temple, and placed them over against the eastern gate, and sacrificed to them there. The Roman army is therefore fitly called *the abomination,* and "the abomination of desolation," as it was to desolate and lay waste Jerusalem: and this army's besieging Jerusalem is called "standing where it ought not," as it is in St. Mark (xiii. 14.); or "*standing* in the holy place," as it is in St. Matthew; the city and such a compass of ground about it being accounted holy. When therefore the Roman army shall advance to besiege Jerusalem, then let them who are in Judea consult their own safety, and fly into the mountains. This counsel was wisely remembered, and put in practice by the Christians afterwards. Josephus informs us, that when Cestius Gallus came with his army against Jerusalem,[4] many fled from the city as if it would be taken presently: and after his retreat,[5] many of the noble Jews departed out of the city, as out of a sinking ship: and a few years afterwards, when Vespasian was drawing his forces towards Jerusalem,[6] a great multitude fled from Jericho (εἰς τὴν ὀρεινὴν) *into the mountainous country* for their security. It is probable that there were some

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[1] *ἅπαν εἴδωλον, καὶ πᾶν τύπωμα ἀνθρώπου παρὰ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις βδέλυγμα ἐκαλεῖτο. omne simulacrum et hominis effigies apud Judæos appellabatur abominatio.* Adv. Judæos Orat. 5. § 11.

[2] Joseph. Antiq. l. 18. c. 6. § 3.

[3] *κομίσαντες τὰς σημαίας εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν, καὶ θέμενοι τῆς ἀνατολικῆς πύλης ἀντικρὺς, ἔθυσάν τε αὐταῖς αὐτόθι. signis in templum illatis positisque contra portam orientalem, et illis ibi sacrificarunt.* Joseph. de Bell. Jud. l. 6. c. 6. § 1.

[4] *ἤδε δὲ πολλοὶ διεδίδρασκον ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως, ὡς ἁλωσομένης αὐτίκα. jamque multi ex civitate diffugiebant, ac si continuo esset expugnanda.* Joseph. de Bell. Jud. l. 2. c. 19. § 6.

[5] *πολλοὶ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν Ἰουδαίων, ὥσπερ βαπτιζομένης νεὼς, ἀπενήχοντο τῆς πόλεως. nobilium Judæorum multi, quasi in eo esset navis ut mergeretur, e civitate veluti natando egressi sunt.* Ibid. c. 20. § 1.

[6] Ibid. l. 4. c. 8. § 2.

Christians among these, but we learn more certainly from ecclesiastical historians,[7] that at this juncture all who believed in Christ left Jerusalem, and removed to Pella and other places beyond the river Jordan, so that they all marvellously escaped the general shipwreck of their country, and we do not read any where that so much as one of them perished in the destruction of Jerusalem. Of such signal service was this caution of our Saviour to the believers!

He prosecutes the same subject in the following verses. "Let him which is on the house-top, not come down to take any thing out of his house" (ver. 17.). The houses[8] of the Jews, as well as those of the ancient Greeks and Romans, were flat on the top for them to walk upon, and had usually stairs on the outside, by which they might ascend and descend without coming into the house. In the eastern walled cities these flat-roofed houses usually formed continued terraces from one end of the city to the other, which terraces terminated at the gates. He therefore who is walking and regaling himself upon the house-top, let him not come down to take any thing out of his house; but let him instantly pursue his course along the tops of the houses, and escape out at the city-gate as fast as he possibly can. "Neither let him which is in the field, return back to take his clothes" (ver. 18.). Our Saviour maketh use of these expressions to intimate, that their flight must be as sudden and hasty as Lot's was out of Sodom. And the Christians escaping just as they did was the more providential, because afterwards[9] all egress out of the city was prevented.

"And woe unto them that are with child, and unto them that give suck in those days" (ver. 19.). For neither will such persons be in a condition to fly, neither will they be well able to endure the distress and hardships of a siege. This woe was sufficiently fulfilled in the cruel slaughters which were made both of the women and children, and particularly in that grievous famine, which so miserably afflicted Jerusalem during the siege. For as Josephus reports,[1] mothers snatched the food from their infants out of their very mouths: and again in another place,[2] the houses were full of women and children, who perished by famine. But Josephus still relates a more horrid story; and I make no question, that our Saviour with his spirit of prophecy had this particular incident in view. There[3] was one Mary, the daughter of Eleazar, illustrious for her family and riches. She having been stripped and plundered of all her substance and provisions by the soldiers, out of necessity and fury killed her own sucking child, and having boiled him, devoured half of him, and covering up the rest preserved it for another time. The soldiers soon came, allured by the smell of victuals, and threatened to kill her immediately, if she would not produce what she had dressed. But she replied that she had reserved a good part for them, and uncovered the relics of her son. Dread and astonishment seized them, and they stood stupified at the sight. "But this," said she, "is my own son, and this my work. Eat, for even I have eaten. Be not you more tender than a woman, nor more compassionate than a mother. But if you have a religious abhorrence of my victim, I truly have eaten half; and let the rest remain for me." They went away trembling, fearful to do this one thing; and hardly left this food for the mother. The whole city was struck with horror, says the historian, at this wickedness; and they were pronounced blessed, who died before they had heard or seen such great evils. So true also was what our Saviour declared on another occasion, when the women were bewailing and lamenting him, as he was led to execution; (Luke xxiii. 28, 29, 30.) "Daughters of Jerusalem, weep not for me, but weep for yourselves, and for your children. For behold, the days are coming, in the which they shall say, Blessed are the barren, and the wombs that never bare, and the paps which never gave suck. Then shall they begin to say to the mountains, Fall on us; and to the hills, Cover us." Proverbial expressions to signify their desire of any shelter or refuge; and so very desirous were they of hiding themselves, that[4] some thousands of them crept even into the common sewers, and there miserably perished, or were dragged out to slaughter.

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[7] Euseb. Eccles. Hist. l. 3. c. 5. cum notis Valesii. Epiphanius adv. Hæres. 29. c. 7. Idem de Mens. et Pond. c. 15.

[8] See Grotius on the place, and the Miracles of Jesus vindicated by Bp. Pearce, Part IV. p. 27, 28.

[9] Joseph. de Bell. Jud. l. 4. c. 9. § 1. et 10.

[1] μητέρες νηπίων ἐξήρπαζον ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν στομάτων τὰς τροφάς. *matres infantibus cibum ex ipso ore rapiebant.* Ibid. l. 5. c. 10. § 3.

[2] καὶ τὰ μὲν τέγη πεπλήρωτο γυναικῶν καὶ βρέφων λελυμένων. *ac tecta quidem plena erant mulieribus et infantibus fame enectis.* Ibid. c. 12. § 3

[3] Ibid. l. 6. c. 3. § 4.

"But pray ye that your flight be not in the winter, neither on the sabbath-day" (ver. 20.). Pray that these evils be not farther aggravated by the concurrence of other natural and moral evils, such as the inclemencies of the seasons and your own superstitions. "Pray that your flight be not in the winter;" for the hardness of the season, the badness of the roads, the shortness of the days, will all be great impediments to your flight: "neither on the sabbath-day;" that you may not raise the indignation of the Jews by travelling on that day, nor be hindered from doing it by your own superstition. It seemeth to be spoken a good deal in condescension to the Jewish prejudices, a sabbath-day's journey among the Jews being but about a mile. In the parallel place of St. Mark (xiii. 18.) it is observable, that the evangelist saith only, "And pray ye that your flight be not in the winter," without any mention of the sabbath-day.

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[4] Ibid. l. 6. c. 9. § 4.

As our Saviour cautioned his disciples to fly, when they should see Jerusalem encompassed with armies; so it was very providentially ordered, that Jerusalem should be compassed with armies, and yet that they should have such favourable opportunities of making their escape. In the twelfth year of Nero, Cestius Gallus, the president of Syria, came against Jerusalem with a powerful army. He might, as Josephus[5] affirms, if he would have assaulted the city, have presently taken it, and thereby have put an end to the war. But without any just reason, and contrary to the expectation of all, he raised the siege, and departed. Vespasian was deputed in his room to govern Syria, and to carry on the war against the Jews. This great general,[6] having subdued all the country, prepared to besiege Jerusalem, and invested the city on every side. But the news of Nero's death, and soon afterwards of Galba's, and the disturbances which thereupon ensued in the Roman empire, and the civil wars between Otho and Vitellius, held Vespasian and Titus in suspense; and they thought it unseasonable to engage in a foreign war, while they were anxious for the safety of their own country. By these means the expedition against Jerusalem was deferred for some time; and the city was not actually besieged in form, till after Vespasian was confirmed in the empire, and Titus was sent to command the forces in Judea. These incidental delays were very opportune for the Christians, and for those who had any thoughts of retreating and providing for their own safety. Afterwards there was hardly any possibility of escaping; for as our Saviour said in St. Luke's Gospel, (xix. 43.) "The days shall come upon thee, that thine enemies shall cast a trench about thee, and compass thee round, and keep thee in on every side." Accordingly the Romans having begirt Jerusalem with their forces, and having made several assaults without the desired success, Titus[7] resolved to surround the city with a wall; and by the diligence and emulation of the soldiers, animated by the presence, and acting under the continual inspection of the general, this work, which was worthy of months, was with incredible speed completed in three days. The wall was of the dimensions of thirty-nine furlongs, and was strengthened with thirteen forts at proper distances: so that, as the historian saith, all hope of safety was cut off from the Jews,[8] together with all the means of escaping out of the city. No provisions could be carried in, and no person could come out unknown to the enemy. But to return to St. Matthew.

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[5] Josephus de Bell. Jud. l. 2. c. 19. § 4. κἂν εἴπερ ἠθέλησε κατ' αὐτὴν ἐκείνην τὴν ὥραν ἐντὸς τῶν τειχῶν βιάσασθαι, παρ' αὐτίκα τὴν πόλιν ἔσχε, καὶ τον πόλεμον συνέβη καταλελῦσθαι. *Et si eadem illa hora voluisset vi muros perrumpere, e vestigio urbem cepisset, bellumque ab ipso confectum fuisse, contigisset.*

[6] Joseph. ibid. l. 4. c. 9. § 1, 2, &c.

[7] Joseph. ibid l. 5. c. 12. § 1 et 2.

In the preceding verses our Saviour had warned his disciples to fly, as soon as ever they saw Jerusalem besieged by the Romans; and now he assigns the reason of his giving them this caution; (ver. 21.) "For then shall be great tribulation, such as was not from the beginning of the world to this time, no nor ever shall be." St. Mark expresseth it much in the same manner, (xiii. 19.) "For in those days shall be affliction, such as was not from the beginning of the creation which God created, unto this time, neither shall be." This seemeth to be a proverbial form of expression, as in Exodus (x. 14.) "And the locusts were very grievous, before them there were no such locusts as they, neither after them shall be such:" and again in Joel (ii. 2.) "A great people and a strong, there hath not been ever the like, neither shall be any more after it, even to the years of many generations." Of the same kind is that in Daniel (xii. 1.) "There shall be a time of trouble, such as never was since there was a nation, even to that same time:" and that in the first book of Maccabees (ix. 27.) "There was great affliction in Israel, the like whereof was not since the time that a prophet was not seen amongst them." Our Saviour therefore might fitly apply the same manner of speaking upon the present occasion: but he doth not make use of proverbial expressions without a proper meaning, and this may be understood even literally. For indeed all history cannot furnish us with a parallel to the calamities and miseries of the Jews; rapine and murder, famine and pestilence within; fire and sword, and all the terrors of war without. Our Saviour wept at the foresight of these calamities, and it is almost impossible for persons of any humanity to read the relation of them in Josephus without weeping too. That historian might therefore well say, as he doth in[9] the preface to his history, 'Our city of all those which have been subjected to the Romans, was advanced to the highest felicity, and was thrust down again to the extremest misery: for if the misfortunes of all from the beginning of the world were compared with those of the Jews, they would appear much inferior upon the comparison:' and again in another[1] place he saith, 'To speak in brief, no other city ever suffered such things, as no other generation from the beginning of the world was ever more fruitful of wickedness.' St. Luke expresseth the reason thus, (xxi. 22.) "For these be the days of vengeance, that all things which are written may be fulfilled." "These be the days of vengeance," wherein the calamities foretold by Moses, Joel, Daniel and other prophets, as well as those predicted by our Saviour, shall all meet as in one common centre, and be fulfilled with aggravation on this generation. "These be the days of vengeance" too in another sense, as if God's vengeance had certain periods and revolutions, and the same days were fatal to the Jews, and destinated to their destruction. For it is very memorable, and matter of just admiration, according to Josephus,[2] that the temple was burnt by the Romans in the same month, and on the same day of the month, as it was before by the Babylonians.

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[8] Ἰουδαίοις δὲ μετὰ τῶν ἐξόδων ἀπεκόπη πᾶσα σωτηρίας ἐλπίς. *Judæis autem cum egrediendi facultate spes quoque omnis salutis præcisa erat.* ibid. l. 5. c. 12. § 3.

[9] πόλιν γὰρ δὴ τῶν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίους πασῶν τὴν ἡμετέραν ἐπὶ πλεῖστον τε εὐδαιμονίας συνέβη προελθεῖν, καὶ πρὸς ἔσχατον συμφορῶν αὖθις καταπεσεῖν. τὰ γοῦν πάντων ἀπ᾽ αἰῶνος ἀτυχήματα, πρὸς τὰ Ἰουδαίων, ἡττᾶσθαί μοι δοκεῖ κατὰ σύγκρισιν. *nam ex omnibus civitatibus, quæ Romanorum jugum subierunt, nostræ sane contigit ad summum felicitatis pervenisse, ac deinde in extremam calamitatem incidisse, namque omnium ab omnis ævi memoria res adversæ, si cum iis conferantur quæ Judæis acciderunt, longe ab illis superari mihi videntur.* Josephi Proem. de Bell. Jud. § 4.

Nothing so violent can be of long continuance. These calamities were so severe, that like fire, they must in time have consumed all, and have left nothing for themselves to prey upon. "And except those days should be shortened, there should no flesh be saved" (ver. 22.). If these wars and desolations were to continue, none of the Jews would escape destruction, they would all be cut off root and branch. I think [3] Josephus computes the number of those who perished in the siege at eleven hundred thousand, besides those who were slain in other places: and if the Romans had gone on destroying in this manner, the whole nation of the Jews would certainly in a little time have been extirpated. "But for the elect's sake (but for the sake of the Christian Jews) those days shall be shortened." "But for the elect's sake whom he hath chosen, the Lord hath shortened the days," as it is expressed in St. Mark, (xiii. 20.) *The elect* is a well known appellation in Scripture and antiquity for the Christians; and the Christian Jews, partly through the fury of the Zealots on one hand, and the hatred of the Romans on the other, and partly through the difficulty of subsisting in the mountains without houses or provisions, would in all probability have been almost all destroyed either by the sword or by famine, if the days had not been shortened. But providentially the days were shortened. Titus himself[4] was desirous of putting a speedy end to the siege, having Rome and the riches and the pleasures there before his eyes. Some of his officers[5] proposed to him to turn the siege into a blockade, and since they could not take the city by storm, to starve it into a surrender: but he thought it not becoming to sit still with so great an army; and he feared lest the length of the time should diminish the glory of his success; every thing indeed may be effected in time, but celerity contributes much to the fame and splendour of actions. The besieged too helped to shorten the days by [6] their divisions and mutual slaughters; by [7] burning their provisions, which would have sufficed for many years; and by [8] fatally deserting their strongest holds, where they could never have been taken by force, but by famine alone. By these means "the days were shortened;" and indeed otherwise Jerusalem could never have been taken in so short a time, so well fortified as it was, and so well fitted to sustain a longer siege. The enemy without could hardly ever have prevailed but for the factions and seditions within. Titus himself could not but ascribe his success to God, as he was viewing the fortifications, after the city was taken. His words to his friends were very remarkable. 'We have fought,' [9] said he, 'with God on our side; and it is God who hath pulled the Jews out of these strong holds; for what could the hands of men or machines do against these towers?' *God* therefore, in the opinion of Titus as well as of St. Mark, *shortened the days.* After the destruction of Jerusalem too, God inclined the heart of Titus to take some pity upon the remnant of the Jews, and to restrain the nations from exercising the cruelty that they would have exercised towards them. At Antioch particularly (where the disciples were first called Christians),[1] the senate and people earnestly importuned him to expel the Jews out of the city; but he prudently answered, that their country whither they should return being laid waste, there was no place that could receive them. Then they requested him to deprive the Jews of their former privileges, but those he permitted them to enjoy as before. Thus "for the elect's sake those days *of persecution* were shortened."

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[1] *συνελόντα δ' εἰπεῖν, μήτε πόλιν ἄλλην τοιαῦτα πεπονθέναι, μήτε γενεὰν ἐξ αἰῶνος γεγονέναι κακίας γονιμωτέραν. illud autem breviter dici potest, neque aliam urbem talia perpessam esse, neque hominum genus aliud ab omni ævo scelerutius exstitisse.* l. 5. c. 10. § 5. ibid.

[2] Lib. 6. c. 4. § 8. *ϑαυμάσαι δ' ἄν τις ἐν αὐτῇ τῆς περιόδου τὴν ἀκρίβειαν, καὶ μῆνα γοῦν, ὡς ἔφην, καὶ ἡμέραν ἐπετήρησε τὴν αὐτὴν, ἐν ᾗ πρότερον ὑπὸ Βαϐυλωνίων ὁ ναὸς ἐνεπρήσθη. est autem ut mirari quis possit in eo accuratam circumacti temporis rationem, nam eundem, ut dictum est, mensem et diem servavit, quo prius templum a Babyloniis exustum fuerat.*

[3] Ibid. l. 6. c. 9. § 3.

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[4] 'Ipsi Tito Roma et opes voluptatesque ante oculos; ac, ni statim Hierosolyma conciderent, morari videbantur.' Tacit. Hist. l. 5. c. 11.

[5] Joseph. de Bell. Jud. l. 5. c. 12. § 1. αὐτῷ δὲ τὸ μὲν ἀργεῖν καθόλου μετὰ τοσαύτης δυνάμεως οὐκ ἐδόκει πρέπειν. *Ipsi autem Tito cessare quidem prorsus tanto cum exercitu honestum non videbatur.* δεδιέναι τε μὴ τὴν δόξαν τοῦ κατορθώματος αὐτῷ τὸ μῆκος ἐλαττώσῃ τοῦ χρόνου· τούτῳ μὲν γὰρ εἶναι πᾶν ἀνύσιμον, πρὸς δὲ τῆς εὐκλείας τὸ τάχος. *metuendumque ne successus gloriam ipsi diminuat temporis longitudo: hac enim cuncta quidem effici posse, sed ad gloriam facere celeritatem.*

[6] Ibid. c. 1, &c.

[7] Ibid. c. § 4. ὃς ἂν αὐτοῖς οὐκ ἐπ' ὀλίγα διήρκεσεν ἔτη πολιορκουμένοις. quod non paucis annis illis sufficere potuisset obsessis.

[8] Ibid. l. 6. c. 8. § 4. ἐφ' ὧν βίᾳ μὲν οὐδέποτ' ἁλῶναι, μόνῳ δ' ἐδύναντο λιμῷ. *in quibus vi quidem nunquam, sola vero fame expugnari poterant.*

[9] Ibid. c. 9. § 1. σὺν Θεῷ γ' ἐπολεμήσαμεν, ἔφη, καὶ Θεὸς ἦν ὁ τῶνδε τῶν ἐρυμάτων Ἰουδαίους καθελὼν, ἐπεὶ χεῖρές τε ἀνθρώπων ἢ μηχαναὶ τί πρὸς τούτους τοὺς πυργους δύνανται; *Deo, inquit, favente bellavimus, Deus est, qui Judæos ex istis munimentis detraxit; nam humanæ manus et machinæ quid contra tales turres valeant?*

[1] Joseph. ibid. l. 7. c. 5. § 2.

Our blessed Lord had cautioned his disciples against false Christs and false prophets before, but he giveth a more particular caution against them about the time of the siege and destruction of Jerusalem. (ver. 23 and 24.) "Then if any man shall say unto you, Lo, here is Christ or there, believe it not; For there shall arise false Christs and false prophets, and shall shew great signs and wonders, insomuch that (if it were possible) they shall deceive the very elect." And in fact many such impostors did arise from that time, as we learn from [2] Josephus, and promised deliverance from God, being suborned by the tyrants or governors to prevent the people and soldiers from deserting to the Romans; and the lower the Jews were reduced, the more disposed would they be to listen to these deceptions, and the more ready to follow the deceivers. Hegesippus too in [3] Eusebius mentions the coming of false Christs and false prophets about the same time. But as it was to little purpose for a man to take upon him the character of the Christ, or even of a prophet, without miracles to vouch his divine mission; so it was the common artifice and pretence of these impostors to shew *signs and wonders*, *σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα*, the very words used by Christ in his propeecy, and by [4] Josephus in his history. Simon Magus performed great wonders according to the account that is given of him in the Acts of the Apostles. (viii. 9, 10, 11.) "There was a certain man called Simon, which before time in the same city used sorcery, and bewitched the people of Samaria, giving out that himself was some great one: To whom they all gave heed, from the least to the greatest, saying, This man is the great power of God: and to him they had regard, because that of long time he had bewitched them with sorceries." Dositheus likewise was reputed to work wonders, according to [5] Origen: Barchochebas too, who, [6] Jerome saith, pretended to vomit flames. Such also were the Jews, of whom St. Paul speaketh, (2 Tim. iii. 8. 13.) comparing them to "Jannes and Jambres," famous magicians of Egypt, who "withstood Moses, as these also resisted the truth, men of corrupt minds, reprobate concerning the faith, (*πονηροὶ ἄνθρωποι καὶ γόητες*) wicked men and impostors." There is a strange propensity in mankind to believe things marvellous and astonishing: and no wonder, that weak and wicked men, Jews and Samaritans, were deceived by such impostors; when if it had been possible they would have deceived *the very elect*, the Christians themselves.

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[2] πολλοὶ δ᾽ ἦσαν ἐγκάθετοι παρὰ τῶν τυράννων τότε πρὸς τὸν δῆμον προφῆται, προσμένειν τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ βοήθειαν καταγγέλλοντες, ὡς ἧττον αὐτομολοῖεν, καὶ τοὺς ἐπάνω δέους καὶ φυλακῆς γινομένους ἐλπὶς παρακρατῴη. πείθεται δὲ ταχέως ἄνθρωπος ἐν συμφοραῖς. *Multi autem tunc a tyrannis subornati erant ad populum prophetæ, denuntiantes esse auxilium a Deo exspectandum, ut populus minus transfugeret, et eos, qui supra metum erant et custodes, spes retineret. Cito autem in adversis homini persuadetur.* l. 6. c. 5. § 2.

[3] Euseb. Eccles. Hist. l. 4. c. 22.

[4] Joseph. Antiq. l. 20. c. 7. § 6. Vide etiam de Bell. Jud. l. 7. c. 11. § 1.

[5] Contra Celsum, l. 6. c. 11.

[6] Adversus Rufinum, l. 3. col. 466.

But "behold (saith our Saviour), I have told you before" (ver. 25.). Behold I have given you sufficient warning. "Wherefore if they shall say unto you, Behold, he is in the desert, go not forth; behold, he is in the secret chambers, believe it not" (ver. 26.). It is surprising that our Saviour should not only foretel the appearance of these impostors, but also the manner and circumstances of their conduct. For some he mentions as appearing in *the desert*, and some in *the secret chambers;* and the event hath in all points answered to the prediction. Several of the false Christs and false prophets conducted their followers *into the desert*. Josephus in his Antiquities saith expressly,[7] that many impostors and cheats persuaded the people to follow them *into the desert*, where they promised to shew manifest wonders and signs done by the providence of God; and many being persuaded suffered the punishment of their folly; for Felix brought them back, and chastised them. Again in his history of the Jewish war, speaking of the same persons he saith,[8] that these impostors, under a pretence of divine inspiration, affected innovations and changes, persuaded the multitude to grow mad, and led them forth *into the desert*, as if God would there shew them the signs of liberty. Against these Felix, for it seemed to be the foundation of a revolt, sent horse and foot soldiers, and slew a great number of them. The Egyptian false prophet, mentioned by Josephus[9] and in the Acts of the Apostles, (xxi. 38.) "led out into the wilderness four thousand men that were murderers:" but Felix marching with his forces, and coming to an engagement with him, the Egyptian himself with a few others fled away, and most of those who had been with him were slain or taken prisoners. There was likewise another impostor mentioned by Josephus,[1] who promised salvation to the people, and a cessation of all evils, if they would follow him *into the desert;* but Festus sent horse and foot against him, and destroyed the deceiver himself, and those who followed him. These things happened before the destruction of Jerusalem, and a little after Jonathan[2] a weaver persuaded not a few indigent fellows to adhere to him, and led them forth *into the desert,* promising there to shew signs and apparitions; but his followers most were slain, some were made prisoners, and he himself was afterwards taken, and burnt alive by order of Vespasian. As several of these impostors thus conducted their followers into *the desert,* so did others into *the secret chambers* or places of security: as particularly the pseudo-prophet mentioned by Josephus,[3] who declared to the people in the city, that God commanded them to go up into the temple, and there they should receive the signs of deliverance. A multitude of men, women, and children went up accordingly; but instead of deliverance, the place was set on fire by the Romans, and six thousand perished miserably in the flames, or by throwing themselves down to escape them.

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[7] οἱ δὲ γόητες καὶ ἀπατεῶνες ἄνθρωποι τὸν ὄχλον ἔπειθον αὐτοῖς εἰς τὴν ἐρημίαν ἕπεσθαι. δείξειν γὰρ ἔφασαν ἐναργῆ τέρατα καὶ σημεῖα, κατὰ τὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ πρόνοιαν γενόμενα. Καὶ πολλοὶ πεισθέντες, τῆς ἀφροσύνης τιμωρίας ὑπέσχον. ἀναχθέντας γὰρ αὐτοὺς Φῆλιξ ἐκόλασεν. *Impostores vero et fallaciis pleni homines suadebant multitudini, ut ipsos in solitudinem sequerenter. Se enim ipsis ostensuros dicebant manifesta prodigia et signa, quæ Dei cura et providentia evenirent. Multique, fidem habentes, dementiæ suæ pœnas pertulerunt. Eos quippe retractos Felix supplicio affecit.* Ant. l. 20. c. 7. § 6.

[8] πλάνοι γὰρ ἄνθρωποι καὶ ἀπατεῶνες, προσχήματι θειασμοῦ, νεωτερισμοὺς καὶ μεταβολὰς πραγματευόμενοι, δαιμονᾷν τὸ πλῆθος ἀνέπειθον, καὶ προῆγον εἰς τὴν ἐρημίαν, ὡς ἐκεῖ τοῦ Θεοῦ δείξαντος αὐτοῖς σημεῖα ἐλευθερίας. ἐπὶ τούτοις ὁ Φῆλιξ, ἐδόκε γὰρ ἀποστάσεως εἶναι καταβολὴ, πέμψας ἱππεῖς καὶ πεζοὺς ὁπλίτας, πολὺ πλῆθος διέφθειρε. *Nam homines seductores et fallaciis pleni, specie divini afflatus, novis rebus et mutationibus studentes, vulgo ut insanirent persuadebant, et proliciebant in solitudinem; ac si illic Deus ostensurus esset eis signa libertatis. Contra istos (inde enim videtur oritura esse insurrectio) milites, tam pedites quam equites, misit Felix, magnumque eorum numerum interfecit.* De Bell. Jud. l. 2. c. 13. § 4.

[9] Antiq. l. 20. c. 7. § 6. De Bell. Jud. l. 2. c. 13. § 5. ὥστε συμβολῆς γενομένης, τὸν μὲν Αἰγύπτιον φυγεῖν μετ᾽ ὀλίγων, διαφθαρῆναι δὲ καὶ ζωγρηθῆναι πλείστους τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ. *Facto igitur congressu, Ægyptius quidem ipse cum paucis evasit; plurimique eorum qui cum eo erant partim trucidati, partim vivi capti sunt.*

Our Saviour therefore might well caution his disciples both against the former and the latter sort of these deceivers. "For as the lightning cometh out of the east, and shineth even unto the west; so shall also the coming of the Son of man be" (ver. 27.). His coming will not be in this or that particular place, but like the lightning will be sudden and universal. The appearance of the true Christ will be as distinguisheble from that of the false Christ, as lightning which shineth all round the hemisphere is from a blaze of straw. What a learned Prelate observes from Josephus is very memorable, that 'the

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[1] πέμπει δὲ Φῆστος δύναμιν ἱππικήν τε καὶ πεζικὴν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀπατηθέντας ἀπό τινος ἀνθρώπου γόητος, σωτηρίαν αὐτοὶς ἐπαγγελλομένου καὶ παύλαν κακῶν, εἰ βουληθεῖεν ἕπεσθαι μέχρι τῆς ἐρημίας αὐτῷ. καὶ αὐτόν τε ἐκεῖνον τὸν ἀϖατήσαντα, καὶ τοὺς ἀκολουθήσαντας διέφθειραν οἱ πεμφθέντες. *Quin et Festus equestres pedestresque copias contra eos misit, qui decepti erant ab homine quodam præstigiatore, salutem ipsis pollicente et malorum cessationem, si se usque ad desertum sequi vellent; atque ipsum deceptorem, pariter ac eos qui illum comitati sunt, interfecerunt milites ab eo missi.* Ant. l. 20. c. 7. § 10.

[2] De Bell. Jud. l. 7. c. 11. § 1. οὐκ ὀλίγους τῶν ἀπόρων ἀνέπεισε προσέχειν αὐτῷ, καὶ προήγαγεν εἰς τὸν ἔρημον, σημεῖα καὶ φάσματα δείξειν ὑϖισχνούμενος. *Pauperum et indigentium non paucis, ut ipsi se adjungerent, persuasit, et in desertum eduxit, promittens se signa ipsis et apparitiones ostensurum.*

[3] τούτοις αἴτιος τῆς ἀϖωλείας ψευδοπροφήτης τις κατέστη, κατ᾽ ἐκείνην κηρύξας τὴν ἡμέραν τοῖς ἐπὶ τῆς ϖόλεως, ὡς ὁ Θεὸς ἐπὶ τὸ ἱερὸν ἀναβῆναι κελεύει, δεξομένους τὰ σημεῖα τῆς σωτηρίας. *His causa interitus erat pseudopropheta quidam, qui illo tempore prædicaverat populo in civitate, 'jubere Deum eos in templum ascendere, signa salutis accepturos.'* Ibid. l. 6. c. 5. § 2.

Roman army entered into Judea on the east side of it, and carried on their conquests westward, as if not only the extensiveness of the ruin, but the very route, which the army would take, was intended in the comparison of the lightning coming out of the east, and shining even unto the west.'[4] "For wheresoever the carcase is, there will the eagles be gathered together" (ver. 28.). By the word *carcase*, as the same excellent Prelate justly remarks,[5] is meant the Jewish nation, which was morally and judicially dead, and whose destruction was pronounced in the decrees of heaven. Our Saviour, after his usual manner, applied a proverbial expression with a particular meaning. For as, according to the old proverb, "wheresoever the carcase is, there will the eagles be gathered together;" so wheresoever the Jews are, there will Christ be taking vengeance upon them by the Romans, who are properly compared to eagles, as the fiercest birds of prey, and whose ensign was an eagle, to which probably our Saviour in this passage alluded. And as it was said, so was it done; for the victories of the Romans were not confined to this or that place, but like a flood overran the whole land. Josephus saith[6] that there was no part of Judea, which did not partake of the calamities of the capital city. At Antioch,[7] the Jews being falsely accused of a design to burn the city, many of them were burnt in the theatre, and others were slain. The Romans pursued, and took, and slew them every where, as particularly at the siege of Machærus;[8] at the wood Jardes,[9] where the Jews were surrounded, and none of them escaped, but being not fewer than three thousand were all slain; and at Masada,[1] where being closely besieged, and upon the point of being taken, they first murdered their wives and children, and then themselves to the number of nine hundred and sixty, to prevent their falling into the enemy's hands. When Judea[2] was totally subdued, the danger extended to those who dwelt at a distance. Many were slain in Egypt,[3] and their temple there was shut up: and in Cyrene[4] the followers of Jonathan, a weaver, and author of new disturbances, were most of them slain; he himself was taken prisoner, and by his false accusation three thousand of the richest Jews were condemned and put to death: and with this account Josephus concludes his history of the Jewish war.

There was something so very extraordinary in the conduct of these false Christs and false prophets, and in their appearance at that time particularly, that it may not be improper to bestow some considerations upon this subject, especially as these considerations may tend to confirm and strengthen us in our most holy religion.

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[4] Bishop Pearce's Dissertation on the destruction of Jerusalem, inserted in Dr. Jortin's Remarks on Ecclesiastical History, vol. 1. p. 27.

[5] Ditto, p. 22.

[6] οὐδὲν δὲ μέρος ἦν τῆς Ἰουδαίας, ὃ μὴ τῇ προανεχούσῃ πόλει συναπώλλυτο. *Nulla autem pars Judææ erat quæ simul cum urbe eminentissima non interibat.* De Bell. Jud. l. 4. c. 7. § 2.

[7] L. 7. c. 3. § 3.

[8] Ibid. c. 6.

[9] Ibid. § 5.

[1] Ibid. c. 9.

[2] Ibid. c. 10. § 1.

[3] Ibid. c. 10.

[4] Ibid. c. 11.

1. It is obvious to observe from hence, that in all probability there hath been a true prophet, a true Christ, otherwise there would hardly have been so many cheats and counterfeits. Fictions are usually formed upon realities; and there would be nothing spurious, but for the sake of something true and genuine. There would be no bad money, if there was none current and good. There would be no quacks and empirics, if there were no physicians able to perform real cures. In like manner there would be no pretenders to divine inspiration, were none truly and divinely inspired. There would not (we may reasonably presume) have been so many false Messiahs, had not a true Messiah been promised by God, and expected by men. And if a Messiah hath come from God, whom can we so properly pitch upon for the person, as the man Christ Jesus? If there were also some mock prophets in imitation of Mohammed, yet their number was nothing near so considerable, and his success was sufficient to excite and encourage them; whereas the fate and condition of Jesus would rather have deterred any impostors from following his example.

2. Another natural observation from hence is, that the Messiah was particularly expected about the time of our Saviour, and consequently that the prophets had beforehand marked out that very time for his coming. For we read not of any false Messiahs before the age of our Saviour, nor of so many in any age after; and why did they rise at that time particularly, if the Messiah was not at that time particularly expected? and why did the Jews expect their Messiah at that time more than at any other, if that was not the time before appointed for his coming? The prophet Daniel in particular had foretold (ix. 25, &c.), that Messiah the prince should come towards the end of seventy weeks of years, or 490 years, from the going forth of the decree to restore and rebuild Jerusalem. Before these weeks of years were, by one account or other, near expiring, history saith nothing of the false Messiahs: but when the prophetic weeks drew towards a conclusion, then these impostors arose frequent, like so many meteors to dazzle the eyes, and mislead the wandering steps of Jews and Samaritans. Nothing can be a more evident and convincing proof, that the Jews then understood the prophecy in the same sense as the Christians, however they may endeavour to evade the force of it now. They pretend that the coming of the Messiah was delayed for the

sins of the people, and therefore they still live in expectation of him, though they know neither the time nor the place of his appearing. Strange! that he who was to come for the sins of the people, should delay his coming for their sins: and more strange still! that God should falsify so many of his promises made by the mouths of his holy prophets. (Numb. xxiii. 19.) "God is not a man that he should lie, neither the son of man that he should repent; hath he said, and would he not do it? or hath he spoken, and would he not make it good?"

3. It may be farther observed from hence, that the Messiah was expected to work miracles. Miracles are the credentials of a messenger from God: and it was foretold particularly of the Messiah, that he should work miracles. There was no pretending therefore to the character of the Messiah without the necessary qualifications. Had not the power of working miracles been esteemed an essential ingredient in the character of the Messiah, these impostors would never have had the assurance to pretend to it, or been so foolish as to hazard their reputation, and venture their whole success upon such an experiment: but all of them to a man drew the people after them with a pretence of working miracles, of shewing signs, and wonders, and apparitions. Now the very miracles which the Messiah was to perform, Jesus hath performed, and none other besides Jesus. The prophet Isaiah foretold, that the Messiah should cure the *lame* and the *blind*, the *deaf* and the *dumb;* and accordingly these very persons were cured in great numbers by Jesus. The prophet Isaiah foretold likewise, that these miracles should be wrought in *the desert;* and accordingly in the desert Jesus wrought them: and by the way I suppose this prophecy was one principal reason why most of the false Christs and false prophets led their followers into solitudes and deserts, promising there to shew signs and wonders. The prophet Isaiah foretold (xxxv. 1, &c.) "The wilderness and the solitary place shall be glad for them, and the desert shall rejoice, and blossom as the rose.—They shall see the glory of the Lord, and the excellency of our God.—The eyes of the blind shall be opened, and the ears of the deaf shall be unstopped. The lame man shall leap as an hart, and the tongue of the dumb sing." The apostle and evangelist St. Matthew relates (xv. 29, &c.) that "Jesus departed from thence (from the coasts of Tyre and Sidon) and came nigh unto the sea of Galilee, and went up into a mountain, and sat down there. And great multitudes came unto him, having with them those that were lame, blind, dumb, maimed, and many others, and cast them down at Jesus' feet, and he healed them: Insomuch that the multitude wondered, when they saw the dumb to speak, the maimed to be whole, the lame to walk, and the

blind to see: and they glorified the God of Israel." Since then the miracles of the Messiah were wrought by Jesus alone, Jesus alone can have any just claim to be the Messiah: ano from his works we may conclude (John vi. 14.) "This is of a truth that prophet that should come into the world."

4. Very observable is the difference between the conduct and success of these deceivers and of Jesus Christ: for in him we have all the marks and characters of simplicity and truth, in them of fraud and imposture. They were men of debauched lives and vicious principles: He "did no sin (1 Pet. ii. 22.), neither was guile found in his mouth;" even Pilate his judge declared (John xix. 6.) that he could "find no fault in him." They lived by rapine and spoil, by plunder and murder: He (Luke ix. 56.) "came not to destroy men's lives, but to save them:" He fed the hungry, healed the sick, and went from place to place doing good. Their conduct breathes nothing but ambition and pride, cruelty and revenge: His behaviour was all humility and meekness, charity and love of mankind. They were actuated by worldly motives, and proposed to themselves secular ends and interests; Jesus was the farthest removed from any suspicion of that kind, and when the people would have taken him (John vi. 15.) "to make him a king, he *withdrew himself from them*, and departed again into a mountain himself alone." Their pretensions were accommodated to the carnal expectations of the Jews, and withal were backed by force and violence, and yet could not succeed and prosper: On the contrary, the religion of Jesus was spiritual, disclaimed all force, and took the way (humanly speaking) not to prevail, and yet prevailed against all the power and opposition of the world. Now of these who were the deceivers, think you, who was the true Christ? Had Jesus been an impostor, he would have lived and acted like an impostor. Had his design been any thing like theirs it would have been discovered and brought to nought. Nothing could make his religion stand, but its coming from God. This is the reasoning of one, who cannot be suspected to favour the cause of Christianity, the learned Gamaliel in the Jewish Sanhedrim; and to him that great council agreed. (Acts v. 36, &c.) "Before these days rose up Theudas, boasting himself to be some body, to whom a number of men, about four hundred, joined themselves; who was slain, and all, as many as obeyed him, were scattered, and brought to nought. After this man rose up Judas of Galilee, in the days of the taxing, and drew away much people after him; he also perished, and all, even as many as obeyed him, were dispersed. And now I say unto you, refrain from these men, and let them alone; for if this counsel or this work be of men, it will come to nought: but if it be of God, ye cannot overthrow

it; lest haply ye be found even to fight against God. And to him they agreed."

5. But though the truth will at last prevail over error and imposture, yet it is a melancholy proof of the weakness, and superstition, and enthusiasm of mankind, that these false Christs and false prophets should delude such numbers as they did to their destruction. The false Messiahs had for a time many more disciples and followers than the true Messiah. The Christians were once (Luke xii. 32.) "a little flock." "The number of the names together (Acts i. 15.) were about an hundred and twenty." Whereas these impostors attracted and drew away great multitudes, one of them[5] six thousand, another even thirty thousand.[6] With a pretence of divine inspiration, they taught the people, as[7] Josephus expresseth it, *δαιμονᾷν* to grow enthusiastically mad, as if they were possessed and actuated by some spirit or demon: and indeed no plague or epidemical distemper is more catching and contagious than enthusiasm. It passeth from man to man like wild fire. The imagination is soon heated, and there is rarely judgment enough to cool it again. *The very elect,* even good Christians themselves, if they attend to enthusiasts, will be in danger of taking the infection, and be continually liable to be (Eph. iv. 14.) "tossed to and fro, and carried about with every wind of doctrine," if they have not (as all have not) a sufficient ballast of discretion to keep them steady. In reality, enthusiasts know as little of the revelation given us by Christ, as of the reason given us by God. They are blind leaders of the blind. "Wherefore if they shall say unto you, Behold, he is in the desert (behold his power is experienced in field-preaching), go not forth; behold, he is in the secret chambers (behold his presence is conspicuous in the tabernacles or conventicles), believe it not." He is best sought in his word, and in his works; and he will certainly be found by those, and those alone, who love him, not with fanaticism and enthusiasm, but in truth and soberness, so as to keep his commandments, which is the only infallible proof and legitimate issue of love. For as our Saviour himself saith, (John xiv. 23.) "If a man love me, he will keep my words; and my Father will love him, and we will come unto him, and make our abode with him."

6. Once more it is to be observed, that we must not credit every one, who cometh to us with a pretence of working miracles. For the false Christs and false prophets pretended to

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[5] Joseph. de Bell. Jud. l. 6. c. 5. § 2. *καὶ σύμμικτος ὄχλος πλεῖστος εἰς ἐξακισχιλίους. et plurima multitudo promiscua, ad sex hominum millia.*

[6] Ibid. l. 2. c. 13. § 5. *περὶ τρισμυρίους μὲν ἀθροίζει τῶν ἠπατημένων. usque ad triginta hominum millia, quos præstigiis suis deceperat, congregavit.*

[7] *προσχήματι θειασμοῦ, — δαιμονᾷν τὸ πλῆθος ἀνέπειθον. specie divini afflatus, —vulgo ut insanirent persuadebant.* Ibid. § 4.

shew great signs and wonders; and yet notwithstanding all their miraculous pretensions, our blessed Lord cautions his disciples not to believe or follow them. But then the question will be naturally asked, If we must not believe those who work miracles, whom must we believe? how shall we know whether a person doth or doth not act by commission from heaven? how shall we distinguish whether the doctrine is of God or of men? Indeed if miracles were not possible to be wrought at all, as some have pretended; or could be wrought only by God, or those who are commissioned by him, as others have argued; the reply would be obvious and easy: but that miracles are possible to be wrought is a truth agreeable to reason, and that they may be wrought by evil spirits is a supposition agreeable to Scripture; and therefore the best answer is, that reason must judge in this case as in every other, and determine of the miracles by the doctrines which they are alleged to confirm. If a doctrine is evil, no miracles can be wrought by a divine power in its behalf; for God can never set his hand and seal to a lie. If a doctrine is good, then we may be certain, that the miracles vouched for it were not wrought by the power of evil spirits; for at that rate, according to our Saviour's argument, (Luke xi. 18.) "Satan would be divided against himself, and his kingdom could not stand." Good spirits can never confirm and establish what is evil, neither can evil spirits be supposed to promote what is good. Supposing that the miracles pretended in favour of Paganism were all real miracles, yet as they lead men to a corrupt religion and idolatrous worship, no reverence, no regard is to be paid to them, according to the command of Moses, (Deut. xiii. 1, &c.) "If there arise among you a prophet, or a dreamer of dreams, and giveth thee a sign or a wonder, And the sign or the wonder come to pass, whereof he spake unto thee, saying, Let us go after other gods (which thou hast not known) and let us serve them: Thou shalt not hearken unto the words of that prophet, or that dreamer of dreams: for the Lord your God proveth you, to know whether you love the Lord your God with all your heart, and with all your soul." In like manner we must not admit any thing contrary to the doctrines of Christ and his apostles, whatever miracles are boasted to recommend and authorise it. For the doctrines of the Christian religion are not only perfectly agreeable to reason, but moreover God hath confirmed it, amply confirmed it, by miracles, and hath enjoined us strictly to adhere to it; and God can never be supposed to work miracles to confirm contradictions: and therefore allowing (what we cannot reasonably allow) that the miracles of Apollonius and other impostors were true and well attested, yet the foundation of Christ standeth firm, and cannot at all be shaken by them.

Should any man, or number of men, with ever so grave and confident a pretence to infallibility assert—that it is our duty implicitly to believe and obey the church: when Christ commands us (Matt. xxiii. 9.) "to call no man father upon earth, for one is our Father which is in heaven"—that the service of God is to be performed in an unknown tongue; when St. Paul in his first Epistle to the Corinthians hath written a whole chapter (xiv.) expressly against it—that the sacrament of the Lord's supper is to be administered only in one kind; when Christ instituted it (Matt. xxvi.), and his apostles ordered it (1 Cor. xi.) to be celebrated in both—that the propitiatory sacrifice of Christ is to be repeated in the mass; when the divine author of the Epistle to the Hebrews teacheth us, (x. 10.) that "the body of Jesus Christ was offered once for all," and (ver. 14.) that "by one offering he hath perfected for ever them that are sanctified"—that men may arrive at such heights of virtue as to perform works of merit and supererogation; when our Saviour orders us, (Luke xvii. 10.) "after we have done all those things which are commanded us, to say, We are unprofitable servants, we have done *but* that which was our duty to do"—that attrition and confession, together with the absolution of the priest, will put a dying sinner into a state of grace and salvation; when the Scripture again and again declares, (Heb. xii. 14.) that "without holiness no man shall see the Lord," and (1 Cor. vi. 9.) "the unrighteous shall not inherit the kingdom of God"—that the souls of men, even of good men, immediately after death pass into purgatory; when St. John is commanded from heaven to write (Rev. xiv. 13.) "Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord, that they may rest from their labours, and their works do follow them"—that we must worship images, and the relics of the saints; when our Saviour teacheth us, (Matt. iv. 10.) "that we must worship the Lord our God, and him only we must serve"—that we must invocate and adore saints and angels; when the apostle chargeth us (Col. ii. 18.) to "let no man beguile us of our reward in a voluntary humility and worshipping of angels"—that we must pray to the Virgin Mary and all saints to intercede for us; when St. Paul affirms, (1 Tim. ii. 5.) that as there is only "one God," so there is only "one mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus"—that it is lawful to fill the world with rebellions and treasons, with persecutions and massacres, for the sake of religion and the church; when St. James assures us, (i. 20.) that "the wrath of man worketh not the righteousness of God;" and when Christ maketh universal love and charity the distinguishing mark and badge of his disciples, (John xiii. 35.) "By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye have love one to another"—I say should any man assert these things so directly contrary to reason and to the word of God, and vouch ever so many miracles in confirmation of them, yet we should make no scruple to reject and renounce them all. Nay we are obliged to denounce anathema against the teacher of such doctrines, though he were an apostle, though he were an angel from heaven; and for this we have the warrant and authority of St. Paul, and to shew that he laid peculiar stress upon it, he repeats it twice with great vehemence, (Gal. i. 8, 9.) "Though we or an angel from heaven preach any other gospel unto you than that which we have preached unto you, let him be accursed. As we said before, so say I now again, If any one preach any other gospel unto you, than that ye have received, let him be accursed." Indeed the miracles alleged in support of these doctrines are such ridiculous incredible things that a man must have faith, I do not say to remove mountains, but to swallow mountains, who can receive for truth the legends of the church of Rome. But admitting that any of the Romish miracles were undeniable matters of fact, and were attested by the best and most authentic records of time, yet I know not what the Bishop of Rome would gain by it, but a better title to be thought Antichrist. For we know that the coming of Antichrist, as St. Paul declares, (2 Thess. ii. 9, 10.) "is after the working of Satan with all power and signs, and lying wonders, and with all deceivableness of unrighteousness:" "and he doeth great wonders in the sight of men, (according to the prophecy of St. John, Rev. xiii. 13, 14.) and deceiveth them that dwell on the earth by the means of those miracles which he hath power to do." Nor indeed is any thing more congruous and reasonable, than that *God* (2 Thess. ii. 10, 11.) "should send men strong delusion, that they should believe a lie, because they received not the love of the truth, that they might be saved."

But to return from this digression, though I hope neither an improper nor unedifying digression, to our main subject.

XX.—THE SAME SUBJECT CONTINUED.

PART III.

WE are now come to the last act of this dismal tragedy, the destruction of Jerusalem and the final dissolution of the Jewish polity in church and state, which our Saviour for several reasons might not think fit to declare nakedly and plainly, and therefore chooseth to clothe his discourse in figurative language. 'He might possibly do it,' as Dr. Jortin[1] conceives, 'to perplex the unbelieving persecuting Jews, if his discourses should ever fall into their hands, that they might not learn to avoid the impending evil.' "Immediately after the tribulation of those days, shall the sun be darkened, and the moon shall not give her light, and the stars shall fall from heaven, and the powers of the heavens shall be shaken." (Matt. xxiv. 29.) Commentators generally understand this and what follows of the end of the world and of Christ's coming to judgment: but the words "immediately after the tribulation of those days" shew evidently that he is not speaking of any distant event, but of something immediately consequent upon the tribulation before mentioned, and that must be the destruction of Jerusalem. It is true, his figures are very strong, but no stronger than are used by the ancient prophets upon similar occasions. The prophet Isaiah speaketh in the same manner of Babylon, (xiii. 9, 10.) "Behold the day of the Lord cometh, cruel both with wrath and fierce anger, to lay the land desolate; and he shall destroy the sinners thereof out of it. For the stars of heaven and the constellations thereof shall not give their light; the sun shall be darkened in his going forth, and the moon shall not cause her light to shine." The prophet Ezekiel speaketh in the same manner of Egypt, (xxxii. 7, 8.) "And when I shall put thee out, I will cover the heaven, and make the stars thereof dark; I will cover the sun with a cloud, and the moon shall not give her light. And the bright lights of heaven will I make dark over thee, and set darkness upon thy land, saith the Lord God." The prophet Daniel speaketh in the same manner of the slaughter of the Jews by the little horn, whether by the little horn be understood Antiochus Epiphanes or the power of the Romans; (viii. 10.) "And it waxed great even to the host of heaven; and it cast down some of the host, and of the stars to the ground, and stamped upon them:" and the prophet Joel of this very destruction of Jerusalem, (ii. 30, 31.) "And I will shew wonders in the heavens and in the earth, blood and fire and pillars of smoke. The sun shall be turned into darkness, and the moon into blood, before the great and the terrible day of the Lord come." Thus it is that in the prophetic language great commotions and revolutions upon earth, are often represented by commotions and changes in the heavens.

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[1] Dr. Jortin's Remarks on Ecclesiastical History, vol. 1. p. 75.

Our Saviour proceedeth in the same figurative style, (ver. 30.) "And then shall appear the sign of the Son of man in heaven; and then shall all the tribes of the earth mourn, and they shall see the Son of man coming in the clouds of heaven, with power and great glory." The plain meaning of it is, that the destruction of Jerusalem will be such a remarkable instance of divine vengeance, such a signal manifestation of Christ's power and glory, that all the Jewish tribes shall mourn, and many will be led from thence to acknowledge Christ and the Christian religion. In the ancient prophets, God is frequently described as coming in the *clouds*, upon any remarkable interposition and manifestation of his power; and the same description is here applied to Christ. The destruction of Jerusalem will be as ample a manifestation of Christ's power and glory, as if he was himself to come visibly in the clouds of heaven.

The same sort of metaphor is carried on in the next verse, (ver. 31.) "And he shall send his angels with the great sound of a trumpet, and they shall gather together his elect from the four winds, from one end of heaven to the other." This is all in the style and phraseology of the prophets, and stripped of its figures meaneth only, that after the destruction of Jerusalem Christ by his angels or ministers will gather to himself a glorious church out of all the nations under heaven. The Jews shall be *thrust out*, as he expresseth himself in another place, (Luke xiii. 28, 29.) "and they shall come from the east, and from the west, and from the north, and from the south; and shall sit down in the kingdom of God." No one ever so little versed in history needeth to be told, that the Christian religion spread and prevailed mightily after this period; and hardly any one thing contributed more to this success of the gospel, than the destruction of Jerusalem, falling out in the very manner and with the very circumstances so particularly foretold by our blessed Saviour.

What Dr. Warburton[2] hath written upon the same subject will much illustrate and enforce the foregoing exposition. 'The prophecy of Jesus, concerning the approaching destruction of Jerusalem by Titus, is conceived in such high and swelling terms, that not only the modern interpreters, but the ancient likewise, have supposed, that our Lord interweaves into it a direct prediction of his second coming to judgment. Hence arose a current opinion in *those* times, that the consummation of all things was at hand; which hath afforded a handle to an infidel objection in *these*, insinuating that Jesus, in order to keep his followers attached to his service, and patient under sufferings, flattered them with the near approach of those rewards, which completed all their views and expectations. To which, the defenders of religion have opposed this answer, That the distinction of short and long, in the duration of time, is lost in eternity, and with the Almighty "a thousand years are but as yesterday," &c.

'But the principle both go upon is false; and if what hath been said be duly weighed, it will appear, that this prophecy doth not respect Christ's *second* coming to judgment, but his

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[2] Warburton's Julian, b. 1. c. 1. p. 21, &c. 2d Edit.

first; in the abolition of the Jewish policy, and the establishment of the Christian: that kingdom of Christ, which commenced on the total ceasing of the theocracy. For as God's reign over the Jews entirely ended with the abolition of the temple-service, so the reign of Christ, "in spirit and in truth," had then its first beginning.

'This was the true *establishment* of Christianity, not that effected by the donations or conversions of Constantine. Till the Jewish law was abolished, over which the *Father* presided as king, the reign of the *Son* could not take place; because the sovereignty of Christ over mankind, was that very sovereignty of God over the Jews, *transferred,* and more largely extended.

'This therefore being one of the most important æras in the œconomy of grace, and the most awful revolution in all God's religious dispensations; we see the elegance and propriety of the terms in question, to denote so great an event, together with the destruction of Jerusalem, by which it was effected: for in the old prophetic language the change and fall of principalities and powers, whether spiritual or civil, are signified by the shaking heaven and earth, the darkening the sun and moon, and the falling of the stars; as the rise and establishment of new ones are by processions in the clouds of heaven, by the sound of trumpets, and the assembling together of hosts and congregations.'

This language, as he observes[3] in another place, was borrowed from the ancient hieroglyphics. 'For as in the hieroglyphic writing the sun, moon, and stars were used to represent states and empires, kings, queens, and nobility; their eclipse and extinction, temporary disasters, or entire overthrow, &c. so in like manner the holy prophets call kings and empires by the names of the heavenly luminaries; their misfortunes and overthrow are represented by eclipses and extinction; stars falling from the firmament are employed to denote the destruction of the nobility, &c. In a word, the prophetic style seems to be a speaking hieroglyphic. These observations will not only assist us in the study of the Old and New Testament, but likewise vindicate their character from the illiterate cavils of modern libertines, who have foolishly mistaken *that* for the peculiar workmanship of the prophet's heated imagination, which was the sober established language of their times, and which God and his Son condescended to employ as the properest conveyance of the high mysterious ways of providence in the revelation of themselves to mankind.'

To St. Matthew's account St. Luke addeth, (xxi. 24.) "And they shall fall by the edge of the sword, and shall be led away captive into all nations; and Jerusalem shall be trodden down of the Gentiles, until the times of the Gentiles be fulfilled." The number of those who "fell by the edge of the sword," was indeed very great. Of those who perished during the whole siege, there were, as Josephus saith,[4] eleven hundred thousand. Many were also slain at other times and in other places.[5] By the command of Florus, who was the first author of the war, there were slain at Jerusalem[6] three thousand and six hundred. By the inhabitants of Cæsarea above twenty thousand:[7] at Scythopolis above thirteen thousand:[8] at Ascalon two thousand five hnndred,[9] and at Ptolemais two thousand: at Alexandria, under Tiberius Alexander the president,[1] fifty thousand: at Joppa when it was taken by Cestius Gallus,[2] eight thousand four hundred: in a mountain called Asamon near Sepphoris above two thousand:[3] at Damascus ten thousand:[4] in a battle with the Romans at Ascalon ten thousand:[5] in an ambuscade near the same place eight thousand:[6] at Japha fifteen thousand:[7] of the Samaritans upon Mount Garizin eleven thousand and six hundred:[8] at Jotapa forty thousand:[9] at Joppa, when taken by Vespasian,[1] four thousand two hundred: at Tarichea six thousand five hundred,[2] and after the city was taken twelve hundred: at Gamala four thousand slain,[3] besides five thousand who threw themselves down a precipice: of those who fled with John from Gischala six thousand:[4] of the Gadarenes fifteen thousand slain,[5] besides an infinite number drowned: in the villages of Idumea above ten thousand slain:[6] at Gerasa a thousand:[7] at Machærus seventeen hundred:[8] in the wood of Jardes three thousand:[9] in the castle of Masada nine hundred and sixty:[1] in Cyrene by Catullus the governor three thousand.[2] Besides these many of every age, sex, and condition, were slain in this war, who are not reckoned; but of these who are reckoned, the number amounts to above one million, three hundred fifty-seven thousand, six hundred and sixty; which would appear almost incredible, if their own historian had not so particularly enumerated them.

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[3] Divine Legation, vol. 2. b. 4. § 4.

But besides the Jews who "fell by the edge of the sword," others were also to "be led away captive into all nations:" and considering the numbers of the slain, the number of the captives too was very great. There were taken particularly at

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[4] τῶν δ' ἀπολουμένων κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν πολιορκίαν, μυριάδες ἐκατὸν καὶ δέκα. *totius autem obsidionis tempora undecies centena hominum millia perierunt.* De Bell. Jud. l. 6. c. 9. § 3.

[5] Just. Lipsius de Constantia, l. 2. c. 21. Usher's Annals in the conclusion, Basnage's Hist. of the Jews, b. 1. c. 8. § 19.

[6] Joseph. de Bell. Jud. l. 2. c. 14. § 9.

[7] Ibid. c. 18. § 1.

[8] Ibid. § 3.

[9] Ibid. § 5.

[1] Ibid. § 8.

[2] Ibid. § 10.

[3] Ibid. § 11.

[4] Ibid. c. 20. § 2.

[5] Ibid. l. 3. c. 2. § 2.

[6] Ibid. § 3.

[7] Ibid. c. 7. § 31.

[8] Ibid. § 32.

[9] Ibid. § 36.

[1] Ibid. c. 8. § 3.

[2] Ibid. c. 9. § 9, 10.

[3] Ibid. l. 4. c. 1. § 10.

[4] Ibid. c. 2. § 5.

[5] Ibid. c. 7. § 5.

[6] Ibid. c. 8. § 1.

[7] Ibid. c. 9. § 1.

[8] Ibid. l. 7. c 6. § 4.

[9] Ibid. § 5.

[1] Ibid. c. 9. § 1.

[2] Ibid. c. 11. § 2.

Japha two thousand one hundred and thirty:[3] at Jotapa one thousand two hundred:[4] at Tarichea six thousand chosen young men were sent to Nero,[5] the rest sold to the number of thirty thousand and four hundred, besides those who were given to Agrippa: of the Gadarenes two thousand two hundred:[6] in Idumea above a thousand.[7] Many besides these were taken at Jerusalem, so that as Josephus himself informs us,[8] the number of the captives taken in the whole war amounted to ninety-seven thousand: the tall and handsome young men, Titus reserved for his triumph; of the rest, those above seventeen years of age were sent to the works in Egypt, but most were distributed through the Roman provinces, to be destroyed in their theatres by the sword or by the wild beasts; those under seventeen were sold for slaves. Of these captives many underwent hard fate. Eleven thousand of them perished for want.[9] Titus exhibited all sorts of shows and spectacles at Cæsarea, and [1] many of the captives were there destroyed, some being exposed to the wild beasts, and others compelled to fight in troops against one another. At Cæsarea too, in honour of his brother's birth-day, two thousand five hundred Jews were slain;[2] and a great number likewise at Berytus in honour of his father's. The like was done in other cities of Syria.[3] Those whom he reserved for his triumph were Simon and John,[4] the generals of the captives, and seven hundred others of remarkable stature and beauty. Thus were the Jews miserably tormented, and distributed over the Roman provinces; and are they not still distressed and dispersed over all the nations of the earth?

As the Jews were "to be led away captive into all nations," so Jerusalem was to be "trodden down of the Gentiles, until the times of the Gentiles be fulfilled." And accordingly Jerusalem has never since been in the possession of the Jews, but hath constantly been in subjection to some other nation, as first to the Romans, and afterwards to the Saracens, and then to the Franks, and then to the Mamalucs, and now to the Turks.

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[3] Ibid. l. 3. c. 7. § 31.

[4] Ibid. § 36.

[5] Ibid. c. 9. § 10.

[6] Ibid. l. 4. c. 7. § 5.

[7] Ibid. c. 8. § 1.

[8] τῶν δὲ νέων τοὺς ὑψηλοτάτους καὶ καλοὺς ἐπιλέξας ἐτήρει τῷ θριάμβῳ. τοῦ δὲ λοιποῦ πλήθους τοὺς ὑπὲρ ἑπτακαίδεκα ἔτη δήσας ἔπεμψεν εἰς τὰ κατ᾽ Αἴγυπτον ἔργα, πλείστους δ᾽ εἰς τὰς ἐπαρχίας διεδωρήσατο Τίτος, φθαρησομένους ἐν τοῖς θεάτροις σιδήρῳ καὶ θηρίοις. οἱ δ᾽ ἐντὸς ἑπτακαίδεκα ἐτῶν ἐπράθησαν.—Τῶν μὲν οὖν αἰχμαλώτων πάντων, ὅσα καθ᾽ ὅλον ἐλήφθη τὸν πόλεμον, ἀριθμὸς ἐννέα μυριάδες καὶ ἑπτακισχίλιοι συνήχθη. *juvenes autem lectos, qui proceritate et forma cæteris præstarent, triumpho servabat. Ex reliqua autem multitudine, annis* XVII. *majores vinctos ad metalla exercenda in Ægyptum misit; plurimos etiam per provincias distribuit Titus, in theatris ferro et bestiis consumendos. Quicunque vero infra* XVII *annum ætatis erant, sub corona venditi sunt.—Et captivorum quidem omnium, qui totius belli tempore capti sunt, numerus erat ad nonaginta septem millia.* l. 6. c. 9. § 2 et 3. Pro ἐννέα ἐννενήκοντα scripsisse Josephum censet Villalpandus, tom. 3. p. 123.

[9] Ibid. § 2.

[1] Ibid. l. 7. c. 2. § 1.

[2] Ibib. c. 3. § 1.

[3] Ibid. c. 5. § 1.

[4] Ibid. § 3.

Titus, as it was related before,[5] commanded all the city as well as the temple to be destroyed : only three towers were left standing for monuments to posterity of the strength of the city, and so much of the wall as encompassed the city on the west, for barracks for the soldiers who were left there in garrison. All the rest of the city was so totally demolished, that there was no likelihood of its ever being inhabited again. The soldiers who were left there, were the tenth legion,[5] with some troops of horse and companies of foot,[7] under the command of Terentius Rufus. When Titus came to Jerusalem in his way from Syria to Egypt,[8] and beheld the sad devastation of the city, and called to mind its former splendour and beauty, he could not help lamenting over it, and cursing the authors of the rebellion, who had compelled him to the cruel necessity of destroying so fine a city. Vespasian ordered all the lands of the Jews to be sold for his own use ;[9] and all the Jews, wheresoever they dwelt, to pay each man every year the same sum to the Capitol of Rome, that they had before paid to the temple at Jerusalem. The desolation was so complete, that Eleazar said to his countrymen ;[1] 'What is become of our city, which was believed to be inhabited by God? It is rooted up from the very foundations, and the only monument that is left, is the camp of those who destroyed it, still pitched upon its remains. Some unhappy old men sit over the ashes of the temple, and a few women reserved by the enemy for the basest of injuries.'

The first who[2] rebuilt Jerusalem, though not all exactly on the same spot, was the Roman emperor Ælius Adrian, and he called it after his own name Ælia, and placed in it a Roman colony, and dedicated a temple to Jupiter Capitolinus in the room of the temple of the true God. While he was visiting the eastern parts of the empire, he came to Jerusalem, as[3] Epiphanius informs us, forty-seven years after its destruction by Titus, and found the city all levelled with the ground, and the temple of God trodden under foot, except a few houses : and he then formed the resolution of rebuilding it, but his design was not put in execution till towards the latter end of his reign. The Jews, naturally of a seditious spirit, were inflamed[4] upon this occasion into open rebellion, to recover their native city and country out of the hands of heathen violators and oppressors: and they were headed by a man called [5] *Barchochab,* a vile robber and murderer, whose name signifying the *son of a star,* he confidently pretended that he was the person prophesied of by Balaam in those words, (Numb. xxiv. 17.) "There shall come a star out of Jacob, and a sceptre shall rise out of Israel." They were[6] successful in their first enterprises through the neglect of the Romans: and it is probable, as the rebellion was raised for this purpose, that they made themselves masters of Ælia, or the new Jerusalem, and massacred or chased from thence the heathen inhabitants, and the Romans besieged and took it again; for we read in several authors, in[7] Eusebius, in[8] Jerome, in[9] Chrysostom, and in[1] Appian who lived at that time, that Jerusalem was again besieged by the Romans under Adrian, and was entirely burnt and consumed. However that be, the Jews were at length subdued with a most terrible slaughter; [2] fifty of their strongest castles, and nine hundred and eighty-five of their best towns were sacked and demolished; five hundred and eighty thousand men fell by the sword in battle, besides an infinite multitude who perished by famine, and sickness, and fire, so that Judea was almost all desolated. The Jewish[3] writers themselves reckon, that doubly more Jews were slain in this war, than came out of Egypt; and that their sufferings under Nebuchadnezzar and Titus were not so great as what they endured under the emperor Adrian. Of the Jews who survived this second ruin of their nation, an[4] incredible number of every age and sex were sold like horses, and dispersed over the face of the earth. The emperor completed his design, rebuilt the city, re-established the colony, ordered the[5] statue of a hog in marble to be set up over the gate that opened towards Bethlehem, and[6] published an edict strictly forbidding any Jew upon pain of death to enter the city, or so much as to look upon it at a distance.

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[5] Joseph. de Bell. Jud. l. 7. c. 1. § 1.

[6] Ibid. § 2.

[7] Ibid. c. 2.

[8] Ibid. c. 5. § 2.

[9] Ibid. c. 6. § 6.

[1] ποῦ γέγονεν ἡμῖν ἡ τὸν Θεὸν ἔχειν οἰκιστὴν πεπιστευμένη ; πρόῤῥιζος ἐκ βάθρων ἀνήρπασται, καὶ μόνον αὐτῆς μνημεῖον ὑπολέλειπται, τὸ τῶν ἀνῃρηκότων αὐτὴν στρατόπεδον, ἔτι τοῖς λειψάνοις ἐποικοῦν. πρεσβῦται δὲ δύστηνοι τῇ σποδῷ τοῦ τεμένους παρακάθηνται, καὶ γυναῖκες ὀλίγαι πρὸς ὕβριν αἰσχίστην ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων τετηρημέναι. *quid de ea factum est, quam Deum habitasse credidimus? Radicitus ex fundamentis evulsa est, et id solum ejus monumentum relictum, castra scilicet illorum a quibus excisa est jam reliquiis ejus imposita. Senes vero infelices templi cineribus assident, et paucæ mulieres ad turpissimam* pudoris *injuriam ab hostibus reservatæ.* Ibid. c. 8. § 7.

[2] Dionis Cass. Hist. l. 69. § 12.

[3] Epiphan. de Mens. et Pond. c. 14.

[4] Dionis Hist. l. 69. § 12. sqq.

In this state Jerusalem continued, being better known by the name of Ælia, till the reign of the first Christian emperor,

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[5] Euseb. Eccles. Hist. l. 4. c. 6. Vide etiam Scaligeri Animadvers. in Eusebii Chron. p. 216.

[6] Dionis Hist. l. 69. § 12.

[7] Euseb. Demons. Evang. l. 2. c. 38. l. 6. c. 18.

[8] Hieron. in Jerom. xxxi. col. 679. in Ezek. v. col. 725. in Dan. ix. col. 1117. in Joel i. col. 1340.

[9] Orat. v. adv. Judæos, § 11.

[1] Appian, de Bell. Syr. c. 50.

[2] Dionis Hist. l. 69. § 14.

[3] Auctor libri Juchasin scribit Hadrianum 'duplo plures Judæos in hoc bello trucidasse quam egressi sint ex Ægypto.' Alius libro qui inscribitur מלכי רומי, quem Drusius laudat in Pæteritis. 'Non sic afflixisse eos Nebuchadnezarem neque Titum, sicut Hadrianus imperator.'' Mede's Works, b. 3. p. 443.

[4] Hieron. in Jerem. xxxi. col. 679. in Zach. xi. col. 1744. Chron. Alex. p. 596.

[5] Euseb. et Hieron. Chron. Ann. 137.

[6] Euseb. Hist. l. 4. c. 6. Hieron. in Is. vi. col. 65. Justin. Mart. Apol. Prim. p. 71. Edit. Thirlb.

Constantine the Great. The name of Jerusalem had grown into such disuse, and was so little remembered or known, especially among the Heathens, that when[7] one of the martyrs of Palestine, who suffered in the persecution under Maximin, was examined of what country he was, and answered of Jerusalem, neither the governor of the province, nor any of his assistants could comprehend what city it was, or where situated. But in Constantine's time it began to resume its ancient name; and this emperor enlarged and beautified it with so many stately edifices and churches, that[8] Eusebius said, more like a courtier than a bishop, that this perhaps was the new Jerusalem, which was foretold by the prophets. The Jews, who hated and abhorred the Christian religion as much or more than the Heathen,[9] assembled again, as we learn from St. Chrysostom, to recover their city, and to rebuild their temple; but the emperor with his soldiers repressed their vain attempt; and having caused their ears to be cut off, and their bodies to be marked for rebels, he dispersed them over all the provinces of his empire, as so many fugitives and slaves.

The laws of Constantine, and of his son and successor Constantius, were likewise in other respects very severe against the Jews: but Julian, called the Apostate, the nephew of Constantine, and the successor of Constantius, was more favourably inclined towards them; not that he really liked the Jews but disliked the Christians, and out of prejudice and hatred to the Christian religion resolved to re-establish the Jewish worship and ceremonies. Our Saviour had said that "Jerusalem *should* be trodden down of the Gentiles;" and he would defeat the prophecy, and restore the Jews. For this purpose he[1] wrote kindly to the whole body or community of the Jews, expressing his concern for their former ill treatment, and assuring them of his protection from future oppression; and concluding with a promise, that[2] if he was successful in the Persian war, he would rebuild the holy city Jerusalem, restore them to their habitations, live with them there, and join with them in worshipping the great God of the universe. His zeal even exceeded his promise; for before he set out from Antioch on his Persian expedition, he proposed to begin with rebuilding the temple at Jerusalem, with the greatest magnificence.[3] He assigned immense sums for the building. He gave it in charge to Alypius of Antioch, who had formerly been lieutenant in Britain, to superintend and hasten the work. Alypius set about it vigorously. The governor of the province assisted him in it. But horrible balls of fire bursting forth near the foundations, with frequent assaults, rendered the place inaccessible to the workmen who were burnt several times: and in this manner the fiery element obstinately repelling them, the enterprise was laid aside. What a signal providence was it, that this no more than the former attempts should succeed and prosper; and that rather than the prophecies should be defeated, a prodigy was wrought, even by the testimony of a faithful heathen historian? The interposition certainly was as providential, as the attempt was impious: and the account here given is nothing more than what Julian himself and his own historian have testified. There are indeed many witnesses to the truth of the fact, whom an [4]able critic hath well drawn together, and ranged in this order. 'Ammianus Marcellinus an heathen, Zemuch David a Jew, who confesseth that Julian was "divinitus impeditus," hindered by God in this attempt: Nazianzen and Chrysostom among the Greeks, St. Ambrose and Ruffinus among the Latins, who flourished at the very time when this was done: Theodoret and Sozomen orthodox historians, Philostorgius an Arian, Socrates a favourer of the Novatians, who writ the story within the space of fifty years after the thing was done, and whilst the eye-witnesses of the fact were yet surviving.' But the public hath lately been obliged with the best and fullest account of this whole transaction in Dr. Warburton's Julian, where the evidence for the miracle is set in the strongest light, and all objections are clearly refuted, to the triumph of faith and the confusion of infidelity.

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[7] Euseb. de Mart. Palæst. c. 11.

[8] *τάχα πoῦ ταύτην οὖσαν τὴν διὰ προφητικῶν θεσπισμάτων κεκηρυγμένην καινὴν καὶ νέαν Ἱερουσαλήμ. atque hæc forsitan fuerit recens illa ac nova Hierusalem, prophetarum vaticiniis prædicata.* Euseb. de Vit. Const. l. 3. c. 33.

[9] Chrysostom. Orat. v. adv. Jud. § 11. Orat. vi. § 2.

[1] Julian. Epist. 25. Ἰουδαίων τῷ κοινῷ.

[2] —*ἵνα κἀγὼ τὸν τῶν Περσῶν ϖόλεμον διορθωσάμενος, τὴν ἐκ πολλῶν ἐτῶν ἐπιθυμουμένην παρ᾽ ὑμῖν ἰδεῖν οἰκουμένην πόλιν ἁγίαν Ἱερουσαλὴμ, ἰμοῖς καμάτοις ἀνοικοδομήσας οἰκήσω, καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ δόξαν δώσω μεθ᾽ ὑμῶν τῷ κρείττονι.—quo et ipse Persico bello ex animi sententia gesto, sanctam urbem Hierusalem, quam multos jam annos habitatam videre desideratis, meis laboribus refectam incolam, et una vobiscum in ea optimo Deo gratias agam.* Ibid.

Julian was the last of the heathen emperors. His successor Jovian made it the business of his short reign, to undo, as much as was possible, all that Julian had done: and the succeeding emperors were generally for repressing Judaism, in the same proportion as they were zealous for promoting Christianity. Adrian's edict was revived,[5] which prohibited all Jews from entering into Jerusalem, or coming near the city; and guards were posted to enforce the execution of it. This was a very lucrative station to the soldiers; for the Jews[6] used to give money for permission to come and see the ruins of their city and temple, and to weep over them, especially on the day whereon Jerusalem had been taken and destroyed by the Romans. It doth not appear that the Jews had ever the liberty of approaching the city, unless by stealth or by purchase, as long as it continued in subjection to the Greek emperors. It continued in subjection to the Greek emperors, till this, as well as the neighbouring cities and countries, fell under the dominion of the Saracens. Only in the former part of the seventh century after Christ, and in the beginning of the reign of the emperor Heraclius, it was [7] taken and plundered by Chosroes king of Persia, and the greatest cruelties were exercised on the inhabitants. Ninety thousand Christians are said to have been sold and sacrificed to the malice and revenge of the Jews. But Heraclius soon repelled and routed the Persians, rescued Jerusalem out of their hands, and banished all Jews, forbidding them, under the severest penalties, to come within three miles of the city.

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[3] 'Ambitiosum quondam apud Hierosolymam templum, quod post multa et interneciva certamina obsidente Vespasiano posteaque Tito ægrè est expugnatum, instaurare sumptibus cogitabat immodicis: negotiumque maturandum Alypio dederat Antiochensi, qui olim Britannias curaverat pro præfectis. Cum itaque rei idem fortiter instaret Alypius, juvaretque provinciæ rector, metuendi globi flammarum prope fundamenta crebris assultibus erumpentes, fecere locum exustis aliquoties operantibus inaccessum: hocque modo elemento destinatius repellente, cessavit inceptum.' Ammian. Marcell. l. 23. c. 1.

[4] Whitby's general Preface, p. xxviii.

[5] Augustini Serm. 5. § 5. tom. 5 p. 23. Edit. Benedict. Antwerp. Sulpicii Severi Hist. l. 2. p. 99

Jerusalem was hardly recovered from the depredations of the Persians, before it was exposed to a worse evil by the conquering arms of the Saracens. It was in the beginning of the same seventh century, that Mohammed began to preach and propagate his new religion: and this *little cloud*, which was at first no bigger than *a man's hand*, soon overspread and darkened the whole hemisphere. Mohammed himself conquered some parts of Arabia. His successor Abubeker broke into Palestine and Syria. Omar the next caliph was one of the most rapid conquerors, who ever spread desolation upon the face of the earth. His reign was of no longer duration than ten years and a half, and in that time he subdued all Arabia, Syria, Mesopotamia, Persia, and Egypt. His [8] army invested Jerusalem. He came thither in person; and the Christians after a long siege being reduced to the greatest extremities, in the year of Christ 637, surrendered the city upon capitulation. He granted them honourable conditions; he would not allow any of their churches to be taken from them; but only demanded of the Patriarch, with great modesty, a place where he might build a mosque. The patriarch shewed him Jacob's stone, and the place where the temple of Solomon had been built, which the Christians had filled with ordure in hatred to the Jews. Omar began himself to cleanse the place, and he was followed in this act of piety by the principal officers of his army; and it was in this place that the first mosque was erected at Jerusalem. Sophronius the patriarch[9] said, upon Omar's taking possession of the city, 'This is of a truth the abomination of desolation spoken of by Daniel the prophet standing in the holy place.' Omar the conqueror of Jerusalem is by some authors said also to have died there, being stabbed by a slave at morning prayers in the mosque which he had erected. Abdolmelik the son of Merwan, the twelfth caliph,[1] enlarged the mosque at Jerusalem, and ordered the people to go thither on pilgrimage instead of Mecca, which was then in the hands of the rebel Abdollah: and afterwards[2] when the pilgrimage to Mecca was by any accident interrupted, the Mussulmen used to repair to Jerusalem for the same purposes of devotion.

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[6] Hieron. in Sophon. I. col. 1655.

[7] Theophanis Chronogr. p. 252, &c. Cedren. Hist. Compend. p. 408. Basnage's Hist. of the Jews, b. 6. c. 18. § 7.

[8] Elmacini Hist. Saracen. l. 1. p. 22, et 28. Edit. Erpenii. Herbelot. Biblioth. Orientale, p. 687. Basnage's History of the Jews, b. 6. c. 19. § 2. Ockley's History of the Saracens, vol. 1. p. 243, &c.

In this manner the holy city was transferred from the possession of the Greek Christians into the dominion of the Arabian Mussulmen, and continued in subjection to the caliphs till the latter part of the eleventh century, that is above 400 years. At that time[3] the Turks of the Selzuccian race had made themselves masters of Persia, had usurped the government, but submitted to the religion of the country; and being firmly seated there, they extended their conquests as far as Jerusalem, and farther. They drove out the Arabians, and also despoiled the caliphs of their power over it; and they kept possession of it, till being weakened by divisions among themselves, they were ejected by the caliph of Egypt. The caliph of Egypt, perceiving the divisions and weakness of the Turks, advanced to Jerusalem with a great army; and the Turks, expecting no succour, presently surrendered it to him. But though it thus changed masters, and passed from the Arabians to the Turks, and from the Turks to the Egyptians, yet the religion professed there was still the same, the Mohammedan being authorised and established, and the Christian only tolerated upon payment of tribute.

The Egyptians enjoyed their conquests but a little while; for in[4] the same year that they took possession of it, they were dispossessed again by the Franks, as they are generally denominated, or the Latin Christians. Peter the hermit of Amiens in France went on a pilgrimage to Palestine, and there having seen and shared in the distresses and miseries of the Christians, he represented them at his return in such pathetic terms, that by his preaching and instigation, and by the authority of Pope Urban II. and the Council of Clermont, the west was stirred up against the east, Europe against Asia, the Christians against the Mussulmen, for the retaking of Jerusalem, and for the recovery of the Holy Land out of the hands of the infidels. It was the epidemic madness of the time; and old and young, men and women, priests and soldiers, monks and merchants, peasants and mechanics, all were eager to assume the cross, and to set out for what they thought the holy wars. Some assert that the number of those who went out on this expedition amounted to above a million. They who make the lowest computation affirm, that there were at least three hundred thousand fighting men. After some losses and some victories the army sat down before Jerusalem, and after a siege of five weeks they took it by storm, on the fifteenth of July in the year of Christ 1099; and all, who were not Christians, they put to the sword. They massacred above seventy thousand Mussulmen; and all the Jews in the place they gathered and burnt together; and the spoil that they found in the mosques was of inestimable value. Godfrey of Boulogne, the general, was chosen king; and there reigned nine kings in succession; and the kingdom subsisted eighty-eight years, till the year of Christ 1187, when the Mussulmen regained their former dominion, and with scarce any interruption have retained it ever since.

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[9] Theophanes, p. 281. Basnage, ibid. Ockley, p. 249.

[1] Elmacin. Hist. Sar. l. 1. p. 58. Ockley, vol. 2. p. 299.

[2] Herbelot Bib Orient. p. 270.

[3] Elmacini Hist. Saracen. l. 3. p. 267—287. Abul-Pharajii. Hist. Dyn. 9. p. 243. Vers. Pocock. Herbelot. Bib. Orient. p. 269.

[4] Abul-Pharajii Hist. Dyn. 9. p. 243. Vers. Pocock. Elmacini Hist. Saracen. l. 3. p. 293. Herbelot. Bib. Orient. p. 269. Savage's Abridg. of Knolles and Rycaut, vol. i. p. 12, &c. Voltaire's Hist. of Europe, of the Crusades, Blair's Chronol. Tables.

At that time the famous Saladin, having subverted the government of the caliphs, had caused himself to be proclaimed sultan of Egypt. Having also subdued Syria and Arabia, he formed the[5] design of besieging Jerusalem, and of putting an end to that kingdom. He marched against it with a powerful and victorious army, and took it by capitulation on Friday the 2d of October, after a siege of fourteen days. He compelled the Christians to redeem their lives at the price of ten pieces of gold for a man, five for a woman, and two for a boy or girl. He restored to the oriental Christians the church of the holy sepulchre; but forced the Franks or western Christians to depart to Tyre or other places, which were in the possession of their countrymen. But though the city was in the hands of the Mussulmen, yet the Christians had still their nominal king of Jerusalem; and for some time Richard I. of England, who was one of the most renowned crusaders, and had eminently distinguished himself in the holy wars, gloried in the empty title. The city however[6] did not remain so assured to the family of Saladin, but thirty years after his nephew Al Moadham, sultan of Damascus, was obliged to demolish the walls, not being able to keep it himself, and fearing lest the Franks, who were then again become formidable in those parts, should establish themselves again in a place of such strength. Afterwards in the year 1228,[7] another of Saladin's family, Al Kamel, the sultan of Egypt, who after the death of his kinsman Al Moadham enjoyed part of his estates, to secure his own kingdom, made a treaty with the Franks, and yielded up Jerusalem to the emperor Frederick II. upon condition that he should not rebuild the walls, and that the mosques should be reserved for the devotions of the Mussulmen. Frederic was accordingly crowned king there, but soon returned into Europe. Not many years intervened, before the Christians[8] broke the truce; and Melecsalah, sultan of Egypt, being greatly offended, marched directly towards Jerusalem, put all the Franks therein to the sword, demolished the castle which they had built, sacked and rased the city, not even sparing the sepulchre of our Saviour, which till that time had never been violated or defiled; and before the end of the same century,[9] the crusaders or European Christians were totally extirpated out of the Holy Land, having lost in their eastern expeditions, according to some accounts, above two millions of persons.

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[5] Elmacin. ibid. p. 293. Abul-Pharaj. ibid. p. 273, 274. Herbelot, ibid. p 269 et 743. Knolles and Savage, p. 54. Voltaire, ibid. Blair's Chronol. Tables.

[6] Herbelot, ibid. p. 269. Knolles and Savage, p. 74. Voltaire, ibid.

Before this time the Mamalucs, or the foreign slaves to the Egyptian sultans, had usurped the government from their masters: and soon after this[1] Kazan the chan of the Mogul-Tartars made an irruption into Syria, routed Al Naser the sultan of Egypt, had Damascus surrendered to him, and ordered Jerusalem to be repaired and fortified. But being recalled by great troubles in Persia, he was obliged to quit his new conquests, and the Mamaluc sultan of Egypt soon took possession of them again. In like manner[2] when the great Timur or Tamerlane, like a mighty torrent, overwhelmed Asia, and vanquished both the Turkish and Egyptian sultans, he went twice in passing and repassing to visit the holy city, gave many presents to the religious persons, and freed the inhabitants from subsidies and garrisons. But the ebb was almost as sudden as the flood. He died within a few years, and his sons and grandsons quarrelling about the succession, his vast empire in a little time mouldered away; and Jerusalem with the neighbouring countries reverted to the obedience of the Mamalucs again. It was indeed in a ruined and desolate state, as Chalcocondylas describes it,[3] and the Christians paid large tribute to the sultans of Egypt for access to the sepulchre of Jesus. And in the same state it continued, with little variation, under the dominion of the Mamalucs, for the space of above 260 years, till at length this with the other territories of the Mamalucs fell a prey to the arms of the Turks of the Othman race.

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[7] Abul-Pharaji ibid. p. 305. Herbelot, ibid. p. 269 et 745. Knolles and Savage, p. 81. Voltaire, ibid. and Annals of the Empire. Ann. 1229.

[8] Herbelot, ibid. p. 269. Knolles and Savage, p. 83.

[9] Knolles and Savage, p. 95. Voltaire, ib.

[1] Pocockii Supplem. ad Abul.-Pharaj. p. 2. Knolles and Savage, p. 96.

[2] Chalcocondylas de rebus Turc. l. 3 Herbelot, p. 877, &c. Knolles and Savage, p. 138, &c.

It was about the year 1516 that Selim[4] the ninth emperor of the Turks turned his arms against Egypt; and having conquered one sultan, and hanged another, he annexed Syria, Egypt, and all the dominions of the Mamalucs to the Othman empire. In his way to Egypt, he did as Kazan and Tamerlane had done before him; he[5] went to visit the holy city, the seat of so many prophets, and the scene of so many miracles. It lay at that time miserably deformed and ruined, according to the[6] account of a contemporary historian, not inhabited by the Jews who were banished into all the world, but by a few Christians who paid large tribute to the Egyptian sultans for the possession of the holy sepulchre. Selim offered up his devotions at the monuments of the old prophets, and presented the Christian priests with as much money as was sufficient to buy them provisions for six months; and having stayed there one night, he went to join his army at Gaza. From that time to this the Othman emperors have[7] possessed it under the title of Hami, that is, of protectors, and not of masters; though they are more properly tyrants and oppressors. Turks, Arabians, and Christians of various sects and nations dwell there out of reverence to the place; but very few Jews; and of those the greatest part, as Basnage[8] says, are beggars, and live upon alms. The Jews say, that when the Messiah shall come, the city will undergo a conflagration and inundation, in order to be purified from the defilements which the Christian and Mohammedan have committed in it; and therefore they choose not to settle there. But the writer just mentioned assigns two more probable and natural reasons. 'One is, that the Mohammedans look upon Jerusalem as a holy place; and therefore there are a great many *Santons* and devout Mussulmen, who have taken up their abode there, who are persecutors of the Jews as well as of the Christians, so that they have less tranquillity and liberty in Jerusalem than in other places: and as there is very little trade, there is not much to be got, and this want of gain drives them away.'

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[3] Τὸν δὲ τάφον Ἰησοῦ κ. τ. λ. *Sepulchrum Jesu sub potestate istius regis in Palæstina situm est, unde plurimum lucri ei accidit.—Situm in urbe Hierusalem, quæ devastatu est cum maritimis regionibus.* Chalc. l. 3. p. 75.

[4] Pocockii Supplem. ad Abul-Pharaj. p. 29, 30. 49. Herbelot Bib. Orient. p. 802. Knolles and Savage, p. 240, &c. Prince Cantemir's Hist. of the Othman Empire, in Selim I.

[5] Pauli Jovii Hist. l. 17. Herbelot, ibid. Knolles and Savage, p. 243, &c. Prince Cantemir, ibid. § 21. p. 163.

[6] Paulis Jovius, ibid. 'Ea tunc miserabili sacrarum ruinarum deformitate inculta atque deserta, non a Judæis veteribus incolis, qui tunc toto orbe extorres in admissi sceleris pænam, nec sedem nec patriam habent, sed a paucis Christianis incolebatur. Ii cum ignominia et gravi admodum contumelia Christiani nominis, ob concessam venerandi sepulchri possessionem, grave tributum Ægyptiis regibus persolvunt, &c.'

[7] —'et ses successeurs l'ont possedée jusqu' a present sous le titre da Hami, c'est-a-dire, de protecteurs, et non pas de maitres.' Herbelot, p. 270.

[8] Basnage's History of the Jews, b. 7. c. 24. § 10.

By thus tracing the history of Jerusalem from the destruction by Titus to the present time, it appears evidently, that as the Jews have been "led away captive into all nations," so Jerusalem hath been "trodden down of the Gentiles." There are now almost 1700 years, in which the Jewish nation have been a standing monument of the truth of Christ's predictions, themselves dispersed over the face of the whole earth, and their land groaning under the yoke of foreign lords and conquerors: and at this day there is no reason to doubt but they will continue in the same state, nor ever recover their native country, "until the times of the Gentiles be fulfilled." Our Saviour's words are very memorable, "Jerusalem shall be trodden down of the Gentiles, until the times of the Gentiles be fulfilled." It is still trodden down by the Gentiles, and consequently the times of the Gentiles are not yet fulfilled. When "the times of the Gentiles *shall* be fulfilled," then the expression implies that the Jews shall be restored: and for what reason, can we believe, that though they are dispersed among all nations, yet by a constant miracle they are kept distinct from all, but for the farther manifestation of God's purposes towards them? The prophecies have been accomplished to the greatest exactness in the destruction of their city, and its continuing still subject to strangers, in the dispersion of their people, and their living still separate from all people; and why should not the remaining parts of the same prophecies be as fully accomplished too in their restoration, at the proper season, when "the times of the Gentiles *shall* be fulfilled?" The times of the Gentiles will be fulfilled when the times of *the four great kingdoms* of the Gentiles according to Daniel's prophecies shall be expired, and *the fifth kingdom,* or the kingdom of Christ, shall be set up in their place, and "the saints of the Most High shall take the kingdom, and possess the kingdom for ever, even for ever and ever." Jerusalem, as it hath hitherto remained, so probably will remain in subjection to the Gentiles, "until *these* times of the Gentiles be fulfilled;" or as St. Paul expresseth it, (Rom. xi. 25, 26.) "until the fulness of the Gentiles be come in; and so all Israel shall be saved," and become again the people of God. *The fulness of the Jews* will come in as well as *the fulness of the Gentiles.* For (ver. 12, &c.) "if the fall of them be the riches of the world, and the diminishing of them the riches of the Gentiles; how much more their fulness? For I would not, brethren, that ye should be ignorant of this mystery, that blindness in part is happened to Israel, until the fulness of the Gentiles be come in: And so all Israel shall be saved."

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* XXI.—THE SAME SUBJECT CONTINUED.

PART IV.

WHEN we first entered on an explanation of our Saviour's prophecies relating to the destruction of Jerusalem, comprised chiefly in this 24th chapter of St. Matthew, it was observed that the disciples in their question propose two things to our Saviour; first, when should be the *time* of his coming, or the destruction of Jerusalem; and secondly, what should be the *signs* of it, (Matt. xxiv. 3.) "Tell us when shall these things be, and what shall be the signs of thy coming, and of the *conclusion of the age*." The latter part of the question our Saviour answereth first, and treateth at large of the *signs* of the destruction of Jerusalem, from the 4th verse of the chapter to the 31st inclusive. He toucheth upon the most material passages and accidents, not only of those which were to forerun this great event, but likewise of those which were to attend, and immediately to follow upon it: and having thus answered the latter part of the question, he proceeds now in verse 32d to answer the former part of the question, as to the *time* of his coming and the destruction of Jerusalem.

He begins with observing that the signs which he had given would be as certain an indication of the time of his coming, as the fig-tree's putting forth its leaves is of the approach of summer; (ver. 32, 33.) "Now learn a parable of the fig-tree: when his branch is yet tender, and putteth forth leaves, ye know that summer is nigh: So likewise ye, when ye shall see all these things, know that it is near (or *he is near*), even at the door." He proceeds to declare that the time of his coming was at no very great distance; and to shew that he hath been speaking all this while of the destruction of Jerusalem, he affirms with his usual affirmation, (ver. 34.) "Verily I say unto you, This generation shall not pass, till all these things be fulfilled." It is to me a wonder how any man can refer part of the foregoing discourse to the destruction of Jerusalem, and part to the end of the world, or any other distant event, when it is said so positively here in the conclusion, *All these things shall be fulfilled in this generation.* It seemeth as if our Saviour had been aware of some such misapplication of his words, by adding yet greater force and emphasis to his affirmation, (ver.

35.) "Heaven and earth shall pass away, but my words shall not pass away." It is a common figure of speech in the oriental languages, to say of two things that the one shall be and the other shall not be, when the meaning is only that the one shall happen sooner or more easily than the other. As in this instance of our Saviour, "Heaven and earth shall pass away, but my words shall not pass away," the meaning is, Heaven and earth shall sooner or more easily pass away than my words shall pass away; the frame of the universe shall sooner or more easily be dissolved than my words shall not be fulfilled: and thus it is expressed by St. Luke upon a like occasion, (xvi. 17.) "It is easier for heaven and earth to pass than one tittle of the law to fail."

In another place he says (Matt. xvi. 28.) "There are some standing here, who shall not taste of death, till they see the Son of man coming in his kingdom:" intimating that it would not succeed immediately, and yet not at such a distance of time, but that some then living should be spectators of the calamities coming upon the nation. In like manner, he says to the women, who bewailed and lamented him as he was going to be crucified, (Luke xxiii. 28.) "Daughters of Jerusalem, weep not for me, but weep for yourselves, and for your children:" which sufficiently implied, that the days of distress and misery were coming, and would fall on them and their children. But at that time there was not any appearance of such immediate ruin. The wisest politician could not have inferred it from the then present state of affairs. Nothing less than divine prescience could have certainly foreseen and foretold it.

But still the exact time of this judgment was unknown to all creatures, (ver. 36.) "But of that day and hour knoweth no man, no not the angels of heaven, but my Father only." The word ὥρα is of larger signification than *hour;*[1] and besides it seemeth somewhat improper to say "Of that day and hour knoweth no man;" for if the *day* was not known, certainly the *hour* was not, and it was superfluous to make such an addition. I conceive therefore that the passage should be rendered, not "Of that day and hour knoweth no man," but *Of that day and* season *knoweth no man,* as the word is frequently used in the best authors both sacred and profane. It is true our Saviour declares, *All these things shall be fulfilled in this generation;* it is true the prophet Daniel hath given some intimation of the time in his famous prophecy of the seventy weeks: but though this great revolution was to happen in that generation; though it was to happen towards the conclusion of seventy weeks or 490 years, to be computed from a certain date that is not easy to be fixed; yet the particular *day*, the particular *season*, in which it was to happen, might still remain a secret to men and angels: and our Saviour had before (ver. 20.) advised his disciples to pray, that their "flight be not in the winter, neither on the sabbath-day;" the *day* not being known, they might pray that their flight be not on the *sabbath-day;* the *season* not being known, they might pray that their flight be not in the *winter*. As it was in the days of Noah, saith our Saviour, (ver. 37—39.) so shall it be now. As then, they were eating and drinking, marrying and giving in marriage, till they were surprised by the flood, notwithstanding the frequent warnings and admonitions of that preacher of righteousness: so now, they shall be engaged in the business and pleasures of the world, little expecting, little thinking of this universal ruin, till it come upon them, notwithstanding the express predictions and declarations of Christ and his apostles. "Then shall two be in the field, the one shall be taken, and the other left; two women shall be grinding at the mill (Dr. Shaw in his travels, making some observations upon the kingdoms of Algiers and Tunis, says in p. 297, that 'women alone are employed to grind their corn, and that when the uppermost millstone is large, or expedition is required, then only a second woman is called in to assist.' This observation I owe to Bishop Pearce), the one shall be taken, and the other left" (ver. 40, 41.). That is, Providence will then make a distinction between such, as are not at all distinguished now. Some shall be rescued from the destruction of Jerusalem, like Lot out of the burning of Sodom: while others, no ways perhaps different in outward circumstances, shall be left to perish in it.

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[1] 'Ὥϱαν hic non dici particulam sed latius sumti temporis ambitum intelligo, &c.' Grot. in locum.

The matter is carried somewhat farther in the parallel place of St. Mark; and it is said not only that the angels were excluded from the knowledge of the particular time, but that the Son himself was also ignorant of it. The 13th chapter of that evangelist answers to the 24th of St. Matthew. Our Saviour treateth there of the signs and circumstances of his coming and the destruction of Jerusalem, from the 5th to the 27th verse inclusive; and then at verse the 28th he proceeds to treat of the time of his coming and the destruction of Jerusalem. The text in St. Matthew is, "Of that day and *season* knoweth no man, no not the angels of heaven, but my Father only." The text in St. Mark is, "Of that day and *season* knoweth no man, no not the angels which are in heaven, neither the Son, but the Father." It is true the words οὐδὲ ὁ υἱὸς, *neither the Son,* were omitted in some copies of St. Mark, as they are inserted in some copies of St. Matthew: but there is no sufficient authority for the omission in St. Mark, any more than for the insertion in St. Matthew. Erasmus and some of the moderns are of opinion, that the words were omitted in the text of St. Matthew,[2] lest they should afford a handle to the Arians for proving the Son to be inferior to the Father: but it was to little purpose to erase them out of St. Matthew, and to leave them standing in St. Mark. On the contrary, St. Ambrose and some of the ancients assert,[3] that they were inserted in the text of St. Mark by the Arians: but there is as little foundation or pretence for this assertion, as there is for the other. It is much more probable, that they were omitted in some copies of St. Mark by some indiscreet orthodox, who thought them to bear too hard upon our Saviour's dignity. For all the most ancient copies and translations extant retain them; the most ancient fathers quote them, and comment upon them: and certainly it is easier for words to be omitted in a copy so that the omission should not generally prevail afterwards, than it is for words to be inserted in a copy so that the insertion should generally prevail afterwards. Admit the words therefore as the genuine words of St. Mark we must, and we may without any prejudice to our Saviour's divinity. For Christ may be considered in two respects, in his human and his divine nature; and what is said with regard only to the former, doth not at all affect the latter. As he was the great teacher and revealer of his Father's will, he might know more than the angels, and yet he might not know all things. It is said in St. Luke (ii. 52.) that "Jesus increased in wisdom and stature, and in favour with God and man." He *increased in wisdom*, and consequently in his human nature he was not omniscient. In his human nature he was the *son* of David; in his divine nature he was the *Lord* of David. In his human nature he was upon earth; in his divine nature he was *in heaven* (John iii. 13.) even while upon earth. In like manner it may be said, that though as God he might know all things, yet he might be ignorant of some things as man. And of this particular the Messiah might be ignorant, because it was no part of his office or commission to reveal it. "It is not for you to know the times or the seasons, which the Father hath put in his own power," as our Saviour said (Acts i. 7.) when a like question was proposed to him. It might be proper for the disciples, and for the Jews too by their means, to know the signs and circumstances of our Saviour's coming and the destruction of Jerusalem; but upon many accounts it might be unfit for them both, to know the precise time.

Hitherto we have explained this 24th chapter of St. Matthew as relating to the destruction of Jerusalem, and without doubt as relating to the destruction of Jerusalem it is primarily to be understood. But though it is to be understood of this primarily, yet it is not to be understood of this only: for there is no question that our Saviour had a farther view and meaning in it. It is usual with the prophets to frame and express their prophecies so, as that they shall comprehend more than one event, and have their several periods of completion. This every one must have observed, who hath been ever so little conversant in the writings of the ancient prophets: and this I conceive to be the case here, and the destruction of Jerusalem to be typical of the end of the world. The destruction of a great city is a lively type and image of the end of the world; and we may observe that our Saviour no sooner begins to speak of the destruction of Jerusalem, than his figures are raised, his language is swelled, and he expresseth himself in such terms, as in a lower sense indeed are applicable to the destruction of Jerusalem, but describe something higher in their proper and genuine signification. "The sun shall be darkened, the moon shall not give her light, the stars shall fall from heaven, the powers of the heavens shall be shaken, the Son of man shall come in the clouds of heaven with power and great glory, and he shall send his angels with a great sound of a trumpet, and they shall gather together his elect from the four winds, from one end of heaven to the other:" These passages in a figurative sense, as we have seen, may be understood of the destruction of Jerusalem, but in their literal sense can be meant only of the end of the world. In like manner that text, "Of that day and *season* knoweth no man, no not the angels of heaven, but my Father only;" the consistence and connexion of the discourse oblige us to understand it as spoken of the time of the destruction of Jerusalem, but in a higher sense it may be true also of the time of the end of the world and the general judgment. All the subsequent discourse too, we may observe, doth not relate so properly to the destruction of Jerusalem, as to the end of the world and the general judgment. Our Saviour loseth sight as it were of his former subject, and adapts his discourse more to the latter. And the end of the Jewish state was in a manner the end of the world to many of the Jews.

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[2] 'Proinde suspicor hoc a nonnullis subtractum, ne Arianis esset ansa confirmandi Filium esse Patre minorem, &c.' Erasm. in locum.

[3] Ambros. de Fide, l. 5. c. 8. 'Veteres Græci codices non habent, *Quod nec filius scit*; sed non mirum est, si et hoc falsarunt, qui scripturas interpolavere divinas.'

The remaining part of the chapter is so clear and easy as to need no comment or explanation. It will be more proper to conclude with some useful reflections upon the whole.

It appears next to impossible, that any man should duly consider these prophecies, and the exact completion of them; and if he is a believer, not be confirmed in the faith; or if he is an infidel, not be converted. Can any stronger proof be given of a divine revelation than the spirit of prophecy; and can any stronger proof be given of the spirit of prophecy, than the examples now before us, in which so many contingencies, and I may say improbabilities, which human wisdom or prudence could never foresee, are so particularly foretold, and so punctually accomplished! At the time when Christ pronounced these prophecies, the Roman governor resided at Jerusalem, and had a force sufficient to keep the people in obedience: and could human prudence foresee that the city as well as the country would revolt and rebel against the Romans? Could human prudence foresee *famines*, and *pestilences*, and *earthquakes* in divers places? Could human prudence foresee the speedy propagation of the gospel so contrary to all human probability? Could human prudence foresee such an utter destruction of Jerusalem with all the circumstances preceding and following it? It was never the custom of the Romans absolutely to ruin any of their provinces. It was improbable therefore that such a thing should happen at all, and still more improbable that it should happen under the humane and generous Titus, who was indeed, as he was[4] called, *the love and delight of mankind.*

What is usually objected to the other predictions of holy writ, cannot with any pretence be objected to these prophecies of our Saviour, that they are figurative and obscure; for nothing can be conveyed in plainer simpler terms, except where he affected some obscurity, as it hath been shewn, for partilar reasons. It is allowed indeed that some of these prophecies are taken from Moses and Daniel. Our Saviour prophesying of the same events hath borrowed and applied some of the same images and expressions. But this is a commendation rather than any discredit to his predictions. He hath built upon the foundation of the inspired writers before him; but what a superstructure hath he raised? He hath acted in this case as in every other, like one who came not to destroy the law and the prophets, but to fulfil them. He hath manifested himself to be a true prophet, by his exact interpretation and application of other prophets. He is also much more particular and circumstantial than either Moses or Daniel. In several instances his prophecies are entirely new, and properly his own: and besides he uses greater precision in fixing and confining the time to that very generation.

For the completion of these prophecies the persons seem to have been wonderfully raised up and preserved by divine providence. Vespasian was promoted from obscurity; and though feared and hated by Nero, yet was preferred by him, and singled out as the only general among the Romans who was equal to such a war; God perhaps, as Josephus intimates,[5] so disposing and ordering affairs. He had subdued the greatest part of Judea, when he was advanced to the empire; and he was happy in putting an end to the civil wars, and to the other troubles and calamities of the state, or otherwise he would hardly have been at leisure to prosecute the war with the Jews. Titus was wonderfully preserved in the most critical articles of danger. While he was taking a view of the city, he was surrounded by the enemy, and nothing less was expected than that he should be slain, or made prisoner: but he resolutely broke through the midst of them, and though unarmed yet arrived unhurt at his own camp: upon which Josephus maketh this reflection, that from hence it is obvious to understand, that the turns of war and the dangers of princes are under the peculiar care of God. Josephus himself was also no less wonderfully preserved than Titus, the one to destroy the city, and the other to record its destruction. He marvellously escaped from the snares which were laid for him[7] by John of Gischala, and[8] by Jesus the chief of the robbers; and when[9] his companions were determined to kill him and themselves rather than surrender to the Romans, he prevailed with them to draw lots who should be killed, the one after the other; and at last he was left with only one other, whom he persuaded to submit with him to the Romans. Thus was he saved from the most imminent destruction; and he himself esteemed it, as it certainly was, a singular instance of divine providence.

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[4] 'Amor ac deliciæ humani generis.' Suet. in Tito, § 1.

[5] τάχα τι καὶ περὶ τῶν ὅλων ἤδη τοῦ Θεοῦ προοικονομουμένου. *forsan et Deo aliquid de universis præordinante.* Joseph. de Bell. Jud. l. 3. c. 1. § 3.

As Vespasian and Titus seem to have been raised up and preserved for the completion of these prophecies, so might Josephus for the illustration of their completion. For the particular passages and transactions, by which we prove the completion of these prophecies, we derive not so much from Christian writers, who might be suspected of a design to parallel the events with the predictions, as from Heathen authors, and chiefly from Josephus the Jewish historian, who though very exact and minute in other relations, yet avoids as much as ever he can the mention of Christ and the Christian religion. He doth not so much as once mention the name of *false Christs*, though he hath frequent occasion to speak largely of *false prophets;* so cautious was he of touching upon any thing, that might lead him to the acknowledgment of the true Christ. His silence here is as remarkable as his copiousness upon other subjects. It is indeed very providential, that a more particular detail, a more exact history is preserved of the destruction of Jerusalem, and of all the circumstances relating to it, than of

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[6] ἔνθα δὴ μάλιστα ϖάρεστι νοεῖν, ὅτι καὶ πολέμων ῥοϖαὶ καὶ βασιλέων κίνδυνοι μέλονται τῷ Θεῷ. *hinc sane maxime licet intelligere, Deo curæ esse et belli momenta et regum pericula.* Ib. l. 5. c. 2 § 2.

[7] Josephi Vita, § 17, &c.

[8] Ibid. § 22.

[9] De Bell. Jud. l. 3. c. 7.

any other matter whatsoever transacted so long ago: and it is an additional advantage to our cause, that these accounts are transmitted to us by a Jew, and by a Jew who was himself an eye-witness to most of the things which he relates. As a general in the wars he must have had an exact knowledge of all transactions, and as a Jewish priest he would not relate them with any favour or partiality to the Christian cause. His history[1] was approved by Vespasian and Titus (who ordered it to be published) and by king Agrippa and many others, both Jews and Romans, who were present in those wars. He had likewise many enemies, who would readily have convicted him of any falsification, if he had been guilty of any. He designed nothing less, and yet as if he had designed nothing more, his history of the Jewish wars may serve as a larger comment on our Saviour's prophecies of the destruction of Jerusalem. If any one would compare our Saviour's words with that writer's history of the whole war, as [2] Eusebius very well observes, he could not but admire and acknowledge our Saviour's prescience and prediction to be wonderful above nature, and truly divine.

The predictions are the clearest, as the calamities were the greatest which the world ever saw: and what heinous sin was it, that could bring down such heavy judgments on the Jewish church and nation? Can any other with half so much probability be assigned, as what the Scripture assigns, their crucifying the Lord of glory? As St. Paul expresseth it, (1 Thess. ii. 15, 16.) "They both killed the Lord Jesus, and their own prophets, and persecuted the apostles, and so filled up their sins, and wrath came upon them to the uttermost." This is always objected as the most capital sin of the nation: and upon reflection, we shall find really some correspondence between their crime and their punishment. They put Jesus to death, when the nation was assembled to celebrate the passover; and when the[3] nation was assembled too to celebrate the passover, Titus shut them up within the walls of Jerusalem. The rejection of the true Messiah was their crime; and the following of false Messiahs to their destruction was their punishment. They sold and bought Jesus as a slave; and they themselves were afterwards sold and bought as slaves at the lowest prices. They preferred a robber and murderer to Jesus, whom they crucified between two thieves; and they themselves were afterwards infested with bands of thieves and robbers.[4] They put Jesus to death, lest the Romans should come and take away their place and nation; and the Romans did come and take away their place and nation. They crucified Jesus before the walls of Jerusalem; and before the walls of Jerusalem they themselves were crucified in such numbers that it is[5] said room was wanting for the crosses, and crosses for the bodies. I should think it hardly possible for any man to lay these things together, and not conclude the Jews' own imprecation to be remarkably fulfilled upon them, (Matt. xxvii. 25.) "His blood be on us and on our children."

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[1] Josephi Vita, § 65. Contra Ap. l 1. § 9.

[2] *συγκρίνας δέ τις τὰς τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν λέξεις ταῖς λοιπαῖς τοῦ συγγραφέως ἱστορίαις ταῖς περὶ τοῦ παντὸς πολέμου, πῶς οὐκ ἂν ἀποθαυμάσειεν, θείαν ὡς ἀληθῶς καὶ ὑπερφυῶς παράδοξον τὴν πρόγνωσίν τε καὶ πρόῤῥησιν τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν ὁμολογήσας. Quod si quis servatoris nostri verba cum iis comparet quæ ab eodem scriptore de universo bello commemorata sunt, fieri non potest quin admiretur præscientiam ac prædictionem servatoris nostri, eamque vere divinam et supra modum stupendam esse fateatur.* Euseb. Eccles. Hist. l. 3. c. 7.

[3] Joseph. de Bell. Jud l. 6. c. 9. § 3. et 4. Euseb. Hist. l. 3. c. 5.

We Christians cannot indeed be guilty of the very same offence in crucifying the Lord of glory: but it behoves us to consider, whether we may not be guilty in the same kind, and by our sins and iniquities (Heb. vi. 25.) "crucify the Son of God afresh, and put him to an open shame;" and therefore whether being like them in their crime, we may not also resemble them in their punishment. They rejected the Messiah, and we indeed have received him: but have our lives been at all agreeable to our holy profession, or rather as we have had opportunities of knowing Christ more, have we not obeyed him less than other Christians, and (Heb. x. 29.) "trodden under foot the Son of God, and counted the blood of the covenant wherewith we are sanctified an unholy thing, and done despite unto the Spirit of grace?" The flagrant crimes of the Jews, and the principal sources of their calamities, in the opinion of Josephus,[6] were their trampling upon all human laws, deriding divine things, and making a jest of the oracles of the prophets as so many dreams and fables: and how hath the same spirit of licentiousness and infidelity prevailed likewise among us? How have the laws and lawful authority been insulted with equal insolence and impunity? How have the Holy Scriptures, those treasures of divine wisdom, not only been neglected, but despised, derided, and abused to the worst purposes? How have the principal articles of our faith been denied, the prophecies and miracles of Moses and the prophets of Christ and his apostles been ridiculed, and impiety and blasphemy not only been whispered in the ear, but proclaimed from the press? How hath all public worship and religion, and the administration of the sacraments been slighted and contemned, and the sabbath profaned by those chiefly who ought to set a better example, to whom much is given, and of whom therefore much will be required? And if for their sins and provocations (Rom. xi. 21, 20.) "God spared not the natural branches, take heed lest he also spare not thee. Because of unbelief they were broken off, and thou standest by faith. Be not high-minded, but fear." God bore long with the Jews; and hath he not bore long with us too? But he cut them off, when the measure of their iniquities was full; and let us beware lest our measure be not also well-nigh full, and we be not growing ripe for excision. What was said to the church of Ephesus, is very applicable to us and our own case, (Rev. ii. 5.) "Remember therefore from whence thou art fallen, and repent, and do the first works; or else I will come unto thee quickly, and will remove thy candlestick out of his place, except thou repent."

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[4] Joseph. de Bell. Jud. l. 2. c. 4. et 13. l. 3. c. 8. l. 4. c. 3. l. 7. c. 8, &c

[5] καὶ διὰ τὸ πλῆθος χώρα τε ἐνελείπετο τοῖς σταυροῖς, καὶ σταυροὶ τοῖς σώμασιν. *et propter multitudinem spatium crucibus deerat, et corporibus cruces.* Ib. l. 5. c. 11. § 1.

[6] κατεπατεῖτο μὲν οὖν πᾶς αὐτοῖς θεσμὸς ἀνθρώπων, ἐγελᾶτο δὲ τὰ θεῖα, καὶ τοὺς τῶν προφητῶν θεσμοὺς [Al. χρησμοὺς] ὥσπερ ἀγυρτικὰς λογοποιΐας ἐχλεύαζον. *et ab illis quidem omne jus humanum conculcabatur, divina autem quæque deridebantur et prophetarum oracula ut præstigiatorum commenta subsannabant.* ibid. l. 4. c. 6. § 3.

XXII.—ST. PAUL'S PROPHECY OF THE MAN OF SIN.

AS our blessed Saviour hath cited and appealed to the book of Daniel, so likewise have his apostles drawn from the same fountain. St. Paul's and St. John's predictions are in a manner the copies of Daniel's originals with some improvements and additions. The same times, the same persons, and the same events are described by St. Paul and St. John, as well as by Daniel; and it might therefore with reason be expected, that there should be some similitude and resemblance in the principal features and characters.

St. Paul hath left in writing, besides others, two most memorable prophecies, both relating to the same subject, the one concerning *the man of sin,* the other concerning *the apostasy of the latter times,* the former contained in the second Epistle to the Thessalonians, and the latter in the first Epistle to Timothy. The prophecy concerning *the man of sin,* having been delivered first in time, may fitly be considered first in order: and for the fuller manifestation of the truth and exactness of this prediction, it may be proper, 1st, to investigate the genuine sense and meaning of the passage; 2dly, to shew how it hath been mistaken and misapplied by some famous commentators; and 3dly, to vindicate and establish what we conceive to be the only true and legitimate application.

I. In the first place it is proper to investigate the genuine sense and meaning of the passage; for a prophecy must be rightly understood, before it can be rightly applied. The apostle introduces the subject thus, (2 Thess. ii. 1, 2.) "Now we beseech you, brethren, by the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, and by our gathering together unto him, That ye be not soon shaken in mind, or be troubled, neither by spirit, nor by word, nor by letter, as from us, as that the day of Christ is at hand." The preposition, which is translated *by*, ought rather to have been translated *concerning*, as it signifies in other places of Scripture,[1] and in other authors, both Greek and Latin. "Now we beseech you, brethren, *concerning* the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, and our gathering together unto him." For he doth not beseech them by the coming of Christ, but the coming of Christ is the subject of which he is treating; and it is in relation to this subject, that he desires them not to be disturbed or affrighted, neither by revelation, nor by message, nor by letter, as from him, as if the day of Christ's coming was at hand. The phrases of *the coming of Christ* and *the day of Christ* may be understood, either figuratively of his coming in judgment upon the Jews, or literally of his coming in glory to judge the world. Sometimes indeed they are used in the former sense, but they are more generally employed in the latter, by the writers of the New Testament: and the latter is the proper signification in this place, as the context will evince beyond contradiction. St. Paul himself had planted the church in Thessalonica; and it consisted principally of converts from among the Gentile idolaters, because it is said (1 Thess. i. 9.) that they "turned to God from idols, to serve the living and true God." What occasion was there therefore to admonish them particularly of the destruction of Jerusalem? Or why should they be under such agitations and terrors upon that account?[2] What connexion had Macedonia with Judea, or Thessalonica with Jerusalem? What share were the Christian converts to have in the calamities of the rebellious and unbelieving Jews; and why should they not rather have been comforted than troubled at the punishment of their inveterate enemies? Besides how could the apostle deny that the destruction of the Jews was at hand,[3] when it was at hand, as he saith himself, (1 Thess. ii. 16.) and "the wrath is come upon them to the uttermost?" He knew, and they knew, for our Saviour had declared, that the destruction of Jerusalem would come to pass *in that generation:* and what a ridiculous comfort must it be to tell them, that it would not happen immediately, but would be accomplished within less than twenty years?

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[1] So it is rendered Rom. ix. 27. Ἡσαΐας δὲ κράζει ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ, *Esaias also crieth* concerning *Israel.* See likewise 2 Cor. i. 7. viii. 23, 24, &c. Galen, l. 1. ad Glauc. ὑπερ πασῶν γράψαι οὐκ ἐγχωρεῖ, *de omnibus scribere non datur.* Virgil Æn. i. 750. 'Multa *super* Priamo rogitans, *super* Hectore multa.'

[2] 'At quis huic terrori locus, si de Judæorum excidio agebatur? Quid Macedoniæ cum Judæa, Thessal. cum Hieros.? quid commune Christianis cum periculo rebellium Judæorum? &c.' Simplicius in Poli Synops.

[3] 'Præterea, quo jure potest apostolus inficiari. Judæorum excidium imminere, cum reipsa jam adesset; uti liquet ex prioris epistolæ, c. 2. ver. 16.' Bocharti Examen libelli de Antichristo, tom. 2. col. 1049.

The phrases therefore of *the coming of Christ* and *the day of Christ* cannot in this place relate to the destruction of Jerusalem, but must necessarily be taken in the more general acceptation of his coming to judge the world. So the phrase is constantly used in the former epistle. In one place the apostle saith, (ii. 19.) "What is our hope, or joy, or crown of rejoicing? are not even ye in the presence of our Lord Jesus Christ at his coming?" In another place he wisheth, (iii. 13.) that "the Lord may establish their hearts unblameable in holiness before God, even our Father, at the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ with all his saints:" and in a third place he prayeth, (v. 23.) that "their whole spirit, and soul, and body be preserved blameless unto the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ." These texts evidently refer to the general judgment: and if the phrase be constantly so employed in the former epistle, why should it not be taken after the same manner in this epistle? In the former epistle the apostle had exhorted the Thessalonians to moderate sorrow for the dead by the consideration of the resurrection and the general judgment, (iv. 13, &c.) "I would not have you to be ignorant, brethren, concerning them which are asleep, that ye sorrow not, even as others which have no hope. For if we believe that Jesus died, and rose again, even so them also which sleep in Jesus, will God bring with him. For this we say unto you by the word of the Lord, that we which are alive, and remain unto the coming of the Lord, shall not prevent them which are asleep. For the Lord himself shall descend from heaven with a shout, with the voice of the archangel, and with the trump of God: and the dead in Christ shall rise first. Then we which are alive, and remain, shall be caught up together with them in the clouds, to meet the Lord in the air: and so shall we ever be with the Lord." "But of the times and the seasons *of these things*, (as he proceeds, v. 1, 2.) brethren, ye have no need that I write unto you. For yourselves know perfectly that the day of the Lord so cometh as a thief in the night." Some persons having mistaken the apostle's meaning, and having inferred from some of these expressions, that the end of the world was now approaching, and the day of Christ was now at hand, the apostle sets himself in this place to rectify that mistaken notion: and it is with reference to *this coming of Christ*, to *this day of the Lord*, to *this our gathering together unto him in the clouds to meet the Lord in the air*, that he beseeches the Thessalonians not to be shaken from their stedfastness, nor to be troubled and terrified, as if it was now at hand. Nothing then can be more evident and undeniable, than that the coming of Christ here intended is his second coming in glory to judge the world: and of this his second coming the apostle had spoken before, in this same epistle, and in the chapter before this. (ver. 6—10.) "It is a righteous thing with God to recompense tribulation to them that trouble you; and to you who are troubled, rest with us, when the Lord Jesus shall be revealed from heaven with his mighty angels, in flaming fire, taking vengeance on them that know not God, and that obey not the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ: who shall be punished with everlasting destruction from the presence of the Lord, and from the glory of his power; when he shall come to be glorified in his saints, and to be admired in all them that believe in that day."

It was a point of great importance for the Thessalonians not to be mistaken in this particular; because if they were taught to believe that the coming of Christ was at hand, and he should not come according to their expectation, they might be staggered in their faith, and finding part of their creed to be false, might be hasty enough to conclude that the whole was so. Where by the way we may observe Mr. Gibbon's want of judgment, in assigning the notion of Christ's coming speedily as one of the great causes of the growth and increase of the Christian church, when it appears from this passage that it had a contrary effect, and tended to *shake* and unsettle their minds, and to disturb and *trouble* instead of inviting and engaging them. The apostle therefore cautions them in the strongest manner against this delusion; and assures them that other memorable events will take place before the coming of our Lord. (ver. 3, 4.) "Let no man deceive you by any means: for that day shall not come, except there come a falling away first, and that man of sin be revealed, the son of perdition; who opposeth and exalteth himself above all that is called God, or that is worshipped; so that he as God sitteth in the temple of God, shewing himself that he is God." The day of Christ shall not come, *ἐὰν μὴ ἔλθῃ ἀποστασία πρῶτον, except there come the apostasy first.* The apostasy here described is plainly not of a civil, but of a religious nature; not a revolt from the government, but a defection from the true religion and worship, "a departing from the faith" (1 Tim. iv. 1.), "a departing from the living God" (Heb. iii. 12.), as the word is used by the apostle in other places. In the original it is *the apostasy* with an article to give it an emphasis. The article being added, as Erasmus[4] remarks, signifies that famous and before predicted apostasy. So likewise it is *ὁ ἄνθρωπος τῆς ἁμαρτίας, the man of sin,* with the like article and the like emphasis: and St. Ambrose,[5] that he might express the force of the article, hath rendered it *that man,* as have likewise our English translators. If then the notion of

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[4] 'ἡ articulus additus significat insignem illam et ante prædictam defectionem.' Erasm. in loc.

[5] 'D. Ambrosius, ut explicaret vim articuli, legit *homo, ille,* &c.' Erasm. ibid.

the man of sin be derived from any ancient prophet, it must be derived from Daniel, who hath described the like arrogant and tyrannical power: (vii. 25.) "He shall speak great words against the Most High, and shall wear out the saints of the Most High, and think to change times and laws:" and again (xi. 36.) "The king shall do according to his will, and he shall exalt himself, and magnify himself above every god, and shall speak marvellous things against the God of gods." Any man may be satisfied, that St. Paul alluded to this description by Daniel, because he hath not only borrowed the ideas, but hath even adopted some of the phrases and expressions. *The man of sin* may signify either a single man, or a succession of men. A succession of men being meant in Daniel, it is probable, that the same was intended here also. It is the more probable, because a single man appears hardly sufficient for the work here assigned: and it is agreeable to the phraseology of Scripture, and especially to that of the prophets, to speak of a body or a number of men under the character of one. Thus *a king* (Dan. vii. viii. Rev. xvii.) is often used for the succession of kings, and *the high priest* (Heb. ix. 7. 25.) for the series and order of high priests. A single beast (Dan. vii. viii. Rev. xiii.) often represents a whole empire or kingdom in all its changes and revolutions from the beginning to the end. The "woman clothed with the sun" (Rev. xii. 1.) is designed as an emblem of the true church; as the "woman arrayed in purple and scarlet" (Rev. xvii. 4.) is the portrait of a corrupt communion. No commentator ever conceived *the whore of Babylon* to be meant of a single woman: and why then should *the man of sin* be taken for a single man? *The man of sin* seemeth to be expressed from Daniel (vii. 24.) according to the Greek translation, ὃς ὑπεροίσει κακοῖς πάντας τοὺς ἔμπροσθεν, he *shall exceed in evil all who went before him:* and he may fulfil the character either by promoting wickedness in general, or by advancing idolatry in particular, as the word *sin* frequently signifies in Scripture. *The son of perdition* is also the denomination of the traitor Judas, (John xvii. 12.) which implies that *the man of sin* should be, like Judas, a false apostle, like him betray Christ, and like him be devoted to destruction. "Who opposeth and exalteth himself above all that is called God, or that is worshipped:" this is manifestly copied from Daniel, "He shall exalt himself, and magnify himself above every god, and speak marvellous things against the God of gods." The features, you see, exactly resemble each other. He "opposeth and exalteth himself above all (ἐπὶ πάντα, *above every one*), that is called God, or that is worshipped," ἧ σέϐασμα, alluding to the title of the Roman emperors, σεϐαστὸς, *august* or venerable. He shall oppose, for the prophets speak of things future as present; he shall oppose, and exalt himself not only above inferior magistrates, who are sometimes called *gods* in holy writ, but even above the greatest emperors, and shall arrogate to himself divine honours. "So that he as God sitteth in the temple of God, shewing himself that he is God:" By *the temple of God* the apostle could not well mean the temple at Jerusalem, because that he knew very well would be totally destroyed within a few years. It is an observation of the learned Bochart,[6] that after the death of Christ the temple at Jerusalem is never called by the apostles the temple of God; and if at any time they make mention of *the house* or *temple of God,* they mean the church in general, or every particular believer. It is certain, *the temple* or *house of God* is the Christian church, in the usual style of the apostles. St. Paul thus addresseth the Corinthians in his first Epistle, (iii. 16, 17.) "Know ye not that ye are the temple of God, and that the Spirit of God dwelleth in you? If any man defile the temple of God, him shall God destroy: for the temple of God is holy, which temple ye are:" and thus again in his second Epistle, (vi. 16.) "What agreement hath the temple of God with idols? for ye are the temple of the living God." He adviseth Timothy (1 Tim. iii. 15.) "how he ought to behave himself in the house of God, which is the church of the living God, as a pillar and ground of the truth." St. John also writeth thus to the angel of the church in Philadelphia, (Rev. iii. 12.) "Him that overcometh will I make a pillar in the temple of my God." These few examples out of many are sufficient to prove, that under the gospel dispensation *the temple of God* is the church of Christ: and the man of sin's *sitting* implies his ruling and presiding there, and *sitting there as God* implies his claiming divine authority in things spiritual as well as temporal, and *shewing himself that he is God* implies his doing it with great pride and pomp, with great parade and ostentation.

These things were not asserted now merely to serve the present occasion. The apostle had insisted upon these topics, while he was at Thessalonica; so that he thought it a part of his duty, as he made it a part of his preaching and doctrine, to forewarn his new converts of the grand apostasy that would infest the church. (ver. 5—7.) "Remember ye not, that when I was yet with you, I told you these things? And now ye know what withholdeth, that he might be revealed in his time. For the mystery of iniquity doth already work: only he who now letteth, will let, until he be taken out of the way." The man of sin therefore was not then *revealed.* *His time* was not yet come, or the season for his manifestation. "The mystery of iniquity *was indeed* already working :" for there is a *mystery of iniquity* as well as a "mystery of godliness" (1 Tim. iii. 16.), the one in direct opposition to the other. The seeds of corruption were sown, but they were not yet grown up to any maturity. The leaven was fermenting in some parts, but it was far from having yet infected the whole mass. *The man of sin* was yet hardly conceived in the womb ; it must be some time before he could be brought forth. There was some obstacle that hindered his appearance, the apostle speaketh doubtfully whether thing or person ; and this obstacle would continue to hinder, till it was taken out of the way. What this was we cannot determine with absolute certainty at so great a distance of time ; but if we may rely upon the concurrent testimonies of the fathers, it was the Roman empire. Most probably it was somewhat relating to the higher powers, because the apostle observes such caution. He mentioned it in discourse, but would not commit it to writing. He afterwards exhorts the Thessalonians, (ver. 15.) "Brethren, stand fast, and hold the traditions which ye have been taught, whether by word, or our epistle." This was one of the traditions which he thought more proper to teach by word than by epistle.

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[6] 'Verùm a Christi obitu templum Hierosolymitanum nunquam ab apostolis templum Dei vocatur; et si quando de Dei æde vel templo sermonem habeant, tum vel ecclesiam in genere, vel singularem quemque fidelem, iis vocibus intellecta volunt.' Bocharti Examen Libelli de Antichristo, tom. 2. col. 1047.

When this obstacle shall be removed, "then (as the apostle proceeds, ver. 8.) shall that Wicked be revealed, whom the Lord shall consume with the spirit of his mouth, and shall destroy with the brightness of his coming." Nothing can be plainer than that ὁ ἄνομος, *the lawless, the wicked one* here mentioned, and *the man of sin,* must be one and the same person. The apostle was speaking before of what hindered that he should be revealed, and would continue to hinder until it was taken out of the way ; "And then shall *the wicked one* be revealed, whom the Lord shall consume, &c." Not that he should be consumed immediately after he was revealed ; but the apostle, to comfort the Thessalonians, no sooner mentions his revelation, than he foretels also his destruction, even before he describes his other qualifications. His other qualifications should have been described first in order of time, but the apostle hastens to what was first and warmest in his thoughts and wishes. "Whom the Lord shall consume with the spirit of his mouth, and shall destroy with the brightness of his coming." If these two clauses refer to two distinct and different events, the meaning manifestly is, that the Lord Jesus shall gradually consume him with the free preaching and publication of his word, and shall utterly destroy him at his second coming in the glory of his Father with the holy angels. If these two clauses relate to one and the same event, it is a pleonasm that is very usual in the sacred as well as in all oriental writings ;

and the purport plainly is, that the Lord Jesus shall destroy him with the greatest facility, "when he shall be revealed from heaven (as the apostle hath expressed it in the preceding chapter) with his mighty angels, in flaming fire, taking vengeance on them that know not God, and that obey not the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ."

The apostle was eager to foretel the destruction of the man of sin; and for this purpose having broken in upon his subject, he now returns to it again, and describes the other qualifications, by which this wicked one should advance and establish himself in the world. He should rise to credit and authority by the most diabolical methods, should pretend to supernatural powers, and boast of revelations, visions, and miracles, false in themselves, and applied to promote false doctrines. (ver. 9.) "Whose coming is after the working of Satan, with all power, and signs, and lying wonders." He should likewise practise all other wicked arts of deceit, should be guilty of the most impious frauds and impositions upon mankind; but should prevail only among those who are destitute of a sincere affection for the truth, whereby they might obtain eternal salvation. (ver. 10.) "And with all deceivableness of unrighteousness, in them that perish; because they received not the love of the truth, that they might be saved." And indeed it is a just and righteous judgment of God, to give *them* over to vanities and lies in this world, and to condemnation in the next, who have no regard for truth and virtue, but delight in falsehood and wickedness. (ver. 11, 12.) "And for this cause God shall send them strong delusion, that they should believe a lie: That they all might be damned, who believed not the truth, but had pleasure in unrighteousness."

II. Upon this survey there appears little room to doubt of the genuine sense and meaning of the passage; but it hath strangely been mistaken and misapplied by some famous commentators, though more agree in the interpretation than in the application of this prophecy.

1. Excellently learned as Grotius was, a consummate scholar, a judicious critic, a valuable author; yet was he certainly no prophet, nor son of a prophet. In explaining the prophecies, scarcely have more mistakes been committed by any of the worst and weakest commentators, than by him who is usually one of the best and ablest. He understands this prophecy of the times preceding the destruction of Jerusalem. *The man of sin,*[7] was the Roman emperor Caligula, who did not at first

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[7] 'Denudet ingenium suum Caius.—Sic et Caius omnibus se Diis gentium prætulit, etiam Jovi Olympio et Capitolino.—Recte autem dicitur Caius *semet posuisse in templo Dei*, quia simulacrum suum ibi collocari jussit.—L. Vitellius, cum Paulus ista diceret, et hæc scriberet, Syriam ei Judæam tenebat, vir apud Ju-

discover his wicked disposition. He vainly preferred himself before all the gods of the nation, even before Jupiter Olympius and Capitolinus; and ordered his statue to be set up in the temple at Jerusalem. He was hindered from disclosing, and exercising his intended malice against the Jews by his awe of Vitellius, who was at that time governor of Syria and Judea, and was as powerful as he was beloved in those provinces. What follows Grotius could not by any means accommodate to Caligula, and therefore substitutes another, and supposes that *the wicked one* was Simon Magus, who was revealed and came to Rome soon after the beginning of the reign of Claudius. He was there baffled and disgraced by St. Peter; but Christ may well be said to have done what was done by Peter. He pretended also to work great miracles, and by his magical illusions deceived many, the Samaritans first, and afterwards the Romans. But in answer it may be observed, that this Epistle of St. Paul, as[8] all other good critics and chronologers agree, and as is evident indeed from history, was written in the latter part of the reign of Claudius, who was successor to Caligula: and if so, the apostle, according to this interpretation, is here prophesying of things which were past already. *The coming of Christ*, as it hath been before proved undeniably, relates to a more distant period than the destruction of Jerusalem. Besides, how could Caligula with any tolerable sense and meaning be called *an apostate* from either the Jewish or the Christian religion? He never *sat in the temple of God;* he commanded indeed his statue to be placed there; but was dissuaded from his purpose, as [9] Philo testifies, by the entreaties of king Agrippa, and sent an order to Petronius governor of Syria not to make any innovation in the temple of the Jews. He was so far from being kept in awe by the virtues of Vitellius, that Vitellius on the contrary was a most sordid adulator, as both[1] Tacitus and Suetonius expressly affirm; and instead of restraining Caligula from affecting divine honours, he was the first who incited him to it. Moreover it is doing the greatest violence to the con-

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dæos gratiosus, et magnis exercitibus imperans, cui propterea facile fuisset, si tam graviter Judæorum animos exasperasset Caius, eorum tutelam suscipere et provinciam sui facere juris. Ideo Caius, antequam propositum exsequeretur, tempus exspectabat quo L. Vitellius e provincia decederet.—Recte autem *impius* dicitur Simon Magus, qui paulo post initia Claudiani principatûs Romam venit—Bene autem dicitur Christus fecisse quod fecit per Petrum—Ostentia ista et prodigia Simonis magica, &c.—Decipiuntur ab eo homines malè perituri. Intelligit Samaritas primum, deinde et Romanos.' Vide Grot. in locum et de Antichristo.

[8] Pearsonii Annales Paulini, p. 13. Sam. Basnagii Annales, A. D. 51. § 74. A. D. 52. § 12. Whitby Pref. Calmet. Pref. &c. &c.

[9] Philo de Legatione ad Caium. *μηδὲν ἐπὶ τῷ ἱερῷ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἔτι νεώτερον κενεῖν. nequid in Judæorum templo novaret.*

[1] 'Exemplar apud posteros adulatorii dedecoris habetur.' Tacit. Annal. l. 6. c. 32. 'Idem miri in adulando ingenii, primus C. Cæsarem adorari ut Deum instituit.' Suet. in Vitellio, § 2.

text, to make *the man of sin* and *the wicked one* two distinct persons, when they are so manifestly one and the same. The contest between St. Peter and Simon Magus at Rome, if ever it happened at all, did not happen in the reign of Claudius: but most probably there never was any such transaction; the whole story is palpably a fabulous legend, and consequently can be no foundation for a true exposition of any prophecy. Where too is the consistency and propriety in interpreting *the coming of Christ* in ver. 1. of the destruction of Jerusalem, and in ver. 8. of the destruction of Simon Magus, though Simon Magus was not destroyed, but was only thrown out of his chariot, and his leg broken in the fall? These are some of the absurdities in Grotius's interpretation and application of this prophecy, which you may see more largely exposed and refuted by[2] Bochart among the foreign, and by Dr. Henry Moore among our English writers.

2. Dr. Hammond is every where full of Simon Magus and the Gnostics, so that it is the less to be wondered that he should introduce them upon this occasion, and apply this whole prophecy to them, wherein he is more consistent than Grotius, who applies part to Simon Magus, and part to Caligula. *The apostasy*,[3] according to him, was a great departure or defection from the faith to the heresy of the Gnostics. *The man of sin* and *the wicked one* was Simon Magus, that wicked impostor, together with his followers the Gnostics. What hindered their shewing themselves and making open profession of their hostility against the orthodox Christians, was the apostles not having yet given over preaching to the Jews, and turned to the Gentiles. This same magician opposed himself against Christ, setting himself up for the chief or first God, superior to all other gods; and accordingly was publicly worshipped by the Samaritans and others, and had a statue erected to him at Rome by the emperor Claudius. Him Christ destroyed in an extraordinary manner by the preaching and miracles of St. Peter; and all the apostatizing Gnostics who adhered to him, were involved in the destruction of the unbelieving Jews, with whom they had joined against the Christians. But the principal objection to this exposition is the same as to that of Grotius, that the apostle is here made to foretel things after the events. Simon Magus was already revealed, (Acts viii. 9, 10.) "and had bewitched the people of Samaria, giving out that himself was some great one: To whom they all gave heed from the least to the greatest, saying, This man is the great power of God." Dr. Hammond himself contends, that Simon came to

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[2] Bocharti Examem Libelli de Antichristo, Op. tom. 2. col. 1041—1051. Moore's Mystery of Iniquity. Part 2. b. 2. c. 20.

[3] See Hammond's Paraphrase and Annotations.

Rome and was there honoured as God, at the beginning of the reign of Claudius; but this Epistle was written in the latter part of the same reign, and even the Doctor in another place[4] confesseth it. The apostles too had already turned from the Jews to the Gentiles. Paul and Barnabas had declared to the Jews at Antioch in Pisidia, (Acts xiii. 46.) "It was necessary that the word of God should first have been spoken to you; but seeing ye put it from you, and judge yourselves unworthy of everlasting life, lo, we turn to the Gentiles:" but this transaction was before this Epistle was written, and indeed before ever Paul went to Thessalonica. As part of the facts here predicted as future were already past, so the other part are manifestly false, or of uncertain credit at best. The statue erected to Simon Magus at Rome, and his public defeat there by the preaching and miracles of St. Peter in the presence of the emperor, are no better than fables. Even papists doubt the truth of these things, and well may others deny it. Simon Magus might perhaps have many followers; but it doth not appear that many of the Christians apostatized to him. Simon Magus might perhaps be worshipped by the Samaritans; but it doth not appear that he was ever worshipped in the temple of God at Jerusalem, or in any house of God belonging to the Christians. He died by all accounts some years before the destruction of Jerusalem; and it doth not appear that any of the Gnostics were involved in the destruction of the unbelieving Jews. They were so far from being *all* involved in the same destruction as Dr. Hammond asserts, that that sect flourished most after the destruction of Jerusalem, and the second century after Christ is sometimes distinguished by the title of Seculum Gnosticum or the age of the Gnostics Besides, when it is said "Whom the Lord shall consume with the spirit of his mouth, and shall destroy with the brightness of his coming," it is evident that the same person who was to be consumed with the spirit of his mouth, was also to be destroyed by the brightness of his coming: but according to this exposition, Simon Magus was consumed by the spirit of his mouth, that is, by the prayer and preaching of St. Peter; and the unbelieving Jews and Gnostics were destroyed together by the brightness of his coming, that is by the destruction of Jerusalem. They who desire to see a farther refutation of this exposition, may find it in Le Clerc[5] among the foreign, and in Whitby among our English commentators.

3. Le Clerc, whose comment on the New Testament is a translation and supplement of Hammond's, hath not demolished his hypothesis without erecting another of his own, which he

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[4] See his Pref. to the first Epist. to the Thessalonians.

[5] Clericus in locum, Whitby's Pref. to the 2d Epist. to the Thessalonians.

esteems much more probable than the conjecture[6] both of Grotius and Hammond. He supposeth that *the apostasy* was the great revolt of the Jews from the Romans. *The man of sin* was the rebellious Jews, and especially their famous leader Simon, not Magus, but the son of Gioras. They trampled upon all authority divine and human. They seized and profaned the temple of God. *What hindered* was what restrained the Jews from breaking into open rebellion, which was partly the reverence of the Jewish magistrates, and partly the fear of the Roman armies. *The mystery of iniquity* was the spirit of rebellion then working under the mask of liberty. The seditious Jews were also *the wicked one;* and they had among them false prophets and impostors, who pretended to shew great *signs and wonders.* But to this hypothesis it may be replied, that *the apostasy* is plainly a defection from the true religion, and it is used in no other sense by the apostle. It was not likely that he should entertain his new Gentile converts with discourses about the Jewish state and government, wherewith they had little concern or connexion. It was also scarce worthy of the spirit of prophecy to say, that the destruction of Jerusalem should not happen, unless there was first a rebellion of the Jews. No good reason is assigned, why Simon the son of Gioras should be reputed *the man of sin,* rather than other factious leaders, John and Eleazar. No proof is alleged, that he was ever worshipped *in the temple of God as God.* He was not *exalted above every God* or *emperor;* for he was vanquished and made the emperor's prisoner. His coming was not 'with all signs and lying wonders;' for he never pretended to any such power. He was not destroyed in the destruction of Jerusalem; but was preserved alive, and was afterwards led in triumph at Rome,[7] and then was dragged through the streets with a rope about his neck, and was severely scourged, and at last put to death in the common prison. Besides it is not very consistent in this learned critic, by *the coming of Christ* in ver. 8. to understand the destruction of Jerusalem, and in his note upon ver. 1. to say that *the coming of Christ*[8] both in the first Epistle to the Thessalonians, and in this, is the coming of Christ to judge the quick and dead.

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[6] 'Nihil vetat in medium suspicionem proferre, quæ haud paulo verisimilior videtur, et Grotiana et Hammondiana conjectura. Ἀποστασίαν ergo suspicor Paulum vocare *defectionem* illam magnam Judæorum, qua imperii Romani jugum excutere frustra conaturi sunt.—sequitur *hominem peccati* esse rebelles Judæos, et præsertim eximium eorum ducem Simonem, non Magum, sed Gioræ filium.—Seditiosi Judæi auctoritatem omnem legitimam, cum exterorum, tum popularium, tantum abest ut coluerint, ut contrà sese eâ superiores existimarint.—Scelerati illi Zelotæ et Idumæi, qui templum Jerosolymitanum invaserant, &c.—Τὸ κατέχον est quod coercebat Judæos, ne in apertam rebellionem erumperent; hoc est, partim reverentia procerum Judææ gentis,—partim metus exercituum Romanorum, &c. Μυστήριον ἀνομίας, quod fieri incipiebat hoc tempore, erat in eo situm, ut specie libertatis, &c.—Verè quidem noster ἄνομον vocari animadvertit scelestos homines, qui antea designati fuerunt voce ὁ ἀντικείμενος; sed intelligendi seditiosi Judæi, &c.—Fuere et alii impostores, quorum non uno loco meminit Josephus, &c.' Cleric. in locum.

[7] Josephus de Bell. Jud. l. 7. c. 5. § 6.

4. Dr. Whitby's[9] scheme is somewhat perplexed and confused, as if he was not satisfied himself with his own explication. '*The apostasy* is the revolt of the Jews from the Roman empire, or from the faith.' If the former, it is the same mistaken notion as Le Clerc's. If the latter, it is true that many were to apostatize from the faith, before the destruction of Jerusalem, according to the prediction of our Saviour: but it doth not appear that their number was so very great, as to deserve to be called by way of eminence and distinction *the apostasy*. '*The man of sin* is the Jewish nation with their high-priest and sanhedrim.' But the Jewish nation with their high-priest and sanhedrim could not be said *to apostatize* from the faith which they never received: and those Christian Jews, who did apostatize, were never united under any one head or leader, famous or infamous enough to merit the title of *the man of sin.* The Jewish nation too with their high-priest and sanhedrim were already revealed; and most of the instances which this author allegeth, of their opposing the Christian religion, and exalting themselves above all laws divine and human, were prior to the date of this Epistle. He was himself aware of this objection, and endeavours to prevent it by saying 'that these are the descriptions of *the man of sin,* by which the Thessalonians might then know him, and they run all in the present tense, shewing what he already did.' But it is the known and usual style of prophecy to speak of things future as present, intimating that though future they are as sure and certain as if they were even now present. '*He who now letteth* is the Roman emperor Claudius, and he *will let until he be taken out of the way,* that is, he will hinder the Jews from breaking out into an open rebellion in his time, they being so signally and particularly obliged by him.' But how utterly improbable is it, that the apostle should talk and write of Jewish politics to Gentile converts? If Claudius withheld the Jews from revolting from the Roman government, did he withhold them also from apostatizing from the Christian faith? or what was it that withheld them? and what then becomes of that interpretation? 'When Claudius shall be taken out of the way, as he was by poison, then they *shall be revealed,* either by actual apostasy from the Roman government, or by the great apostasy of the believers of that nation.' But the apostasy of believers was not near so *great* nor universal as the apostasy from the Roman

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[8] '*παρουσία* Christi et in 1 Ep. ad Thessalonicenses, et in hac est adventus Christii ad judicandum de vivis et mortuis.' Cleric. ibid.

[9] See Whitby's Paraphrase and Commentary.

government. Here too is the same ambiguity and uncertainty as before. The prophecy plainly intends one sort of apostasy, and this learned commentator proposeth two, and inclines sometimes to the one, and sometimes to the other, as may best suit his hypothesis. He is guilty too of the same inconsistency as Le Clerc, in interpreting *the coming of Christ* in the former Epistle, and in this Epistle, and in the first verse of this very chapter, of his coming to judge the world; and yet in verse the eighth, of his coming to destroy Jerusalem. But if the destruction of Jerusalem only was meant, what need had the Thessalonians to be under such consternation, to be *shaken in mind* and to be *troubled*, that "the wrath is come upon them to the uttermost (as the apostle saith, 1 Thess. ii. 15, 16.) who both killed the Lord Jesus, and their own prophets, and have persecuted us; and they please not God, and are contrary to all men, forbidding us to speak to the Gentiles, that they might be saved." It was matter of consolation, rather than of trouble or terror to the Thessalonians; and as such the apostle mentions it in his former Epistle.

5. But of all the applications of this prophecy none is more extraordinary than that of the late professor Wetstein, the learned and laborious editor of the New Testmaent with the various readings and copious annotations. 'By *the man of sin* and *the wicked one* he [1] understands Titus or the Flavian family. *The mystery of iniquity* was then *working*, because at that time Vespasian had borne the office of consul, had received the honours of a triumph, and even under Caligula had entertained some hopes of the empire. *He who letteth* was Nero, who was now adopted by the emperor.' One is really ashamed and grieved to see a scholar and critic fall into such absurdities. What! was Titus then, as well as the emperor Julian, an *apostate?* Was he, who was one of the best emperors, *the love and delight of mankind,* to be branded with the odious appellations of *the man of sin* and *the wicked one?* Even Domitian was not worse than several other emperors both before and after him. How did Titus and the Flavian family *oppose and exalt themselves above every God* or *emperor?* How did they "as God *sit* in the temple of God, shewing *themselves* that they were *gods?*" Why was Vespasian's hoping for the empire *the mystery of iniquity,* more than Galba's or Otho's, or Vitellius's hoping for the same? When Nero was *taken out of the way,* were not these three emperors Galba, Otho, and Vitellius, all *revealed* before the Flavian family? How was *the coming* of Titus and the Flavian family "with all

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[1] 'Intelligo Titum sive domum Flaviam———*μυστήριον τῆς ἀνομίας*, Eo tempore Vespasianus consulatum jam gesserat, triumphalia acceperat, et jam sub Caio in spem imperii venerat.—*ὁ κατέχων*, Nero jam adoptatus erat, &c.' Wetstenius in locum.

power, and signs, and lying wonders, and with all deceivableness of unrighteousness?" How were their adherents and followers such eminently as "received not the love of the truth that they might be saved," "*but believed* a lie that they might be damned, *and* had pleasure in unrighteousness?" How were Titus and the Flavian family destroyed in the destruction of Jerusalem, when they were themselves the destroyers of it, and reigned several years afterwards? Was there an illustrious coming of Christ, when Titus or any of the Flavian family died? Or how can the Lord be said to "consume *them* with the spirit of his mouth, and *to* destroy *them* with the brightness of his coming?" It surpasseth all comprehension, how this learned professor could think of such an application, without asking himself some such questions; or how he could ask himself any such questions, without clearly perceiving the impossibility of answering them. We cannot suppose that he would have made a compliment of his religion, but he hath certainly of his understanding, to Cardinal Quirini, in this instance as well as in his comment upon the Revelation, which, as he humbly hopeth, will not displease his eminency, and then he shall be transcendently happy.[2]

It is a farther objection to Wetstein, as also to Grotius, Hammond, Le Clerc, and Whitby, that they are so singular in their opinions; they differ as much from one another, as from the generality of interpreters; and as they dissent from all who went before them, so they are followed by none who came after them. If this prophecy was fulfilled, as these critics conceive, before the destruction of Jerusalem, it is surprising that none of the fathers should agree with any of them in the same application, and that the discovery should first be made sixteen or seventeen hundred years after the completion. The fathers might differ and be mistaken in the circumstances of a prophecy which was yet to be fulfilled; but that a prophecy should be remarkably accomplished before their time, and they be totally ignorant of it, and speak of the accomplishment as still future, is not very credible, and will always be a strong presumptive argument against any such interpretation. The foundation of all the mistakes of these learned men is their interpreting *the coming of Christ*, of the destruction of Jerusalem; whereas the context, as it hath been shewn, plainly evinces, and they themselves at other times acknowledge, that it is to be understood of his coming to judge the world. They therefore bid fairer for the true interpretation, who apply this prophecy to events after the destruction of Jerusalem.

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[2] —' cui si, uti spero, vel interpretationem Apocalypseos, vel conatum saltem meum non displicuisse intellexero, 'sublimi feriam sidera vertice.'' Idem de Interpret. Apoc. tom. 2. p. 894.

6. Of those who apply this prophecy to events after the destruction of Jerusalem, some papists, and some persons who think like papists, contend that the character of *the man of sin* was drawn for the great impostor Mohammed: and it must be confessed, that the portrait resembles him in many respects. He was indeed *a man of sin* both in life and in doctrine. He might be said to *sit in the temple of God*, when he converted the churches into mosques. He likewise rose upon the ruins of the Roman empire; and the Roman empire is generally thought to be *what withholdeth*. But though some features are alike, yet others are very much unlike, and demonstrate a manifest difference. He was not properly an *apostate*, for he and his countrymen the Arabians were not Christians but Heathens, though he made many Christians afterwards apostatize from the faith. *The mystery of iniquity*, as we have seen, was *working* in the days of the apostles: but there were not then any indications of the rise and increase of Mohammedism; it sprung up of a sudden like a mushroom, whose seeds the winds scattered over the face of the earth. *The apostasy* was to precede and introduce *the man of sin*, but this man of sin was the first author of this apostasy. And what is the most material, he never pretended to confirm his mission, or authorise his doctrine by miracles. *His coming was not with all power, and signs, and lying wonders:* On the contrary, he declared,[3] that 'God had sent Moses and Jesus with miracles, and yet men would not be obedient to their word; and therefore he had now sent him in the last place without miracles, to force them by the power of the sword to do his will.' Some of his followers have ascribed miracles to him: but as Dr. Prideaux observes, 'those who relate them are only such who are reckoned among their fabulous and legendary writers. Their learned doctors renounce them all, as doth Mohammed himself, who in several places in his Koran owns that he wrought no miracles.'

7. Others of the papists affirm, that *the apostasy* is the falling away from the church of Rome by the doctrines of the Reformation. But who then is *the man of sin*, Luther and his followers, or Calvin and his followers, or who? for the Protestants are far from being united under any one head. Which of the Protestant churches exalts herself above every God and magistrate? Which of them arrogates to herself divine honours and titles? Which of them pretends to establish her doctrine and discipline by miracles? These things would be ridiculously and absurdly objected to the Protestant churches, and more ridiculously and absurdly still by the members of the church of Rome.

8. The greater part of the Romish doctors, it must be con-

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[3] See Prideaux's Life of Mahomet, p. 26 and 28. 8th edit. 1723.

fessed, give another interpretation, and acknowledge that[4] the fathers and the best interpreters understand this unanimously of Antichrist, who will appear in the world before the great day of judgment to combat religion and the saints. But then they conceive that Antichrist is not yet revealed, that he is only one man, and that he will continue only three years and a half. But we have shewn before, that *the man of sin* is not a single man, any more than *the whore of Babylon* is a single woman The one as well as the other is to be understood of a whole order and succession of persons. *The mystery of iniquity* was working, and preparing the way for *the man of sin* even in the apostles' days: and is it not very extraordinary, that 1700 years should elapse, and that he should not be yet revealed? *What withholdeth,* they say, was the Roman empire; and the Roman empire might be powerful enough to hinder his appearance at that time, but how hath it withheld and hindered all this while? As this evil began in the apostles' days, and was to continue in the world till the second coming of Christ in power and great glory; it necessarily follows that it was to be carried on not by one man, but by a succession of men in several ages. It cannot be taking root and growing imperceptibly 1700 years and more, and yet flourish under its chief head only three years and a half. There needeth not surely so much preparation for so little effect. Neither are three years and a half, a period sufficient for Antichrist to act the parts and to fulfil the characters which are assigned him; unless he hath also this property of divinity, that " one day is with him as a thousand years, and a thousand years as one day."

III. The detection of falsehood is the next step towards the discovery of truth: and having seen how this passage hath been mistaken and misapplied by some famous commentators, we may be the better enabled to vindicate and establish what we conceive to be the only true and legitimate application. The Thessalonians, from some expressions in the former epistle, were alarmed, as if the end of the world was at hand, and Christ was coming to judgment. The apostle, to correct their mistakes and dissipate their fears, assures them, that the coming of Christ will not be yet awhile: there will be first a great apostasy or defection of Christians from the true faith and worship. This apostasy all the concurrent marks and characters will justify us in charging upon the church of Rome. The apostle mentions this apostasy in another place, (1 Tim. iv.

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[4] 'Les Peres, et les meilleurs interprétes entendent unanimement ceci de Ante-Christ, qui doit paroître dans le monde avant le grand jour du jugement, pour combattre la religion et les saints.' Calmet Comment et Dissertation sur l'Ante-Christ.

1, &c.) and specifies some articles, as "doctrines of *demons*," "forbidding to marry, and commanding to abstain from meats," which will warrant the same conclusion. The true Christian worship, is the worship of "the one only God" through "the only one mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus:" and from this worship the church of Rome hath notoriously departed, by substituting other mediators, and invocating and adoring saints and angels. Nothing is apostasy, if idolatry be not; and the same kind of idolatry is practised in the church of Rome, that the prophets and inspired writers arraign and condemn as apostasy and rebellion in the Jewish church. The Jews never totally rejected the true God, but only worshipped him through the medium of some image, or in conjunction with some other beings: and are not the members of the church of Rome[5] guilty of the same idolatry and apostasy in the worship of images, in the adoration of the host, in the invocation of angels and saints, and in the oblation of prayers and praises to the Virgin Mary, as much or more than to God blessed for ever? This is the grand corruption of the Christian church, this is *the apostasy* as it is emphatically called, and deserves to be called, *the apostasy* that the apostle had warned the Thessalonians of before, *the apostasy* that had also been foretold by the prophet Daniel.

If the apostasy be rightly charged upon the church of Rome, it follows of consequence that *the man of sin* is the pope, not meaning this or that pope in particular, but the pope in general, as the chief head and supporter of this apostasy. The apostasy produces him, and he again promotes the apostasy. He is properly *the man of sin*, not only on account of the scandalous lives of many popes, but by reason of their more scandalous doctrines and principles, dispensing with the most necessary duties, and granting or rather selling pardons and indulgences to the most abominable crimes. Or if by *sin* be meant idolatry particularly, as in the Old Testament, it is evident to all how he hath corrupted the worship of God, and perverted it from *spirit and truth* to superstition and idolatry of the grossest kind. He also, like the false apostle Judas, is *the son of perdition*, whether actively as being the cause and occasion of destruction to others, or passively as being destined and devoted to destruction himself. *He opposeth;* he is the great adversary to God and man, excommunicating and anathematizing, persecuting and destroying by croisadoes and inquisitions, by massacres and horrid executions, those sincere Christians, who prefer the word of God to all the authority of men. The heathen emperor of Rome may have slain his thousands of innocent Christians, but the Christian bishop of Rome hath slain his ten thousands. There is scarce any country, that hath not at one time or other been made the stage of these bloody tragedies: scarce any age, that hath not in one place or other seen them acted. "He exalteth himself above all that is called God, or that is worshipped;" not only above inferior magistrates, but likewise above bishops and primates, exerting an absolute jurisdiction and uncontrolled supremacy over all; nor only above bishops and primates, but likewise above kings and emperors, deposing some, and advancing others, obliging them to prostrate themselves before him, to kiss his toe, to hold his stirrup, to[6] wait bare-footed at his gate, treading[7] even upon the neck, and[8] kicking off the imperial crown with his foot; nor only above kings and emperors, but likewise above Christ and God himself, "making the word of God of none effect by *his traditions*," *forbidding* what God hath commanded, as marriage, communion in both kinds, the use of the Scriptures in the vulgar tongue, and the like, and also commanding or allowing what God hath forbidden, as idolatry, persecution, works of supererogation, and various other instances. "So that he as God sitteth in the temple of God, shewing himself that he is God." He is therefore in profession a Christian, and a Christian bishop. His "*sitting* in the temple of God" plainly implies his having his seat or cathedra in the Christian church: and he sitteth there *as God*, especially at his inauguration, when he sitteth upon the high altar in St. Peter's church, and maketh the table of the Lord his footstool, and in that position receiveth adoration. At all times he exerciseth divine authority in the church, "shewing himself that he is God," affecting divine titles and attributes, as holiness and infallibility, assuming divine powers and prerogatives in condemning and absolving men, in retaining and forgiving sins, in asserting his decrees to be of the same or greater authority than the word of God, and commanding them to be received under the penalty of the same or greater damnation. Like another Salmoneus he is proud to imitate the state and thunder of the Almighty; and is styled, and pleased to be styled,[9] 'Our Lord God the pope; another God upon earth; king of kings, and lord of lords. The same is the dominion of God and the pope.

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[5] See Stillingfleet's Discourse concerning the Idolatry of the Church of Rome, chap. 1 and 2. vol. 5, of his Works.

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[6] As Hildebrand or Gregory VII. did to Henry IV.

[7] As Alexander III. did to Frederic I.

[8] As Celestin did to Henry VI.

[9] 'Dominus Deus noster papa. Alter Deus in terra. Rex regum, dominus dominorum. Idem est dominium Dei et papæ. Credere Dominum Deum nostrum papam non potuisse statuere, prout statuit, hæreticum censeretur. Papæ potestas est major omni potestate creata, extenditque se ad cœlestia, terrestria, et infernalia. Papa facit quicquid libet, etiam illicita, et est plus quam Deus.' See these and the like instances quoted in Bishop Jewel's Apology and Defence, in Downham's treatise De Antichristo, and Poole's English Annotations. See likewise Barrow's treatise of the Pope's Supremacy, in the Introduction.

To believe that our Lord God the pope might not decree, as he decreed, it were a matter of heresy. The power of the pope is greater than all created power, and extends itself to things celestial, terrestrial, and infernal. The pope doeth whatsoever he listeth, even things unlawful, and is more than God.' Such blasphemies are not only allowed, but are even approved, encouraged, rewarded, in the writers of the church of Rome; and they are not only the extravagances of private writers, but are the language even of public decretals and acts of councils. So that the pope is evidently the god upon earth: at least there is no one like him, who "exalteth himself above every God;" no one like him, "who sitteth as God in the temple of God, shewing himself that he is God."

But if the bishop of Rome be *the man of sin,* it may seem somewhat strange that the apostle should mention these things in an epistle to the Thessalonians, and not rather in his epistle to the Romans. But this epistle was written four or five years before that to the Romans, and there was no occasion to mention the same things again in another epistle. What was written to the Thessalonians or any particular church, was in effect written to all the churches, the epistles being designed for general edification, and intended to be read publicly in the congregations of the faithful. When St. Paul wrote his epistle to the Romans, he had not been at Rome, and consequently could not allude to any former discourse with them, as with the Thessalonians: and these things were not proper to be fully explained in a letter, and especially in a letter addressed to the Christian converts at the capital city of the empire. The apostles with all their prudence were represented as enemies to government, and were charged with "turning the world upside down" (Acts xvii. 6.); but the accusation would have been sounded higher, if St. Paul had denounced openly, and to Romans too, the destruction of the Roman empire. However, he admonisheth them to beware of apostasy, (Rom. xi. 20, 22.) and to "continue in God's goodness," or "otherwise *they shall* be cut off:" and afterwards when he visited Rome, and dwelt there "two whole years" (Acts xxviii. 30.), he might have frequent opportunities of informing them particularly of these things. It is not to be supposed, that he discoursed of these things only to the Thessalonians. It was a matter of concern to all Christians to be forewarned of the great corruption of Christianity, that they might be neither surprised into it, nor offended at it; and the caution was the more necessary, as "the mystery of iniquity *was* already *working.*" The seeds of popery were sown in the apostle's time; for even then *idolatry* was stealing into the church (1 Cor. x. 14.), and "a voluntary humility and worshipping of angels" (Col. ii. 18.), "strife and divisions" (1 Cor. iii. 3.), an *adulterating* and " handling of the word of God deceitfully" (2 Cor. ii. 17. iv. 2.), a *gain* of *godliness* and " teaching *of* things for filthy lucre's sake" (1 Tim. vi. 5. Tit. i. 11.), a vain observation of festivals (Gal. iv. 10.), a vain distinction of meats (1 Cor. viii. 8.), a " neglecting of the body" (Col. ii. 23.), *traditions,* and " commandments, and doctrines of men" (Col. ii. 8, 22.), with other corruptions and innovations. All heretics were in a manner the forerunners of *the man of sin;* and Simon Magus in particular was so lively a type and figure of *the wicked one,* that he hath been mistaken, as we see, for *the wicked one* himself.

The foundations of popery were laid indeed in the apostles' days, but the superstructure was raised by degrees, and several ages passed before the building was completed, and *the man of sin* was *revealed* in full perfection. St. Paul having communicated to the Thessalonians what it was that hindered his appearance, it was natural for other Christians also who read this epistle, to inquire " what withholdeth that he might be revealed in his time;" and the apostle without doubt would impart it to other Christians as freely as to the Thessalonians; and the Thessalonians and other Christians might deliver it to their successors, and so the tradition might generally prevail, and the tradition that generally prevailed was, that what hindered was the Roman empire: and therefore the primitive Christians in the public offices of the church prayed for its peace and welfare, as knowing that when the Roman empire should be dissolved and broken into pieces, the empire of *the man of sin* would be raised on its ruins. How this revolution was effected, no writer can better inform us than Machiavel.[1] 'The emperor of Rome quitting Rome to hold his residence at Constantinople, the Roman empire began to decline, but the church of Rome augmented as fast. Nevertheless, until the coming in of the Lombards, all Italy being under the dominion either of emperors or kings, the bishops assumed no more power than what was due to their doctrine and manners; in civil affairs they were subject to the civil power.—But Theodoric king of the Goths fixing his seat at Ravenna, was that which advanced their interest, and made them more considerable in Italy; for there being no other prince left in Rome, the Romans were forced for protection to pay greater allegiance to the pope. And yet their authority advanced no farther at that time, than to obtain the preference before the church of Ravenna. But the Lombards having invaded, and reduced Italy into several cantons, the pope took the opportunity, and began to hold up his head. For being as it were governor and principal at Rome, the emperor of Constantinople and the Lombards bare him a respect, so that the Romans (by mediation of their pope) began to treat and confederate with Longinus [the emperor's lieutenant] and the Lombards, not as subjects, but as equals and companions; which said custom continuing, and the popes entering into alliance sometimes with the Lombards, and sometimes with the Greeks, contracted great reputation to their dignity. But the destruction of the eastern empire following so close under the reign of the emperor Heraclius,—the pope lost the convenience of the emperor's protection in time of adversity, and the power of the Lombards increasing too fast on the other side, he thought it but necessary to address himself to the king of France for assistance.—Gregory the Third being created pope, and Aistolfus king of the Lombards, Aistolfus contrary to league and agreement seized upon Ravenna, and made war upon the pope. Gregory not daring (for the reasons abovesaid) to depend upon the weakness of the empire, or the fidelity of the Lombards (whom he had already found false), applied himself to Pepin—for relief against the Lombards. Pepin returned answer, that he would be ready to assist him, but he desired first to have the honour to see him, and pay his personal respects. Upon which invitation pope Gregory went into France, passing through the Lombards' quarters without any interruption, so great reverence they bare to religion in those days. Being arrived and honourably received in France, he was after some time dismissed with an army into Italy; which having besieged Pavia, and reduced the Lombards to distress, Aistolfus was constrained to certain terms of agreement with the French, which were obtained by the intercession of the pope.—Among the rest of the articles of that treaty it was agreed, that Aistolfus should restore all the lands he had usurped from the church. But when the French army was returned into France, Aistolfus forgot his engagement, which put the pope upon a second application to king Pepin, who supplied him again, sent a new army into Italy, overcame the Lombards, and possesed himself of Ravenna, and (contrary to the desire of the Grecian emperor) gave it to the pope, with all the lands under that exarchate.—In the interim Aistolfus died, and Desiderio a Lombard, and duke of Tuscany, taking up arms to succeed him, begged assistance of the pope, with promise of perpetual amity for the future.—At first Desiderio was very punctual,—delivered up the towns as he took them to the pope, according to his engagement to king Pepin; nor was there any exarch sent afterwards from Constantinople to Ravenna, but all was arbitrary, and managed according to the pleasure of the pope. Not long after Pepin died, and Charles his son succeeded in the government, who was called the Great from the greatness of his exploits. About the same time

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[1] Machiavel's Hist. of Florence, Book i. p. 6, &c. of the English translation.

Theodore the First was advanced to the papacy, and falling out with Desiderio was besieged by him in Rome. In his exigence the pope had recourse to the king of France (as his predecessor had done before him), and Charles not only supplied him with an army, but marching over the Alps at the head of it himself he besieged Desiderio in Pavia, took him and his son in it, sent them both prisoners into France, and went in person to Rome to visit the pope, where he adjudged and determined, 'That his Holiness being God's vicar, could not be subject to the judgment of man.' For which the pope and people together declared him emperor, and Rome began again to have an emperor of the west: and whereas formerly the popes were confirmed by the emperors, the emperor now in his election was to be beholden to the pope; by which means the power and dignity of the empire declined, and the church began to advance, and by these steps to usurp upon the authority of temporal princes.'

In this manner the emperor of Rome, or "he who letteth," was "taken out of the way," and the bishop of Rome was advanced in his stead. In the same proportion as the power of the empire decreased, the authority of the church increased, the latter at the expense and ruin of the former; till at length the pope grew up above all, and ὁ ἄνομος, *the wicked one*, was fully manifested and *revealed*, or *the lawless one* as he may be called; for the pope[2] is declared again and again not to be bound by any law of God or man. "His coming is after the *energy* of Satan, with all power, and signs, and lying wonders, and with all deceivableness of unrighteousness;" and doth it require any particular proof, or is it not too generally known, that the pretensions of the pope, and the corruptions of the church of Rome are all supported and authorised by feigned visions and miracles, by pious frauds and impostures of every kind? Bellarmin reckons[3] the glory of miracles as the eleventh note of the catholic church; but the apostle assigns them as a distinguishing mark and character of *the man of sin*. The church of Rome pretends to miracles, Mohammed disclaims them; and this is one very good reason, why *the man of sin* is the Pope rather than the Turk. There hath been printed at London, so lately as in the year 1756, a book entitled "The miraculous power of the church of Christ, asserted through each successive century from the apostles down to the present time:" and from thence the author draweth the conclusion, that the catholic church is the true church of Christ. They must certainly "not receive the love of the truth, but have pleasure in unrighteousness," who can believe such fabulous and ridiculous legends, who hold it a mortal sin but to doubt of any article of their religion, who deny the free exercise of private judgment, who take away the free use of the Holy Scriptures, and so "shut up the kingdom of heaven against men, neither going in themselves, neither suffering them, who were entering, to go in." If they will still maintain their miracles to be true, yet they are no proof of the true church, but rather of the contrary. They are the miracles here predicted, and if they were really wrought, were wrought in favour of falsehood: and indeed it is a proper retaliation, that God in his just judgments should "send *men* strong delusion that they should believe a lie, who received not the love of the truth that they might be saved;" a proper retaliation, that he should suffer some real miracles to be wrought to deceive those, who have counterfeited so many miracles to deceive others.

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[2] See Bishop Jewel's Apology and Defence, p. 313, 314. 430, &c.

[3] 'Undecima nota est gloria miraculorum.' Bellar. de Notis Ecclesiæ, l. 4. c. 14.

But how much soever *the man of sin* may be exalted, and how long soever he may reign, yet at last "the Lord shall consume *him* with the spirit of his mouth, and shall destroy *him* with the brightness of his coming." This is partly taken from the prophet Isaiah, (xi. 4.) "and with the breath of his lips shall he slay the wicked one:" where the Jews, as Lightfoot[4] observes, 'put an emphasis upon that word in the prophet, *the wicked one*, as it appeareth by the Chaldee paraphrast, who hath uttered it, *He shall destroy the wicked Roman.*' If the two clauses, as it was said before, relate to two different events, the meaning manifestly is, that the Lord Jesus shall gradually consume him with the free preaching of his gospel, and shall utterly destroy him at his second coming in the glory of his Father. The former began to take effect at the Reformation, and the latter will be accomplished in God's appointed time. *The man of sin* is now upon the decline, and he will be totally abolished, when Christ shall come in judgment. The kingdom of falsehood and sin shall end, and the reign of truth and virtue shall succeed. "Great is the truth, and will at last prevail."

The man of sin then is the same arbitrary and wicked power that is described by Daniel under the characters of *the little horn* and *the mighty king*. In St. Paul "he is revealed," when the Roman empire is "taken out of the way;" and in Daniel the Roman empire is first broken into several kingdoms, and "he cometh up among them." In St. Paul "he opposeth;" and in Daniel "he doeth according to his will," and "weareth out the saints of the Most High." In St. Paul "he exalteth himself above all that is called God, or that is worshipped, shewing himself that he is God:" and in Daniel "he exalteth himself and magnifieth himself above every god, and speaketh marvellous things against the God of gods." In St. Paul he is

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[4] Lightfoot's Works, vol. 1. p. 296.

"the lawless one;" and in Daniel "he changeth times and laws." In St. Paul "his coming is with all deceivableness of unrighteousness;" and in Daniel "he practiseth and prospereth, and through his policy causeth craft to prosper in his hand." According to St. Paul, "the Lord shall consume him with the spirit of his mouth, and shall destroy him with the brightness of his coming;" and according to Daniel "a fiery stream shall issue and come forth *from the judge, and* his body shall be given to the burning flame, and they shall take away his dominion, to consume, and to destroy it unto the end." The characters and circumstances are so much the same, that they must belong to one and the same person.

The tyrannical power thus described by Daniel and St. Paul, and afterwards by St. John, is both by ancients and moderns generally denominated *Antichrist:* and the name is proper and expressive enough, as it may signify [5] both *the enemy of Christ,* and *the vicar of Christ:* and no one is more the enemy of Christ than he who arrogates his name and power, as no one more directly opposes the king than he who assumes his title and authority. The name began to prevail in St. John's time. For he addresseth himself to the Christians as having heard of the coming of Antichrist, and calleth the heretics of his time by the same common name: (1 Ep. ii. 18. 22.) "As ye have heard that the Antichrist shall come, even now are there many Antichrists: Who is a liar but he that denieth that Jesus is the Christ? he is the Antichrist that denieth the Father and the Son." As St. Paul hath said, "The mystery of iniquity doth already work;" so St. John speaketh of the spirit of Antichrist as then in the world, (1 Ep. iv. 3.) "This is that spirit of Antichrist, whereof you have heard that it should come, and even now already is it in the world." Afterwards (2 Ep. 7, 8.) he styleth him emphatically "the deceiver and the Antichrist," and warneth the Christians to "look to themselves." The fathers too speak of *Antichrist* and of *the man of sin* as one and the same person; and give much the same interpretation that hath here been given of the whole passage: only it is not to be supposed, that they who wrote before the events, could be so very exact in the application of each particular, as those who have the advantage of writing after the events, and of comparing the prophecy and completion together.

Justin Martyr, who flourished before the middle of the second century, [6] considers *the man of sin,* or as he elsewhere calleth him *the man of blasphemy,* as altogether the same with

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[5] Αντι signifies *pro, vice, loco,* as well as *contra, e regione, ex adverso*; and ἀντιβασιλεὺς is *prorex,* ἀνθύπατος *proconsul.*

[6] Dial. cum Tryph. p. 201. Edit. Thirl. καὶ τοῦ βλάσφημα καὶ τολμηρὰ εἰς τὸν ὕψιστον μέλλοντος λαλεῖν ἤδη ἐπὶ θυραῖς ὄντος. *eoque qui impie et temerarie maledicta in Altissimum prolocututus est, jam pro foribus assistente.* Vide etiam, p. 371.

the little horn in Daniel: and affirms, that he who shall speak blasphemous words against the Most High, is now at the doors. Irenæus who lived in the same century, hath written[7] a whole chapter of the fraud, and pride, and tyrannical reign of Antichrist, as they are described by Daniel and St. Paul in his second epistle to the Thessalonians. Tertullian, who became famous at the latter end of the same century, expounding those words "only he who now letteth will let, until he be taken out of the way,"[8] says, 'Who can this be but the Roman state, the division of which into ten kingdoms will bring on Antichrist, and then the wicked one shall be revealed.' And in his Apology he[9] assigns it as a particular reason why the Christians prayed for the Roman empire, because they knew that the greatest calamity hanging over the world was retarded by the continuance of it.

Origen, the most learned father and ablest writer of the third century,[1] recites this passage at large as spoken of him who is called Antichrist. To the same purpose he likewise alleges the words of Daniel as truly divine and prophetic. Daniel and St. Paul, according to him, both prophesied of the same person.

Lactantius, who flourished in the beginning of the fourth century, describes Antichrist in the same manner, and almost in the same terms as St. Paul; and[2] concludes, 'This is he, who is called Antichrist, but shall feign himself to be Christ, and shall fight against the truth.' A shorter and fuller character of the vicar of Christ could not be drawn even by a Protestant. Cyril of Jerusalem in the same century alleges this passage of St. Paul, together with other prophecies concerning Antichrist, and[3] says that 'This the predicted Antichrist will come, when the times of the Roman empire shall be fulfilled, and the consummation of the world shall approach. Ten kings of the Romans shall arise together, in different places indeed, but they shall reign at the same time. Among these the eleventh is Antichrist, who by magical and wicked artifice shall seize the Roman power.' Ambrose archbishop of Milan in the same century, or Hilary the deacon, or the author (whoever he was) of the comment upon St. Paul's Epistles, which passeth under the name of St. Ambrose, proposes much the same interpretation, and [4] affirms that after the failing or decay of the Roman empire, Antichrist shall appear.

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[7] Adversus Hæreses, l. 5. c. 25. 'Antichristi fraus, superbia, et tyrannicum regnum, prout a Daniele et Paulo descripta sunt.'

[8] 'Quis, nisi Romanus status? cujus abscessio in decem reges dispersa Antichristum superducet, et tunc revelabitur iniquus.' De Resurrect. Carnis, c. 24.

[9] 'Est et alia major necessitas nobis orandi pro imperatoribus, etiam pro omni statu imperii, rebusque Romanis, qui vim maximam universo orbi imminentem —Romani imperii commeatu scimus retardari.' Apol. c. 32.

[1] Contra Celsum, l. 6. c. 46.

[2] 'Hic est autem, qui appellatur Antichristus; sed se ipse Christum mentietur, et contra verum dimicabit.' Lactant. l. 7. c. 19.

[3] Ἔρχεται δὲ ὁ προειρημένος Ἀντίχριστος οὗτος, ὅταν πληρωθῶσιν οἱ καιροὶ τῆς Ῥωμαίων βασιλείας, καὶ πλησιάζει λοιπὸν τὰ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου συντελείας. δέκα μὲν ὁμοῦ Ῥωμαίων ἐγείρονται βασιλεῖς, ἐν διαφόροις μὲν ἴσως τόποις, κατὰ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν βασιλεύοντες καιρόν. μετὰ δὲ τούτους ἑνδέκατος ὁ Ἀντίχριστος, ἐκ τῆς μαγικῆς κακοτεχνίας τὴν Ῥωμαϊκὴν ἐξουσίαν ἁρπάσας. *Veniet autem hic prædictus Antichristus, cum impleta fuerint tempora imperii Romani, et mundi consummatio appropinquabit. Decem simul reges Romanorum excitabuntur, in diversis quidem locis, eodem tamen tempore regnantes. Post istos autem undecimus Antichristus, per magicum maleficium Romanorum potestatem rapiens.* Catch. 15. c. 5.

Jerome, Austin, and Chrysostome flourished in the latter end of the fourth, or the beginning of the fifth century. St. Jerome in his explanation of this passage [5] says, that Antichrist 'shall sit in the temple of God, either at Jerusalem (as some imagine) or in the church (as we more truly judge) shewing himself that he is Christ and the Son of God: and unless the Roman empire be first desolated, and Antichrist precede, Christ shall not come—"And now ye know what withholdeth that he might be revealed in his time," that is, ye know very well, what is the reason, why Antichrist doth not come at present. He is not willing to say openly, that the Roman empire should be destroyed, which they who command think to be eternal.—For if he had said openly and boldly, that Antichrist shall not come, unless the Roman empire be first destroyed, it might probably have proved the occasion of a persecution against the church.' Jerome was himself a witness to the barbarous nations beginning to tear in pieces the Roman empire, and upon this occasion [6] exclaims, 'He who hindered is taken out of the way, and we do not consider that Antichrist approaches, whom the Lord Jesus shall consume with the spirit of his mouth.' St. Austin having cited this passage [7] affirms, that 'No one questions that the apostle spoke these things concerning Antichrist: and the day of judgment (for this he calleth the day of the Lord) should not come, unless Antichrist come first.—"And now ye know what withholdeth."—Some think this was spoken of the Roman empire; and therefore the apostle was not willing to write it openly, lest he should incur a præmunire, and be falsely accused of wishing ill to the Roman empire, which was hoped to be eternal.' St. Chrysostome, in one of his homilies upon this passage, speaking of what hindered the revelation of Antichrist,[8] asserts that 'when the Roman empire shall be taken out of the way, then he shall come: and it is very likely: for as long as the dread of this empire shall remain, no one shall quickly be substituted; but when this shall be dissolved, he shall seize on the vacant empire, and shall endeavour to assume the power both of God and men.' And who hath seized on the vacant empire in Rome, and assumed the power both of God and man, let the world judge.

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[4] 'Post defectum regni Romani appariturum Antichristum, &c.' Ambros. in locum.

[5] 'Et in templo Dei, vel Jerosolymis (ut quidam putant) vel in ecclesia (ut verius arbitramur) sederit, ostendens se tanquam ipse sit Christus et Filius Dei: Nisi, inquit, fuerit Romanum imperium ante desolatum, et Antichristus præcesserit, Christus non veniet.—"Et nunc quid detineat, scitis, ut reveletur in suo tempore," hoc est, quæ causa sit, ut Antichristus in præsentiarum non veniat, optime nostis. Nec vult apertè dicere Romanum imperium destruendum, quod ipsi qui imperant, æternum putant.—Si enim apertè audacterque dixisset, non veniet Antichristus, nisi prius Romanum deleatur imperium, justa causa persecutionis in orientem tunc ecclesiam consurgere videbatur.' Algasiæ Quest. ii. col. 209. Prior pars. tom. 4. Edit. Benedict.

[6] 'Qui tenebat, de medio sit, et non intelligimus Antichristum appropinquare, quem Dominus Jesus Christus interficiet spiritu oris sui.' Ad Ageruchiam de Monogamia, col. 748.

[7] 'Nulli dubium est, eum de Antichristo ista dixisse; diemque judicii (hunc enim appellat diem Domini) non esse venturum, nisi ille prior venerit—"Et nunc quid detineat scitis"—Quidam putant hoc de imperio dictum fuisse Romano; et propterea Paulum apostolum non id apertè scribere voluisse, ne calumniam videlicet incurreret, quòd Romano imperio male optaverit, cùm speraretur æternum.' De Civitat. Dei, l. 20. c. 19.

In this manner these ancient and venerable fathers expound this passage; and in all probability they had learned by tradition from the apostle, or from the church of the Thessalonians, that what retarded the revelation of Antichrist was the Roman empire, but when the Roman empire should be broken in pieces, and be no longer able to withhold him, then he should appear in the Christian church, and domineer principally in the church of Rome. Even in the opinion of a bishop of Rome, Gregory the Great, who sat in the chair at the end of the sixth century, whosoever affected the title of universal bishop, he was Antichrist, or the forerunner of Antichrist. 'I speak it confidently,' says he,[9] 'that whosoever calleth himself universal bishop, or desireth so to be called, in the pride of his heart, he doth forerun Antichrist.' When John, then bishop of Constantinople, first usurped this title, Gregory made answer, 'By this pride of his, what thing else is signified, but that the time of Antichrist is now at hand?' Again he says upon the same occasion, 'The king of pride (that is Antichrist) approacheth; and what is wicked to be spoken, an army of priests is prepared.' When the papal doctrines and the papal authority prevailed over all, it was natural to think and expect, that the true notion of Antichrist would be stifled, and that the doctors of the church would endeavour to give another turn and interpretation to this passage. That night of ignorance was so thick and dark, that that there was hardly here and there a single star to be seen in the whole hemisphere. But no sooner was there any glimmering or dawning of a reformation, than the true notion of Antichrist, which had been so long suppressed, broke out again. As early as the year 1120 a treatise wss published concerning Antichrist, wherein the faithful are admonished,[1] that 'the great Antichrist was long ago come, in vain was he still expected, he was now, by the permission of God, advanced in years:' and the author, having described the corrupt state of the church at that time, says afterwards, 'This state of men (not a single man) is Antichrist, the whore of Babylon, the fourth beast of Daniel, (to wit, in his last state as it is said) that man of sin and son of perdition, who is exalted above every God, so that he sitteth in the temple of God, that is, the church, shewing himself that he is God; who is now come with all kind of seduction and lies in those who perish.' The Waldenses and Albigenses propagated the same opinions in the same century. That the pope was Antichrist was indeed the general doctrine of the first reformers every where. Here in England it was advanced by Wickliff,[2] and was learnedly established by that great and able champion of the Reformation, Bishop Jewel, in his Apology and Defence, and more largely in his Exposition upon the two Epistles of St. Paul to the Thessalonians. This doctrine contributed not a little to promote the Reformation: and wheresoever the one prevailed the other prevailed also.

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[8] Ἡ ἀρχὴ ἡ Ῥωμαϊκὴ ὅταν ἀρθῇ ἐκ μέσου, τότε ἐκεῖνος ἥξει. καὶ εἰκότως. ἕως γὰρ ἂν ὁ ταύτης ᾖ τῆς ἀρχῆς φόβος, οὐδεὶς ταχέως ὑποταγήσεται. ὅταν δὲ αὕτη καταλυθῇ, ἐπιθήσεται τῇ ἀναρχίᾳ, καὶ τὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων, καὶ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπιχειρήσει ἁρπάσαι ἀρχήν. *quando Romanorum imperium de medio fuerit sublatum, tunc ille veniet. Et merito quamdiu enim fuerit metus hujus imperii, nemo cito subjicietur. Quando autem hoc fuerit eversum, vacans invadet imperium, hominumque et ei imperium aggredietur rapere.* In loc. Hom. 4. § 1.

[9] 'Ergo fidentur dico, quod quisquis se universalem sacerdotem vocat, vel vocari desiderat, in elatione sua Antichristum præcurrit. l. 6. Epist. 30. Ex hac ejus superbia quid aliud, nisi propinqua jam esse Antichristi tempora designatur.' l. 4. Epist. 34. 'Rex superbiæ prope est; et, quod dici nefas est, sacerdotum est præparatus exercitus.' l. 4. ibid. See Jewel's Defence of the Apology, part 4. c. 16. p. 413. Barrow's Treatise of the Pope Supremacy, Suppos. 5. p. 123. Edit. 1683.

Such doctrine as this must necessarily give great offence to the bigots and devotees of the church of Rome: and no wonder therefore that in the last Lateran Council[3] the pope gave strait commandment to all preachers, that no man should presume once to speak of the coming of Antichrist. The king of France also with the advice of his council,[4] interdicted that any one should call the pope Antichrist: and Grotius, who was ambassador in France from the crown of Sweden, in a vain hope and expectation of reconciling the disputes and differences between Papists and Protestants, composed his treatise concerning Antichrist, not wickedly, but weakly; with an honest intention it may be presumed, but it is certain with pernicious effect; more like an advocate for one party, than a moderator between both. At the same time in England, though James the First had written a treatise to prove the pope Antichrist, yet this doctrine was growing unfashionable during his reign, and more so in that of his son, who married a bigoted popish princess; even while Mr. Mede was living, who had exerted more learning and sagacity in explaining the prophecies, and in fixing the true idea of Antichrist, than perhaps any writer in any age. But probably for this very reason he was looked upon with an evil eye, and (to the disgrace of the times) obtained no preferment, though he was eminently deserving of the best and greatest. He says himself in one of his letters (Epist. 56.) that his notions about genuflexion towards the altar 'would have made another man a dean, or a prebend, or something else ere this: but the point of the pope's being Antichrist, as a dead fly, marred the savour of that ointment.' The abuse also that some fanatics made of this doctrine greatly prejudiced the world against it. It was esteemed a mark of a puritan, and was a certain obstacle to preferment, for any man to preach that the pope was Antichrist: and Dr. Montagu, a famous court-chaplain at that time, who endeavoured to prove that the power of the king was absolute,[5] endeavoured also to prove that the notes and characters of Antichrist belonged to the Turk rather than to the Pope: and herein he was followed by several divines, and by no less a man than Bishop Fell, if he was the compiler or approver (as he is commonly said to have been) of the Paraphrase and Annotations upon all St. Paul's Epistles.[6] There are fashions in divinity as well as in every thing else; and therefore the true doctrine of Antichrist was for some time suspended, and false hypotheses were invented; and it may surprise any one, that so little was said upon this subject in the long controversies concerning popery during the reigns of Charles and James the Second. It is hoped that the truth is now emerging again. Some laudable attempts[7] have lately been made to revive and restore it: and if I have not proved that this interpretation is preferable to all others, I have taken pains and proved nothing.

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[1] 'Anno Domini 1120—emissus est tractatus de Antichristo,—In hoc libro admonentur fideles "Antichristum illum magnum jamdudum venisse, frustra adhuc exspectari, esse jam Dei permissione ætate provectum:—Hunc hominum statum (non singularem hominem) esse Antichristum, meretricem Babylonicam, quartam bestiam Danielis, (nempe in statu ejus novissimo, ut dictum est) hominem illum peccati, et filium perditionis, qui extollitur super omnem Deum, ita ut in templo Dei, id est, ecclesia, sedeat, ostendens se tanquam sit Deus; qui jam venit in omni genere seductionis et mendacii in iis qui pereunt."' Mede's Works, b. 3. De numeris Danielis, p. 721, 722.

[2] 'Dialogorum libri 4. quorum—quartus Romanæ ecclesiæ sacramenta, Antichristi regnum, &c. perstringit.' Cave, Hist. Litt. vol. 2. Appendix, p. 63.

[3] Conc. Lateran. sub Julio et Leone. Sess. 11. Jewel's Defence, ibid.

[4] —'Prudentissimorum virorum usus consilio interdixit ne quis papam Antichristum vocet.' Grot. de Antichristo in principio.

But it hath been proved, as I conceive, that this is the genuine sense and meaning of the apostle, that this only is entirely consistent with the context, that every other interpretation is forced and unnatural, that this is liable to no material objection, that it coincides perfectly with Daniel, that it is agreeable to the tradition of the primitive church, and that it hath been exactly fulfilled in all particulars, which cannot be said of any other interpretation whatsoever. Such a prophecy as this is at once an illustrious proof of divine revelation, and an excellent antidote to the poison of popery. It is like a two-edged sword, that will cut both ways, and wound the deist with one side, and the papist with the other. The papists are in some respects like the Jews. As the Jews believe not that Christ is come according to the prophecies, but still live in expectation of him; so neither do the papists perceive that Antichrist is come according to the prophecies, but still maintain that he shall arise hereafter. The apostle not only foretels this blindness and infatuation, but likewise assigns the reason, "because they received not the love of the truth, but had pleasure in unrighteousness." But to the protestants, who believe and profess that both the Christ and Antichrist are come, we may say with the apostle (ver. 13, 14.), " We are bound to give thanks alway to God for you, brethren, beloved of the Lord, because God hath chosen you to salvation, through sanctification of the spirit, and belief of the truth : Whereunto he called you by the gospel, to the obtaining of the glory of our Lord Jesus Christ." The apostle proceeds (ver. 15.) " Therefore, brethren, stand fast, and hold the traditions which ye have been taught, whether by word, or our epistle :" and certainly there is not any oral tradition that hath a juster claim to be thought apostolical, than this of *the man of sin's* succeeding upon the decline of the Roman empire, and exalting himself over all. Wherefore to conclude, as the apostle concludes the subject, (ver. 16, 17.) " Now our Lord Jesus Christ himself, and God even our Father, who hath loved us, and hath given us everlasting consolation, and good hope, through grace, comfort your hearts, and stablish you in every good word and work."

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[5] See his book entitled Appello Cæsarem, Part 2. c. 5.

[6] Printed at the Theatre in Oxford, 1684, and said to be published under the direction of Bishop Fell.

[7] Mr. Langford's Notes and Characters of the Man of Sin, printed in 1746. Dr. Benson's Dissertation concerning the Man of Sin, &c. &c.

XXIII.—ST. PAUL'S PROPHECY OF THE APOSTASY OF THE LATTER TIMES.

ST. PAUL was a man of lively thought and strong imagination. None of the apostles had a warmer zeal for Christ and the Christian religion. He was, as he saith himself, (2 Cor. xi. 23. 28, 29.) " in labours more abundant :" he had " the care of all the churches." " Who is weak (said he), and I am not weak? who is offended, and I burn not?" It was natural for such a mind to be deeply affected with the foresight of the great apostasy of Christians from the true Christian faith and worship, and to lament it, and to forewarn his disciples of it, as often as there was occasion. He made this apostasy one topic of his discourse to the Thessalonians, while he was yet with them: and afterwards in his second epistle to them, he gave them to understand that *the day of Christ was not at hand,* as they apprehended: *for there should come the apostasy first;* implying that it should be both extensive and of long duration. He mentions this apostasy again in his first epistle to Timothy, and describes more particularly wherein it should consist, and at what time, and by what means it should be propagated and advanced in the world, (1 Tim. iv. 1, 2, 3.) "Now the Spirit speaketh expressly, that in the latter times some shall depart from the faith, giving heed to seducing spirits, and doctrines of devils, speaking lies in hypocrisy, having their conscience seared with a hot iron; forbidding to marry, and commanding to abstain from meats, which God hath created to be received with thanksgiving of them which believe and know the truth." The passage perhaps may better be translated thus, *But the Spirit speaketh expressly;* He had been speaking before of *the mystery of godliness,* and now he proceeds to speak of *the mystery of iniquity* in opposition to it, *But the Spirit speaketh expressly, that in the latter times some shall apostatize from the faith, giving heed to erroneous spirits and doctrines concerning demons, Through the hypocrisy of liars, having their conscience seared with a hot iron, Forbidding to marry, and commanding to abstain from meats, which God hath created to be received with thanksgiving by the believers and them who know the truth.* This translation will be justified by the following considerations, wherein it is proposed to shew the true interpretation and exact completion of this prophecy. But this subject hath been so fully and learnedly discussed by the excellent Mr. Mede,[1] that we must be greatly obliged to himiin the course of this dissertation. The dress and clothing may be somewhat different, but the body and substance must be much the same: and they must be referred to his works, who are desirous of obtaining farther satisfaction. Not that we would make a transcript only of any writer; we should hope to enforce and improve the subject by some new arguments and new illustrations; as "every scribe instructed unto the kingdom of heaven (Matt. xiii. 52.) is like unto a man that is an householder, who bringeth forth out of his treasure things new as well as old."

I. The first thing to be considered is the apostasy here predicted, "Some shall depart," or rather *shall apostatize from the faith.* The apostle had predicted the same thing before to the Thessalonians, " The day of Christ shall not come, except there come a falling away ;" or rather *the apostasy first.* In the original the words are of the same import and derivation, ἀποστασὶα and ἀποστήσονται ; and they should have been translated both alike, as the same thing was intended in both places. An *apostasy from the faith,* may be total or partial, either when we renounce the whole, or when we deny some principal and essential article of it. The writers of the New Testament frequently derive their language as well as their ideas from the Old; and by considering what was accounted apostasy under the Mosaical œconomy, we may form the better notion of what it is under the Christian dispensation. It doth not appear that the Jews or Israelites ever totally renounced and abandoned the living and true God ; he never ceased altogether to be their God, or they to be his people : but they revolted from their allegiance to God, when they worshipped him in an image, as in the golden calves, which was the sin and apostasy of Jeroboam; and when they worshipped other gods besides him, as Baalim and the host of heaven, which was the sin and apostasy of Ahab and Manasseh ; and for the same reason the idolatry of Ahaz is by the Greek interpreters called (2 Chron. xxix. 19.) ἀποστασία αὐτοῦ, *his apostasy,* and it is said of him (xxviii. 19.) that ἀπέστη ἀποστάσει ἀπὸ τοῦ Κυρίου, *he apostatized greatly from the Lord.* Apostasy therefore was idolatry in the Jewish church, and it is the same in the Christian. This argument may receive some illustration from a [2] similar passage in St. Peter; (2 Pet. ii. 1.) " There were false prophets also among the people, even as there shall be false teachers among you, who privily shall bring in damnable heresies, even denying the Lord that bought them." As there were false prophets among the children of Israel, who seduced them to idolatry and the worshipping of other gods besides the true God ; so there shall be false teachers among Christians, who by plausible pretences and imperceptible degrees shall bring in the like damnable heresies, even denying the Lord that bought them ; professing themselves to be his servants bought with a price, and yet denying him to be their Lord and Master by applying to other lords and mediators. It is not any error, or every heresy, that is apostasy from the faith. It is a revolt in the principal and essential article, when we worship God by any image or representation, or when we worship other beings besides God, and pray unto other mediators besides " the one mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus." This is the very essence of Christian worship, to worship the one true God through the one true Christ ; and to worship any other God or any other mediator, is apostasy and rebellion against God and against Christ. It is, as St. Paul saith, (Col. ii. 19.) *not holding the head,* but depending upon other heads: It is, as St. Peter expresseth it, " denying the Lord that bought us," and serving other lords: and the denial of such an essential part may as properly be called *apostasy,* as if we were to renounce the whole Christian faith and worship. It is renouncing them in effect, and not treating and regarding God as God, or Christ as Christ.

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[1] See Mede's Works, b. 3. p. 623—693. See likewise Mons. Jurieu's Accomplishment of the Prophecies, p. i. c. 18—21.

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[2] See Mede's Discourse xliii. upon this text, p. 238, &c.

Such is the nature of *apostasy from the faith;* and it is implied that this apostasy should be general, and infect great numbers. For though it be said only *some shall apostatize,* yet by *some* in this place *many* are understood. The word *some* may usually denote *few* in English; but in the learned languages it frequently signifies a multitude, and there are abundant instances in Scripture. In St. John's Gospel it is said (vi. 60.) "Many of *Jesus* his disciples, when they had heard this, said, This is an hard saying, who can hear it?" and again a little afterwards (ver. 66.) " Many of his disciples went back, and walked no more with him:" but Jesus himself speaking of these *many* saith (ver. 64.), "There are some of you that believe not;" so that *some* are plainly the same as *many.* St. Paul speaking of the infidelity and rejection of the Jews saith, (Rom. xi. 17.) that " some of the branches are broken off:" but those *some,* it was evident, were the main body of the nation. The same apostle informs the Corinthians, (1 Cor. x. 5, 6.) that " With many of the Israelites God was not well pleased; for they were overthrown in the wilderness;" and their punishments were intended for examples to Christians. Wherefore he concludes (ver. 7.) " Neither be ye idolaters, as were some of them; as it is written, The people sat down to eat and drink, and rose up to play:" where *some* are manifestly the same as *the people.* Again (ver. 8.) " Neither let us commit fornication, as some of them committed, and fell in one day three and twenty thousand:" where *some* are equivalent to *many thousands.* Again (ver. 9.) " Neither let us tempt Christ, as some of them also tempted, and were destroyed of serpents:" where *some* are the same with *much people;* for we read (Numb. xxi. 6.) that " the Lord sent fiery serpents among the people; and they bit the people, and much people of Israel died." And again (ver. 10.) " Neither murmur ye, as some of them also murmured, and were destroyed of the destroyer:" where *some* are the same with *all the congregation* except Joshua and Caleb; for we read (Numb. xiv. 1, 2.) that " All the congregation lifted up their voice, and cried; and the people wept that night: And all the children of Israel murmured against Moses, and against Aaron; and the whole congregation said unto them, Would God that we had died in the land of Egypt, or would God we had died in this wilderness:" and they had their wish, for except Joshua and Caleb, they all died in the wilderness. *Some* therefore may signify *many*, but *not all;* as the apostle speaketh elsewhere, (Heb. iii. 16.) "For some when they had heard, did provoke; howbeit not all that came out of Egypt by Moses." The apostle might have the same meaning in this place; and this apostasy may be general and extensive, and include *many* but *not all.* If only some few persons were to be concerned and engaged in it, it was scarcely an object worthy of prophecy: nor could that properly be pointed out as a peculiarity of *the latter times,* which is common to all times, for in all times there are some apostates or other. It must necessarily be a great apostasy; and it is called, as it hath been shewn, *the apostasy,* by way of eminence and distinction; but it would hardly have been distinguished in this emphatical manner, if only an inconsiderable number were to profess and embrace it. Other prophecies likewise intimate, that there should be a great and general corruption and apostasy in the Christian church; and the event will also confirm us in our opinion. For we have seen and still see a great part of Christendom guilty of the same sort of apostasy and defection as the Israelites were in former times. As the Israelites worshipped God in the golden calf and golden calves; for (Exod. xxxii. 5.) they proclaimed "a feast to the Lord," and said (ver. 3. and 1 Kings xii. 28.) "Behold thy gods, O Israel, which brought thee up out of the land of Egypt:" so there are Christians who worship their Creator and Redeemer in an image, or in a crucifix, or in the sacramental bread. As the Israelites worshipped Baalim or departed heroes, and as the Psalmist saith (Psal. cvi. 28.), "ate the sacrifices of the dead:" so there are Christians who worship departed saints, and institute fasts and festivals, and offer up prayers and praises unto them. And as this apostasy overspread the church of Israel for many ages, so hath it for many ages too overspread the church of Christ. The apostasy therefore is the very same in both churches. The apostle foresaw and foretold it; and upon the mention of Israel's provocation, very properly admonished the Christians to beware of the like infidelity and apostasy, (Heb. iii. 12.) "Take heed, brethren, lest there be in any of you an evil heart of unbelief in departing (ἐν τῷ ἀποστῆναι, *in apostatizing*) from the living God."

II. It is more particularly shewn, wherein this apostasy should consist, in the following words, "giving heed to seducing spirits and doctrines of devils," or rather *giving heed to erroneous spirits and doctrines concerning demons.* For I conceive not the meaning to be, that this apostasy should proceed from the suggestion of evil spirits and instigation of devils. That would be no peculiar mark of distinction; that might be said of any wickedness in general, as well as of this in particular. The means too by which this apostasy should be propagated, and the persons who should propagate it, are described afterwards; so that this part is to be understood rather of things, than of persons, rather of the matter wherein this apostasy should consist, than of the first teachers and authors of it. *Spirits* seem to be much the same as *doctrines*, as Mr. Mede and other divines have observed the same word to be used also by St. John, (1 John iv. 1.) "Beloved, believe not every spirit (that is, every doctrine), but try the spirits (that is, the doctrines), whether they are of God; because many false prophets are gone out into the world." *Spirits* and *doctrines* therefore may be considered, the latter word as explanatory of the former: and *error* sometimes signifying *idolatry*,[3] *erroneous doctrines* may comprehend *idolatrous*, as well as *false* doctrines. But it is still farther added for explanation, that these doctrines should be "doctrines of devils" or *of demons;* where the genitive case is not to be taken actively, as if demons were the authors of these doctrines, but passively, as if demons were the subject of these doctrines. Thus "a doctrine of vanities" (*διδασκαλία ματαίων*, Jer. x. 8.) is a doctrine concerning vanities or idols. "The doctrine of the Lord" (*διδαχὴ τοῦ Κυρίου*, Acts xiii. 12.) is the doctrine concerning him: "Then the deputy when he saw what was done, believed, being astonished at the doctrine of the Lord." "The doctrines of baptism (*διδαχαὶ βαπτισμῶν*, Heb. vi. 2.) and of laying on of hands, and of resurrection of the dead, and of eternal judgment," are doctrines relating to all these particulars. And by the same construction *διδασκαλίαι δαιμονίων doctrines of demons*, are doctrines about and concerning demons. This is therefore a prophecy that the idolatrous theology of demons professed by the Gentiles should be revived among Christians. Christians should in process of time degenerate, and resemble the Gentiles as well as the apostate Jews. They should not only *apostatize* after the manner of the Jews, but should also *worship demons* after the manner of the Gentiles.

Demons, according to the theology of the Gentiles, were middle powers between the sovereign gods and mortal men. So saith Plato, the most competent judge and the most consummate writer in these subjects;[4] 'Every demon is a middle being between God and mortal man.' These demons were regarded as mediators and agents between the gods and men.

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[3] 'טעותא et טעות i. e. πλανη, Chaldæis et Targumistis est *idolum*: et טעא *πλανᾶσθαι* est *idola colere* et *scorturi*. Rom. i. 27. 2 Thess. ii. 2 Pet. ii. 13.' Mede, p. 626.

[4] *Καὶ γὰρ πᾶν τὸ δαιμόνιον μεταξύ ἐστι θεοῦ τε καὶ θνητοῦ. Omnis enim dæmonum natura inter deum et mortale est intermedia.* Platonis Sympos. § 28. p. 202.

So saith Plato again,[5] 'God is not approached by man, but all the commerce and intercourse between gods and men is by the mediation of demons. The demons, saith he, are interpreters and conveyers from men to the gods, and from the gods to men, of the supplications and sacrifices on the one part, and of the commands and rewards of sacrifices on the other.' Apuleius,[6] a later philosopher, giveth the like description. 'Demons are middle powers, by whom both our desires and deserts pass unto the gods; they are carriers between men on earth and the gods in heaven; hence of prayers, thence of gifts; they convey to and fro, hence petitions, thence supplies; or they are interpreters on both sides, and bearers of salutations; for it would not be, saith he, for the majesty of the celestial gods to take care of these things.' The whole is summed up by the said Apuleius in few words.[7] 'All things are done by the will, power, and authority of the celestial gods, but by the obedience, service, and ministry of the demons.' Of these demons there were accounted two kinds. One kind of demons were the souls of men deified or canonized after death. So Hesiod, one of the most ancient heathen writers, if not the most ancient, describing that happy race of men, who lived in the first and golden age of the world,[8] saith, that 'after this generation were dead, they were by the will of great Jupiter promoted to be demons, keepers of mortal men, observers of their good and evil works, givers of riches, &c; and this, saith he, is the royal honour that they enjoy.' Plato concurs with Hesiod,[9] and asserts that 'he and many other poets speak excellently, who affirm that when good men die, they attain great honour and dignity, and become demons.' The same Plato,[1] in another place maintains, that 'all those who die valiantly in war are of Hesiod's golden generation, and are made demons; and we ought for ever afterwards to serve and adore their sepulchres, as the sepulchres of demons. The same also we decree, whenever any of those, who were judged excellently good in life, die either of old age, or in any other manner.' The other kind of demons were such as had never been the souls of men, nor ever dwelt in mortal bodies. Thus Apuleius[2] informs us, 'There is another and higher kind of demons, who were always free from the incumbrances of the body; and out of this higher order Plato supposeth that guardians were appointed unto them.' Ammonius likewise in Plutarch[3] reckons two kinds of demons, 'souls separated from bodies, or such as had never inhabited bodies at all.' These latter demons may be paralleled with angels, as the former may with canonized saints: and as we Christians believe that there are good and evil angels, so did the Gentiles that there were good and evil demons. According to Plutarch,[4] 'it was a very ancient opinion, that there are certain wicked and malignant demons, who envy good men, and endeavour to hinder them in the pursuit of virtue, lest they should be partakers at last of greater happiness than they enjoy.' This was the opinion of all the later philosophers, and Plutarch undeniably affirms it of the very ancient ones.

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[5] ϑεὸς δὲ ἀνθρώπῳ οὐ μίγνυται, ἀλλὰ διὰ τούτου ϖᾶσά ἐστιν ἡ ὁμιλία καὶ ἡ διάλεκτος ϑεοῖς πρὸς ἀνθρώπους. *Deus autem cum homine non miscetur, sed per hanc dæmonum naturam commercium omne atque colloquium inter deos hominesque conficitur.* Ἑρμηνεῦον καὶ διαπορθμεῦον ϑεοῖς τὰ παρ' ἀνθρώπων, καὶ ἀνθρώποις τὰ παρὰ ϑεῶν, τῶν μὲν τὰς δεήσεις καὶ ϑυσίας, τῶν δὲ τὰς επιτάξεις τε καὶ ἀμοιβὰς τῶν ϑυσιῶν. *Interpretis et portitoris quasi munere fungitur, ut res humanas ad deos, divinas ad homines transmittat: horum quidem preces et sacrificia, illorum vero præcepta et sacrificiorum remunerationes.* Ibid. § 28. p. 202, 203.

[6] 'Mediæ potestates—per quas et desideria nostra et merita ad deos commeant—inter terricolas cœlicolasque vectores, hinc precum, inde donorum, qui ultro citroque portant hinc petitiones, inde suppetias, ceu quidam utrinque interpretes et salutigeri.—Neque enim pro majestate deûm cœlestium fuerit, hæc curare.' Apuleius de Deo Socratis, p. 674, 677. Edit. Delph.

[7] 'Cuncta cœlestium voluntate, numine, et auctoritate, sed dæmonum obsequio, et opera, et ministerio fieri arbitrandum est.' Ibid. p. 675.

[8] Αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ κεν τοῦτο γένος κατὰ γαῖα κάλυψεν,
Τοὶ μὲν δαίμονές εἰσι, Διὸς μεγάλου διὰ βουλὰς,
Ἐσθλοὶ, ἐπιχθόνιοι, [ἀλεξίκακοι] φύλακες ϑνητῶν ἀνθρώπων·
Οἵ ῥα φυλάσσουσίν τε δίκας καὶ σχέτλια ἔργα,
Ἠέρα ἑσσάμενοι, πάντη φοιτῶντες ἐπ' αἶαν,
Πλουτοδόται· καὶ τοῦτο γέρας βασιλήϊον ἔσχον.
Verum postquam hoc genus terra abscondit
Ii quidem divi facti sunt, Jovis magni consilio,
Boni, in terris versantes, custodes mortalium hominum.
Qui quidem observant judicia et prava opera,
Caligine amicti, passim euntes per terram,
Opum datores: atque hoc munus regale consecuti sunt.
Hesiod. Op. et Dier. l. 1. 120.

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[9] λέγει οὖν καλῶς καὶ οὗτος καὶ ἄλλοι ποιηταὶ πολλοὶ, ὅσοι λέγουσιν, ὡς ἐπειδάν τις ἀγαθὸς ὢν τελευτήσῃ, μεγάλην μοῖραν καὶ τιμὴν ἔχει, καὶ γίνεται δαίμων. *Præclare igitur et hic et alii poetæ, quicunque, affirmant eum qui bonus sit, ubi mortuus fuerit, magnæ cujusdam sortis consequi dignitatem, et δαιμονα esse.* Platonis Cratylus, § 33. p. 398.

[1] Τῶν δὲ δὴ ἀποθανόντων ἐπὶ στρατείας, ὃς ἂν εὐδοκιμήσας τελευτήσῃ, ἆρ᾽ οὐ πρῶτον μὲν φήσομεν τοῦ χρυσοῦ γένους εἶναι; Πάντων γε μάλιστα. Ἀλλ᾽ οὐ πεισόμεθα Ἡσιόδῳ; ἐπειδάν τινες τοῦ τοιούτου γένους τελευτήσωσιν, ὡς ἄρα.

Οἱ μὲν δαίμονες——
καὶ τὸν λοιπὸν δὴ χρόνον, ὡς δαιμόνων, οὕτω θεραπεύσομέν τε καὶ προσκυνήσομεν αὐτῶν τὰς θήκας; ταῦτα δὲ ταύτῃ νομιοῦμεν ὅταν τις γήρᾳ ἢ τινι ἄλλῳ τρόπῳ τελευτήσῃ τῶν ὅσοι ἂν διαφερόντως ἐν τῷ βίῳ ἀγαθοὶ κριθῶσιν. *Eum vero qui re præclarè gesta in bello occubuerit, nonne dicemus ad genus aureum pertinere? Maxime omnium. Nonne Hesiodi sententiam sequemur? quod videlicet illi homines, qui ex aureo illo fuerint genere, ubi primum fato concesserint.*

Dæmones existunt,——
Reliquum autem tempus eorum sepulcra veluti dæmonum colemus, et divinis honoribus prosequemur. Eadem quoque granciemus, atque exhibebimus iis, qui quum singularis cujusdam probitatis, dignitate excelluerint, vel senio vel alio quopiam modo e vita excesserint. Plato de Repub. l. 5. § 15. p. 468.

[2] 'Superius aliud augustiusque dæmonum genus, qui semper a corporis compedibus et nexibus liberi—Ex hac sublimiori dæmonum copia autumat Plato singulis hominibus in vita agenda testes et custodes singulos additos.' Apuleius de Deo Socratis, p. 690, ed. Delph.

[3] αἱ διακριθεῖσαι σώματος ἢ μὴ μετασχοῦσαι τὸ παράπαν ψυχαί. *animi secreti a corporibus, aut omnino quibus nullum est cum corporibus commercium.* Plut. de Defect. Orac. § 39.

[4] τῶν πάνυ παλαιῶν—λόγον, ὡς τὰ φαῦλα δαιμόνια καὶ βάσκανα, προσφθονοῦντα τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ἀνδράσιν, καὶ ταῖς πράξεσιν ἐνιστάμενα, ταραχὰς καὶ φόβους ἐπάγει, σείοντα καὶ σφάλλοντα τὴν ἀρετήν· ὡς μὴ διαμείναντες ἀπτῶτες ἐν τῷ καλῷ καὶ ἀκέραιοι, βελτίονος ἐκείνων μοίρας μετὰ τὴν τελευτὴν τύχωσιν. *ex veteribus opinionibus—mala dæmonia et invida esse bonis viris æmulantia, quæ, quo obstrepant illorum actionibus, commotiones iis et pavores invehant, hisque concutiant et impellant virtutem, ne erecti et integri in virtute permanentes, potiorem quam ipsi consequantur a fatis sortem.* Plut. Dion. § 2.

But here it is objected, that though this might be the notion of the Gentiles concerning demons, yet the Scripture account of them is very different: for in the Scriptures, as St. Austin[5] observes, we never read of good demons; but wheresoever in those writings the name of demon occurs, none but evil spirits are meant: and it must be confessed and allowed, that this is the most usual signification of the word; but some instances may be alleged to the contrary. When St. Paul was at Athens, and preached the gospel in that city, "certain philosophers of the Epicureans and of the Stoics encountered him," (Acts xvii. 18.) and charged him with being "a setter forth of strange gods (*ξένων δαιμονίων, of strange demons*), because he preached unto them Jesus and the resurrection." Here *demons* cannot possibly signify *devils*, but must necessarily refer to Jesus, who according to Paul's preaching (ver. 31.) was "raised from the dead," and appointed to be the Lord and Judge of the world. At the same time the apostle retorts the charge upon the Athenians, (ver. 22.) "Ye men of Athens, I perceive that in all things ye are too superstitious," *δεισιδαιμονεστέρους, too much addicted to the worship of demons;* and they worshipped demons or dead men deified in abundance: but he declared unto them (ver. 24.) "God who made the world, and all things therein." St. Paul in his first epistle thus exhorts the Corinthians (1 Cor. x. 14. 20, 21.) "Flee from idolatry. The things which the Gentiles sacrifice, they sacrifice to devils (*δαιμονίοις, to demons*) and not to God: and I would not that ye should have fellowship with devils (*δαιμονίοις, demons*). Ye cannot drink the cup of the Lord, and the cup of devils (*δαιμονίων, of demons*); ye cannot be partakers of the Lord's table, and of the table of devils (*δαιμονίων, of demons*)." The apostle is here shewing the great inconsistency of the Christian worship with the idolatrous worship performed by the Heathens. The Heathens worshipped Jupiter, Apollo, Venus, and numberless other beings, who were reputed demons, but who were properly deceased men and women deified. Corinth in particular[6] was much devoted to the worship of Venus; there she had a most magnificent temple and service; and the city was called the city of Venus. The apostle therefore declares that all such worship is utterly inconsistent with the true worship of Christ. For that would be acknowledging him for their only Lord, and at the same time acknowledging other lords. And (ver. 22.) "do we provoke the Lord to jealousy; are we stronger than he?" These passages, together with the text that we are considering, are, I think, all the places in St. Paul's discourses or epistles, where the word *demon* occurs: and as he was of all the apostles the most learned in the philosophy and theology of the Gentiles, and as he was speaking and writing to Gentiles, that might be the reason of his adopting the same notion of demons. He had plainly alluded to this notion a little before in the same epistle to the Corinthians, (1 Cor. viii. 4—6.) and the passage cannot be so well understood without it. "There is none other God but one. For though there be that are called gods, whether in heaven or in earth" (whether 'Dii cælestes,' *celestial gods,* as they are usually denominated, or *δαίμονες ἐπιχθόνιοι, earthly demons,* as they are named by Hesiod, mediators and agents between heaven and earth): as there be gods many and lords many" (as the Gentiles acknowledge a plurality of such superior and inferior deities); but to us Christians there is but one God the Father, of whom are all things, and we in him (*εἰς αὐτὸν, we to him* are to direct all our services); and one Lord Jesus Christ, by whom are all things, and we by him," *δι' αὐτοῦ, we by* or *through him* alone have access unto the Father. They have a multitude of gods and lords, but we have only one of each sort. It is the same doctrine that he inculcates likewise in his first epistle to Timothy, (ii. 5) "For there is one God, and one mediator between God and man, the man Christ Jesus." As St. Paul here foretels that Christians in the latter times should attend to *doctrines concerning demons,* so St. John also foretels (Rev. ix. 20.) that notwithstanding the plagues of the Arabian locusts and of the Euphratéan horsemen, "yet they should not repent of the works of their hands, that they should not worship devils," *δαιμόνια, demons,* where the word is plainly used in the same sense as by St. Paul: for Christians never actually worshipped *devils,* but they worshipped *demons,* deceased men and women and angels, "and idols of gold and silver, and brass, and stone, and of wood, which neither can see, nor hear, nor walk;" and they still continue to worship them, notwithstanding the grievous calamities inflicted on the Christian church by the Saracens first, and by the Turks afterwards, as we shall see in the proper place.

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[5] —'Nunquam vero bonos dæmones legimus: sed ubicunque illarum literarum hoc nomen positum reperitur, sive dæmones, sive dæmonia dicantur, non nisi maligni significantur spiritus.' Augustin. de Civitat. Dei. l. 6. c. 19.

[6] Strabo, l. 8. et Euripides apud Strabonem, p. 581, 582.

There is a passage in Epiphanius, which will very much illustrate and confirm our explanation of St. Paul. That father, who was very zealous against the worship of saints and images, which was then springing up in the church, loudly complains of some Arabian Christians, who made a goddess of the blessed Virgin, and offered a cake to her as to the queen of heaven.

He condemns their heresy as impious and abominable,[7] and declares that 'upon these also is fulfilled that of the apostle, *Some shall apostatize from the sound doctrine, giving heed to fables and doctrines of demons; for they shall be,* saith the apostle, *worshippers of the dead, as in Israel also they were worshipped,*' meaning the Baalim and Ashtaroth who were worshipped by the children of Israel. It is observable that he explains, as well as recites the words of the apostle. He expounds *the faith* by *the sound doctrine, erroneous spirits* by *fables,* and *doctrines of demons* by *worshipping of the dead;* and to shew more particularly what he meant, he subjoins two examples more of such worship; one of the Sichemites, who had a goddess under the title of Jephthah's daughter; and the other of the Egyptians, who worshipped Thermutis, that daughter of Pharaoh, who was at the charge of educating Moses. Now whether this latter clause, *For they shall be worshippers of the dead, as in Israel also they were worshipped,* be genuine or not, it may serve our purpose in some measure either way. If it was the original text of St. Paul, as[8] Beza and more particularly Mr. Mann contend, then the point that we have been proving is established beyond all possible contradiction. If it was only a marginal reading added by way of explication, as[9] Mr. Mede and Dr. Mill suppose, it still evinces that Epiphanius, and some before his time, understood the passage in the same manner that we have explained it. The apostle delivers the prophecy as a *plain* and *express* one; and it cannot be denied, that the passage is much improved, and the sense is made much clearer by this addition. Epiphanius too recites this addition, as the very words of the apostle; and a man of his character for probity and piety would not be guilty of forging such a testimony. If it be not quoted by other fathers, nor appear in other copies, it is probable that the fathers, who began this worship very early, would not be forward to produce a text to their own conviction and confusion; and it is possible that when this worship prevailed almost universally, a text which so plainly condemned it, might be wholly omitted; as in later times, for the same reason, we have seen [1] in some catechisms and manuals of devotion, the second left out of the ten commandments, and the tenth divided into two to make up the number. It ought not indeed to be concealed, that Clemens Alexandrinus, a celebrated father and writer of the second century, hath [2] cited this passage of St. Paul, just as it appears in our present copies, which is a considerable argument in support of the common reading. But possibly the same person who left the words in question out of St. Paul, might also leave them out of Clemens Alexandrinus; and they might have struck them out of Epiphanius too, if they had been equally aware of them, or if the thing had been equally practicable, and the context would have suffered it without the most palpable discovery of the fraud. Upon the whole it may be concluded concerning this passage in Epiphanius, that if it does not exhibit the genuine reading, yet at least it establisheth the genuine sense and meaning of the text of St. Paul.

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[7] πληροῦται γὰρ καὶ ἐπὶ τούτους τὸ, ἀποστήσονταί τινες τῆς ὑγιοῦς διδασκαλίας, προσέχοντες μύθοις καὶ διδασκαλίαις δαιμονίων. ἔσονται γὰρ, φησὶ νεκροῖς λατρεύοντες, ὡς καὶ ἐν τῷ Ἰσραὴλ ἐσεβάσθησαν. *Hoc enim in ipsis impletur; Deficient quidem a sana doctrina, intendentes fabulis, et doctrinis dæmoniorum: erunt enim inquit, mortuos colentes, quemadmodum apud Israelitas honore sunt affecti.* Epiphan. adv. Hær. 8. hær. 78. c. 23.

[8] Beza in locum, Mr. Mann's Critical Notes on some passages of Scripture, p. 92—103.

[9] Mede's Works, p. 637. Mill. in locum.

[1] Bishop Stillingfleet, in his *Doctrines and Practices of the Church of Rome,* in answer to the author of *A Papist misrepresented and represented,* treating of the second commandment, says, 'The dispute about this is not Whether the second commandment may be found in any of their books, but by what authority it comes to be left out in any; as he confesses it is in their short catechisms and manuals:

It appears then that *the doctrines of demons*, which prevailed so long in the Heathen world, should be revived and established in the Christian church: and is not the worship of saints and angels now in all respects the same that the worship of demons was in former times? The name only is different, the thing is identically the same. The Heathens, as we see, looked upon their demons as mediators and intercessors between God and men: and are not the saints and angels regarded in the same light by many professed Christians? Some tendency to the worshipping of angels was observed even in the apostle's time, insomuch that he thought proper to give this caution to the Colossians, (ii. 18.) "Let no man beguile you of your reward, in a voluntary humility and worshipping of angels:" and this admonition, we may suppose, checked and suppressed this worship for some generations. The worshipping of the dead was not introduced so early into the church; it was advanced by slower degrees; and what was at first nothing more than a pious and decent respect to the memory of saints and martyrs, degenerated at last into an impious and idolatrous adoration. At first [3] annual festivals were instituted to their honour; the next step was praying in

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but not only in these, for I have now before me the Reformed Office of the Blessed Virgin printed at Salamanca, A. D. 1588. published by order of Pius V. where it is so left out; and so in the English Office at Antwerp, A. D. 1658. I wish he had told us in what public office of their church it is to be found.' Stillingfleet's Works, vol. 6. p. 572. See also Adrichomii Theatrum Terræ Sancta, p. 212 et 300. where the ten commandments are thus ranged and divided. '1 Se Deum unum colant, idolis rejectis. 2. Suum nomen in vanum ne assumant. 3. Sabbata significent. 4. Parentes honorent. 5. Non occidant. 6. Non mæchentur. 7. Non furentur. 8. Falsè ne testentur. 9. Non concupiscant proximi uxorem. 10. Non rem ejus quamcunque.'

[2] Clem. Alex. Stromat. l. 3. p. 550. edit. Potter.

[3] See these particulars historically deduced in Sir Isaac Newton's Observations on Daniel, c. 14. p. 203—231.

the cœmeteries at their sepulchres; then their bodies were translated into churches; then a power of working miracles was attributed to their dead bodies, bones, and other relics; then their wonder-working relics were conveyed from place to place, and distributed among the other churches; then they were invocated and adored for performing such miracles, for assisting men in their devotions, and interceding for them with God; and not only the churches, but even the fields and highways were filled with altars for invoking them.

As early as the time of Constantine, the first Christian emperor, we find Eusebius, one of the best and most learned of the fathers, quoting and approving Hesiod's and Plato's notions before-mentioned concerning demons, and then adding,[4] 'These things are befitting upon the decease of the favourites of God, whom you may properly call the champions of the true religion: Whence it is our custom to assemble at their sepulchres, and to make our prayers at them, and to honour their blessed souls.' Here Eusebius compares the saints and martyrs with the demons of the Gentiles, and esteems them worthy of the same honour. The famous Antony, who was one of the great founders of monkery, gave it in charge[5] to the monks with his dying breath, 'To take care and adhere to Christ in the first place, and then to the saints, that after death they may receive you as friends and acquaintance into the everlasting tabernacles.' His advice was but too well followed; and the emperor Julian[6] reproacheth the Christians for adding many new dead men to that ancient dead man, Jesus. All the fathers almost of the fourth and fifth centuries contributed too much to the support and propagation of this superstition: and Theodoret in particular, having cited the same passages of Hesiod and Plato,[7] reasons thus, 'If then the poet hath called good men, after their decease, the deliverers and guardians of mortal men; and the best of philosophers hath confirmed the poet's saying, and asserted that we ought to serve and adore their sepulchres; why I beseech you, sirs (speaking to the Greeks), do you blame these things which are done by us; for such as were illustrious for piety, and for the sake thereof received martyrdom, we also name deliverers and physicians, not calling them demons, (let us not be so desperately mad) but the friends and sincere servants of God.' Here Theodoret plainly allows the thing, and only disapproves the name. Again he[8] saith in the same exalted strain concerning the martyrs, 'They who are well pray for the continuance of health, and they who have been long sick pray for recovery; the barren also pray for children; and they who are to make a long journey desire them to be their companions and guides in the way; not going to them as gods, but applying to them as to divine men, and beseeching them to become intercessors for them with God.' Nay he saith,[9] 'that the martyrs have blotted out of the minds of men the memory of those who were called gods. For our Lord hath brought his dead into the place of your gods, whom he hath utterly abolished, and hath given their honour to the martyrs: for instead of the feasts of Jupiter and of Bacchus are now celebrated the festivals of Peter, and Paul, and Thomas, and the other martyrs. Wherefore, seeing the advantage of honouring the martyrs, fly, O friends, from the error of the demons;

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[4] Καὶ ταῦτα δὲ ἁρμόζει ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν θεοφίλων τελευτῇ, οὓς στρατιώτας τῆς ἀληθοῦς εὐσεβείας οὐκ ἂν ἁμάρτοις εἰπὼν, παραλαμβάνεσθαι. ὅθεν καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς θήκας αὐτῶν ἔθος ἡμῖν παριέναι, καὶ τὰς εὐχὰς παρὰ ταύταις ποιεῖσθαι, τιμᾷ τε τὰς μακαρίας ἀυτῶν ψυχάς. *Quæ quidem in hominum Deo carissimorum obitus egregie conveniunt, quos veræ pietatis milites jure appellaris. Nam et eorum sepulcra celebrare, et preces ibi votaque nuncupare, et beatas illorum animas venerari consuevimus.* Euseb. Præp. Evang. l. 13. c. 11.

[5] σπουδάσατε δὲ μᾶλλον καὶ ὑμεῖς ἀεὶ συνάπτειν ἑαυτοὺς, προηγουμένως μὲν τῷ κυρίῳ, ἔπειτα δὲ τοῖς ἁγίοις· ἵνα μετὰ θάνατον ὑμᾶς εἰς τὰς αἰωνίους σκηνὰς, ὡς φίλους καὶ γνωρίμους, δέξωνται καὶ αὐτοί. *Id curate ut in primis vos Domino, dehinc Sanctis adjungatis: ut post mortem vos in æterna tabernacula, quasi amicos notosque sibi recipiant.* Athanas. Vit. Anton. c. 91.

[6] — πολλοὺς ἐπεισάγοντες τῷ πάλαι νεκρῷ τοὺς προσφάτους νεκροὺς—*additis ad priscum illum mortuum novis mortuis*—Apud Cyril. Alex. adv. Julian. l. 10. p. 335.

[7] Εἰ τοίνυν καὶ ὁ ποιητὴς καὶ ἐσθλοὺς καὶ ἀλεξεκάκους καὶ φύλακας θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων, τοὺς ἄριστα βιβιωκότας, εἶτα τελευτήσαντας, προσηγόρευσεν· ἐκράτυνε δὲ τόνδε τὸν λόγον τῶν φιλοσόφων ὁ ἄριστος, καὶ χρῆναι ἔφη καὶ θεραπεύειν τούτων καὶ προσκυνεῖν τὰς θήκας· τί δῆτα μέμφεσθε τοῖς παρ' ἡμῶν γιγνομένοις, ὦ βέλτιστοι; τοὺς γὰρ ἐν εὐσεβείᾳ λάμψαντας, καὶ ὑπὲρ ταύτης τὴν σφαγὴν δεξαμένους, ἀλεξικάκους ἡμεῖς καὶ ἰατροὺς ὀνομάζομεν· οὐ δαίμονας καλοῦντες· μὴ οὕτω λυττήσαιμεν; ἀλλὰ θεοῦ φίλους καὶ εὔνους θεράποντας. *Quod si poeta, et bonos, et malorum depulsores, et custodes mortalium vocavit eos, qui optime vixerunt, deinde mortui sunt: ejusque sententiam philosophorum præstantissimus confirmavit, atque horum sepulcra colenda et*

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adoranda censuit; quæ a nobis fiunt, optimi viri, cur damnatis? Nos enim pari modo, eos qui pietate claruerunt, proque ea cæsi sunt, malorum depulsores, et medicos nominamus, dæmonas non appellamus, (absit a nobis hic furor) sed Dei amicos servosque benevolos. Theod. Serm. 8. De Martyribus, p. 602. tom. 4.

[8] οἱ μὲν ὑγιαίνοντες, αἰτοῦσι τῆς ὑγιείας τὴν φυλακήν· οἱ δὲ τινὶ νόσῳ παλαίοντες, τὴν τῶν παθημάτων ἀπαλλαγήν· αἰτοῦσι δὲ καὶ ἄγονοι παῖδας—καὶ οἱ μὲν εἴς τινα ἀποδημίαν στελλόμενοι λιπαροῦσι τούτους ξυνοδοιπόρους γενέσθαι, καὶ τῆς ὁδοῦ ἡγεμόνας—οὐχ ὡς θεοῖς αὐτοῖς προσιόντες, ἀλλ' ὡς θείους ἀνθρώπους ἀντιβολοῦντες, καὶ γενέσθαι πρεσβευτὰς ὑπὲρ σφῶν παρακαλοῦντες. *Qui integra sunt valetudine, hanc sibi conservari, qui autem morbo quopiam conflictantur, hunc depelli petunt. Petunt et liberos qui his carent—Qui peregrinationem aliquam auspicantur, ab his petunt, ut viæ sibi comites sint, ducesque itineris—non illos adeuntes ut deos, sed tanquam divinos homines eos orantes, intercessoresque sibi ut esse velint postulantes.* Ibid. p. 605.

[9] καὶ γάρ αὐτῶν τῶν καλουμένων θεῶν τὴν μνήμην ἐκ τῆς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐξήλειψαν διανοίας——τοὺς γὰρ οἰκείους νεκροὺς ὁ δεσπότης ἀντεισῆξε τοῖς ὑμετέροις θεοῖς· καὶ τοὺς μὲν φρούδους ἀπέφηνε, τούτοις δὲ τὰ ἐκείνων ἀπένειμε γέρα. ἀντὶ γὰρ δὴ τῶν Πανδίων, καὶ Διονυσίων—Πέτρου, καὶ Παύλου, καὶ Θωμᾶ—καὶ τῶν ἄλλων μαρτύρων, ἐπιτελοῦνται δημοθοινίαι—οἱ ὦντες τοίνυν τῆς τῶν μαρτύρων τιμῆς τὸ ὠφέλιμον, φεύγετε, ὦ φίλοι, τῶν δαιμόνων τὸν πλάνον, καὶ τούτοις φωστῆρσι καὶ ποδηγοῖς κεχρημένοι, τὴν πρὸς Θεὸν ἄγουσαν πορείαν ὁδεύσατε.——*cum eorum quoque qui passim dii ferebantur, memoriam e mente hominum oboleverint—suos enim mortuos dominus deus noster in templa pro diis vestris induxit: ac illos quidem cassos vanosque reddidit, his autem honorem illorum attribuit. Pro Pandiis enim ac Dionysiis—Petri, et Pauli, et Thomæ—aliorumque martyrum, solemnitates peragunter.—Cum igitur ex honore martyribus delato quid utilitatis proveniat cernatis, fugite, amici, dæmonum errorem, præviaque illorum face atque ductu, viam capessite, quæ ad deum perducit.* Ibid. p. 606, 607.

and using the martyrs as lights and guides, pursue the way which leadeth directly to God.' Here are *the doctrines of demons* evidently revived, only the name is altered, and the saints are substituted for the demons, the Divi or deified men of the Christians for the Divi or deified men of the Heathens.

The promoters of this worship were sensible that it was the same, and that the one succeeded to the other; and as the worship is the same, so likewise is it performed with the same ceremonies, whether these ceremonies were derived from the same source of superstition common to the whole race of mankind, or were the direct copies of one another. The [1] burning of incense or perfumes on several altars at one and the same time; the sprinkling of holy water, or a mixture of salt and common water, at going into and coming out of places of public worship; the lighting up of a great number of lamps and wax-candles, in broad day-light, before the altars and statues of their deities; the hanging up of votive offerings and rich presents as attestations of so many miraculous cures and deliverances from diseases and dangers; the canonization or deification of deceased worthies; the assigning of distinct provinces or prefectures to departed heroes and saints; the worshipping and adoring of the dead in their sepulchres, shrines, and relics; the consecration and bowing down to images; the attributing of miraculous powers and virtues to idols; the setting up of little oratories, altars, and statues, in the streets and highways, and on the tops of mountains; the carrying of images and relics in pompous processions with numerous lights, and with music and singing; flagellations at solemn seasons, under the notion of penance; the making a sanctuary of temples and churches; a great variety of religious orders and fraternities of priests; the shaving of priests, or the tonsure, as it is called, on the crown of their heads; the imposing of celibacy and vows of chastity on the religious of both sexes; all these and many more rites and ceremonies are equally parts of Pagan and of Popish superstition. Nay, the very same temples, the very same altars, the very same images, which once were consecrated to Jupiter and the other demons, are now reconsecrated to the Virgin Mary and the other saints. The very same titles and inscriptions are inscribed to both; the very same prodigies and miracles are related of these as of those. In short the whole almost of Paganism is converted and applied to Popery; the one is manifestly formed upon the same plan and principles as the other; so that there is not only a conformity, but even an uniformity in the worship of ancient and modern, of Heathen and Christian Rome.

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[1] The reader may see this conformity between Popery and Paganism proved at large by Dr. Henry More in his Second Part of the Mystery of Iniquity, b. i. c. 17. by Dr. Middleton in his Letter from Rome, by Mr. Seward in his Dissertation on the Conformity between Popery and Paganism, and other learned and ingenious authors.

III. Such an apostasy as this, of reviving *the doctrines of demons* and worshipping the dead, was not likely to succeed and take place immediately; it should prevail and prosper *in the latter times.* The phrase of *the latter times* or *days,* or *the last times* or *days,* as it hath been observed upon a former occasion,[2] signifies any time yet to come; but denotes more particularly the times of Christianity. So we find it used by some of the ancient prophets, as for example Isaiah, Micah, and Joel. Isaiah saith, (ii. 2.) "And it shall come to pass in the last days, that the mountain of the Lord's house shall be established in the top of the mountains, and shall be exalted above the hills; and all nations shall flow unto it." Micah to the same purpose, and almost in the same words, (iv. 1.) "But in the last days it shall come to pass, that the mountain of the house of the Lord shall be established in the top of the mountains, and it shall be exalted above the hills, and people shall flow unto it." And Joel, as he is quoted by St. Peter, (Acts ii. 16, 17.) "But this is that which was spoken by the prophet Joel; And it shall come to pass, in the last days (saith God), I will pour out of my Spirit upon all flesh." The times of Christianity may properly be called *the latter times* or *days,* or *the last times* or *days,* because it is the last of all God's revelations to mankind. Daniel also, having measured all future time by the succession of four principal kingdoms, and having affirmed that the kingdom of Christ should be set up during the last of the four kingdoms, the phrase of *the latter times* or *days,* or of *the last times* or *days,* may still more properly signify the times of the Christian dispensation. Thus it is applied by the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews, (Heb. i. 1, 2.) "God, who, at sundry times, and in divers manners, spake in time past unto the fathers by the prophets, hath in these last days spoken unto us by his Son." Thus also St. Peter, (1 Pet. i. 20.) Christ "verily was fore-ordained before the foundation of the world, but was manifest in these last times for you."

But there is a farther notation of time in the prophet Daniel; there are the last times taken singly and comparatively, or the latter times (as I may say after Mr. Mede) of the last times, which are the times of the little horn or of Antichrist, (Dan. vii.) who should arise during the latter part of the last of the four kingdoms, and should be destroyed together with it, after having continued "a time, and times, and half a time." What these times signify, and how they are to be computed, hath been shewn in a former dissertation:[3] and it is in reference to these times especially, that many things under the gospel-dispensation are predicted to fall out *in the latter times* or *days*, or in *the last times* or *days*. So St. Peter speaketh, (2 Pet. iii. 3.) "There shall come in the last days scoffers walking after their own lusts." So St. Jude, (ver. 17, 18.) "Beloved, remember ye the words which were spoken before of the apostles of our Lord Jesus Christ; how that they told you, there should be mockers in the last time, who should walk after their own ungodly lusts." So likewise St. Paul, (2 Tim. iii. 1.) "This know also that in the last days perilous times shall come." These also are *the latter times* spoken of in the text. In these times the worship of the dead should principally prevail; and that it hath so prevailed, all mankind can testify. The practice might begin before, but the popes have authorised and established it by law. The popish worship is more the worship of demons than of God or Christ.

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[2] In Dissertation IV.

[3] In Dissertation XIV.

IV. Another remarkable peculiarity of this prophecy is the solemn and emphatic manner, in which it is delivered, "The Spirit speaketh expressly." Every one will readily apprehend, that by *the Spirit* is meant the Holy Spirit of God, which inspired the prophets and apostles. So "the Spirit (Acts viii. 29.) said unto Philip, Go near, and join thyself to this chariot." So "the Spirit (Acts x. 19.) said unto Peter, Behold three men seek thee." So "the Spirit (Rev. xiv. 13.) saith, Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord, that they may rest from their labours." But these things the Spirit only *said;* it is not affirmed, that he said them *expressly*. The Spirit's *speaking expressly*, as Erasmus[4] and others expound it, is his speaking precisely and certainly, not obscurely and involvedly, as he is wont to speak in the prophets: and Whitby argues farther, that in those times of prophecy, when the prophets had the government of the churches, and spake still in the public assemblies, it might reasonably be said, "The Spirit speaketh expressly," what they taught expressly in the church. St. Paul had indeed before predicted this *apostasy*, both in discourse and in a letter to the Thessalonians, and he is by some supposed to refer to that epistle in this place. But though the predictions are alike, yet they are not *expressly* the same; the general subject is the same in both, but the particular circumstances are different, so that the one cannot be said to be copied from the other. There the apostasy is predicted, here it is specified wherein it is to consist. I would therefore prefer Mr. Mede's interpretation, that "the Spirit speaketh expressly" what he speaketh in express words in some place or other of divine writ: and the Spirit hath spoken the same things in express words before in the prophecy of Daniel. Daniel hath foretold in express words the worship of new demons or demi-gods: (Dan. xi. 38.) "And with God (or instead of God) Mahuzzim in his estate shall he honour; even with God (*or instead of God*) those whom his fathers knew not shall he honour with gold and silver, and with precious stones, and desirable things." The *Mahuzzim* of Daniel are the same as the *Demons* of St. Paul, gods-protectors or saints-protectors, defenders and guardians of mankind. Daniel also hath foretold in express words, that this worship should be accompanied with a prohibition of marriage: (ver. 37.) "Neither shall he regard the God of his fathers, nor the desire of women," that is, he shall neglect and discourage *the desire of wives*, and all conjugal affection. Daniel hath likewise intimated that this worship should take place *in the latter times;* for he hath described it in the latter part of his prophecy, and these times he hath expressly named "a time, and times, and half a time." If the reader hath been at the trouble of perusing the latter dissertation upon the eleventh chapter of Daniel, he will more easily perceive the connexion and resemblance between the two prophecies. This therefore is a prophecy not dictated merely by private suggestion and inspiration, but taken out of the written word. It is a prophecy not only of St. Paul, but of Daniel too, or rather of Daniel confirmed and approved by St. Paul.

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[4] 'Ῥητῶς præscripte sive præcise, non obscure et involute, quemadmodum loqui solet in prophetis.' Erasm. in loc. Whitby ibid.

V. Having shewn wherein the great apostasy of the latter times consists, namely, in reviving the doctrines concerning demons and worshipping the dead, the apostle proceeds to describe by what means and by what persons it should be propagated and established in the world: "Speaking lies in hypocrisy, having their conscience seared with a hot iron;" or rather, *Through the hypocrisy of liars, having their conscience seared with a hot iron.* For the preposition ἐν *in* often signifies as well *by* or *through:* as in St. Mark's Gospel, (ix. 29.) "This kind can come forth by nothing but (*ἐν προσευχῇ καὶ νηστείᾳ*) by prayer and fasting:" and again in the Acts of the Apostles, (xvii. 31.) "God hath appointed a day in the which he will judge the world in righteousness (*ἐν ἀνδρὶ*) by that man whom he hath ordained:" and again in St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans, (xii. 21.) "Be not overcome of evil, but overcome evil (*ἐν ἀγαθῷ*, *by* or) with good:" and again in St. Paul's Epistle to Titus, (i. 9.) "That he may be able (*ἐν διδασκαλίᾳ ὑγιαινοῦσῃ*) by sound doctrine both to exhort and to convince the gainsayers:" and so likewise in the text, *ἐν ὑποκρίσει*, *by* or *through hypocrisy. Liars* too, or *speaking lies*, *ψευδολόγων*, cannot possibly be joined in construction with *τινὲς some*, and *προσέχοντες giving heed*, because they are in the nominative case, and this is in the genitive. Neither can it well be joined in construction with *δαιμονίων demons* or *devils;* for how can *demons* or *devils* be said to *speak* *lies in hypocrisy*, and to *have their conscience seared with a hot iron?* Besides if *δαιμονιών demons* be taken for *devils*, and not in the sense that we have explained it, nor with the addition of Epiphanius, then it is not expressed at all, wherein the great apostasy of the latter times consists. The "forbidding to marry and commanding to abstain from meats" are circumstances only and appendages of the great apostasy, and not the great apostasy itself, which is always represented in Scripture as *spiritual fornication* or *idolatry* of one kind or other, and it is not likely that the apostle should specify the circumstantial errors, and omit the main and capital crime. In this place it is not the great apostasy that he is describing, but the characters and qualities of the authors and promoters of it. Castalio therefore very properly translates[5] *ἐν ὑποκρίσει ψευδολόγων, through the dissimulation of men speaking lies:* I have added *men*, says he, lest *speaking lies* and what follows should be referred to *demons* or devils. It is plain then that the great apostasy of the latter times was to prevail *through the hypocrisy of liars having their conscience seared with a hot iron:* and hath not the great idolatry of Christians, and the worship of the dead particularly, been diffused and advanced in the world by such instruments and agents, who have (Rom. i. 25.) "changed the truth of God into a lie, and worshipped and served the creature more than the Creator, who is blessed for ever?" It is impossible to relate or enumerate all the various falsehoods and lies, which have been invented and propagated for this purpose; the fabulous books forged under the names of apostles, saints, and martyrs; the fabulous legends of their lives, actions, sufferings, and deaths; the fabulous miracles ascribed to their sepulchres, bones, and other relics; the fabulous dreams and revelations, visions and apparitions of the dead to the living; and even the fabulous saints, who never existed but in the imagination of their worshippers: And all these stories the monks, the priests, the bishops of the church, have imposed and obtruded upon mankind, it is difficult to say, whether with greater artifice or cruelty, with greater confidence or hypocrisy and pretended sanctity, a more hardened face or a more hardened conscience. The history of the church, saith Pascal, *is the history of truth;* but as written by bigoted papists, it is rather the *history of lies*. So well doth this prophecy coincide and agree with the preceding one, that *the coming of the man of sin* should be "after the working of Satan, with all power, and signs, and lying wonders, and with all deceivableness of unrighteousness."

VI. A farther character of these men is given in the following words, "Forbidding to marry." The same hypocritical liars, who should promote the worship of demons, should also prohibit lawful marriage. Saturninus or Saturnilus, who flourished in the second century, was, as Theodoret[6] affirms, the first Christian, who declared matrimony to be the doctrine of the devil, and exhorted men to abstain from animal food. But according[7] to Irenæus and Eusebius, Tatian who had been a disciple of Justin Martyr, was the first author of this heresy; at least he concurred in opinion with Saturninus and Marcion; and their followers were called *the Continents*, from their continence in regard to marriage and meats. The Gnostics likewise, as Irenæus and Clemens Alexandrinus[8] inform us, asserted that to marry and beget children proceeded from the devil; and under pretence of continence were impious both against the creature and Creator, teaching that men ought not to bring into the world other unhappy persons, nor supply food for death. Other heretics in the third century advanced the same doctrines, but they were generally reputed heretics, and their doctrines were condemned by the church. The council of Eliberis in Spain, which was held in the year of Christ 305, was I think the first, that by public authority[9] forbade the clergy to marry, and commanded even those who were married to abstain altogether from their wives. The council of Neocæsarea, in the year 314, only[1] forbade unmarried presbyters to marry on the penalty of degradation. At the first general council of Nice, in the year 325, a motion was[2] made to restrain the clergy from all conjugal society with their wives: but it was strongly opposed by Paphnutius, a famous Egyptian bishop, who yet himself was never married; and to him the whole council agreed and left every man to his liberty as before. But the monks had not yet prevailed; the monks soon after overspread the eastern church, and the western too: and as the monks were the first, who brought single life into repute; so they were the first also, who revived and promoted the worship of demons. It is a thing universally known, that one of the primary and most essential laws and constitutions of all monks, whether solitary or associated, whether living in deserts or in convents, is the profession of single life, to abstain from marriage themselves, and to discourage it all they can in others. It is equally certain, that the monks had the principal share in promoting and propagating the worship of the dead; and either out of credulity, or for worse reasons, recommended it to the people with all the pomp and power of their eloquence in their homilies and orations. Read only some of the most celebrated fathers; read the[3] orations of Basil on the martyr Mamas, and on the forty martyrs; read the orations of Ephraim Syrus on the death of Basil, and on the forty martyrs, and on the praises of the holy martyrs; read the orations of Gregory Nazianzen on Athanasius, and on Basil, and on Cyprian; read the orations of Gregory Nyssen on Ephraim Syrus, and on the martyr Theodorus, and on Meletius bishop of Antioch; read the sixty-sixth, and other homilies of Chrysostom; read his oration on the martyrs of Egypt, and other orations: and you will be greatly astonished to find, how full they are of this sort of superstition, what powers and miracles are ascribed to the saints, what prayers and praises are offered up to them. All these were monks, and most of them bishops too, in the fourth century: and the superstitious worship which these monks begun, the succeeding monks completed, till at length the very relics and images of the dead were worshipped as much as the dead themselves. The monks then were the principal promoters of the worship of the dead in former times: and who are the great patrons and advocates of the same worship now? Are not their legitimate successors and descendants, the monks and priests and bishops of the church at Rome? and do not they also profess and recommend single life, as well as the worship of saints and angels? As long ago as the year 386, pope Siricius[4] held a council of eighty bishops at Rome, and forbade the clergy to cohabit with their wives. This decree was confirmed by pope Innocent[5] at the beginning of the fifth century: and the celibacy of the clergy was fully decreed by Gregory the Seventh[6] in the eleventh century; and this hath been the universal law and practice of the church ever since. Thus hath the worship of demons and the prohibition of marriage constantly gone hand in hand together: and as they who maintain the one, maintain the other; so it is no less remarkable, that they who disclaim the one, disclaim also the other, and assert the liberty which nature, (or to speak more properly) the Author of nature hath indulged to all mankind.

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[5] '*Per simulationem hominum falsiloquorum*] *Hominum* addi, ne *falsiloquorum* et sequentia referrentur ad *dæmonia*.' Castal. in loc.

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[6] τὸν δὲ γάμον οὗτος πρῶτος τοῦ διαβόλου διδασκαλίαν ὠνόμασε. νομοθετεῖ δὲ καὶ ἐμψόχων ἀπέχεσθαι. *Nuptias hic primus omnium diaboli doctrinam appellavit. Jubet autem et ab animatis abstinere.* Theod. Hæret. Fab. l. 1. c. 3.

[7] Iren. apud Euseb. Eccl. Hist. l. 4. c. 29.

[8] 'Nubere et generare a Satana dicunt esse.' Iren. l. 1. c. 22. Τοῖς δὲ εὐφήμως δι' ἐγκρατείας ἀσεβοῦσιν, εἴς τε τὴν κτίσιν καὶ τὸν ἅγιον δημιουργὸν, τὸν παντοκράτορα μόνον Θεὸν, καὶ διδάσκουσι μὴ δεῖν παραδέχεσθαι γάμον καὶ παιδοποιΐαν, μηδὲ ἀντεισάγειν τῷ κόσμῳ δυστυχήσοντας ἑτέρους, μηδὲ ἐπιχορηγεῖν τῷ θανάτῳ τροφήν—*Adversus autem alterum genus hæreticorum, qui speciose per continentiam impie se gerunt, tum in creaturam, tum in sanctum opificem, qui est solus Deus omnipotens; et dicunt non esse admittendum matrimonium et liberorum procreationem, nec in mundum esse inducendos alios infelices futuros, nec suppeditandum morti nutrimentum.*—Clem. Alex. Strom. l. 3. c. 6. init.

[9] Conc. Elib. c. 33. S. Basnagii Annales, vol. 2. p. 522, et 600.

[1] 'Conc. Neoc. Can. 1. Presbyter si uxorem duxerit, ab ordine suo removeatur.' S. Basnag. ibid. p. 522, et 657.

[2] Socratis Hist. Eccles. l. 1. c. 11. Sozomen. l. 1. c. 23. S. Basnag. ibid. p. 707. Bingham's Antiquities, b. 4. c. 5. § 7.

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[3] The reader may see some extracts out of all these in Sir Isaac Newton's Observations on Daniel, c. 14.

[4] Siric. Decr. c. 7. S. Basnage ibid. p. 522.

[5] Innocent Decr. c. 12. S. Basnage ibid. et vol. 3. p. 106.

[6] S. Basnage, vol. 2. p. 523.

> Our Maker bids increase: Who bids abstain
> But our destroyer, foe to God and man?—Milton.

VII. The last note and character of these men is "commanding to abstain from meats, which God hath created to be received with thanksgiving of them which believe and know the truth:" where in the original the word *commanding* is not expressed but understood, with an elleipsis that commentators[7] have observed to be sometimes used by the best classic authors. The same lying hypocrites, who should promote the worship of demons, should not only prohibit lawful marriage, but likewise impose unnecessary abstinence from meats: and these two, as indeed it is fit they should, usually go together, as constituent parts of the same hypocrisy. As we learn from Irenæus,[8] the ancient heretics called Continents, who taught that matrimony was not to be contracted, reprobating the primitive work of God, and tacitly accusing him who made man and woman for the procreation of human kind, introduced abstinence also from animal food, shewing themselves ungrateful to God who created all things. It is as much the law and constitution of all monks to abstain from meats as from marriage. Some never eat any flesh, others only of certain kinds and on certain days. Frequent fasts are the rule, the boast of their order; and their carnal humility is their spiritual pride. So lived the monks of the ancient church; so live, with less strictness perhaps, but with greater ostentation, the monks and friars of the church of Rome: and these have been the principal propagators and defenders of the worship of the dead, both in former and in later times. The worship of the dead is indeed so monstrously absurd as well as impious, that there was hardly any possibility of its ever succeeding and prevailing in the world, but by hypocrisy and lies: but that these particular sorts of hypocrisy, celibacy under pretence of chastity, and abstinence under pretence of devotion, should be employed for this purpose, the Spirit of God alone could foresee and foretel. There is no necessary connexion between the worship of the dead, and forbidding to marry and commanding to abstain from meats: and yet it is certain, that the great advocates of this worship have, by their pretended purity and mortification, procured the greater reverence to their persons, and the readier reception to their doctrines. But this idle, popish, monkish abstinence is as unworthy of a Christian, as it is unnatural to a man. It is perverting the purpose of nature, and "commanding to abstain from meats, which God hath created to be received with thanksgiving by the believers and them who know the truth." The apostle therefore approves and sanctifies the religious custom of blessing God at our meals, as our Saviour, when he was to distribute the loaves and the fishes, (Matt. xiv. 19. xv. 36.) "looked up to heaven, and blessed, and brake!" And what then can be said of those, who have their tables spread with the most plentiful gifts of God, and yet constantly sit down and rise up again without suffering so much as one thought of the giver to intrude upon them? It is but a thought, it is but a glimpse of devotion; and can they, who refuse even that, be reputed either to *believe*, or to *know the truth?* Man is free to partake of all the good creatures of God, but thanksgiving is the necessary condition. "For (as the apostle subjoins in the next verses, ver. 4, 5.) every creature of God is good, and nothing to be refused, if it be received with thanksgiving: for it is sanctified by the word of God and prayer." The apostle proceeds to say, that it is the duty of the ministers of the gospel to press and inculcate these things, (ver. 6.) "If thou put the brethren in remembrance of these things, thou shalt be a good minister of Jesus Christ, nourished up in the words of faith, and of good doctrine, whereunto thou hast attained." All that is preached up of such abstinence and mortification, as well as all the legends of the saints, are no better than "profane and old wives fables:" godliness is the only thing, that will truly avail us here and hereafter, (ver. 7, 8.) "But refuse profane and old wives fables, and exercise thyself rather unto godliness: for bodily exercise profiteth little; but godliness is profitable unto all things, having promise of the life that now is, and of that which is to come."

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[7] 'Est hic ἔλλειψις contrarii. Deest enim κελευόντων, quod addit hunc locum citans Epiphanius, aut ϖοιούντων quod addit Syrus. Similis ferme ἔλλειψις 1 Cor. xiv. 34. et hic supra, ii. 12. Sic Phædrus, 'Non veto dimitti, verum cruciari fame,' supple *jubeo*.' Grot. in locum.

[8] *οἱ καλούμενοι ἐγκρατεῖς ἀγαμίαν ἐκήρυξαν ἀθετοῦντες τὴν ἀρχαίαν πλάσιν τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ ἠρέμα κατηγοροῦντες τοῦ ἄῤῥεν καὶ θῆλυ εἰς γένεσιν ἀνθρώπων πεποιηκότος. καὶ τῶν λεγομένων παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐμψύχων ἀποχὴν εἰσηγήσαντο, ἀχαριστουντες τῷ ϖάντα ϖεποιηκότι Θεῷ. Qui vocantur continentes, docuerunt non contrahendum esse matrimonium: reprobantes scilicet primitivum illud opificium Dei, et tacite accusantes Deum qui masculum et fœminam condidit ad propagationem generis humani. Induxerunt etiam abstinentiam ab esu eorum quæ animata appellant, ingratos se exhibentes erga eum qui universa creavit Deum.* Iren. apud Euseb. Eccles. Hist. l. 4. c. 29.

XXIV.—AN ANALYSIS OF THE REVELATION.

IN TWO PARTS.—PART I.

IT is very useful, as well as very curious and entertaining, to trace the rise and progress of religions and governments; and in taking a survey of all the different religions and governments of the world, there is none perhaps that will strike us more with wonder and astonishment than that of Rome, how such a mystery of iniquity could succeed at first and prosper so long, and under the name of Christ introduce Antichrist. Other heresies and schisms have obtained place and credit among men for a time, and then have been happily exposed and suppressed. Arianism once succeeded almost universally; for a while it grew and flourished mightily, but in process of time it withered and faded away. But Popery hath now prevailed I know not how many centuries, and her renowned hierarchs have not, like the fathers of other sects, stole into secret meetings and conventicles, but have infected the very heart of the Christian church, and usurped the chief seat of the western world: have not only engaged in their cause private persons, and *led captive silly women*, but have trampled on the necks of princes and emperors themselves, and the lords and tyrants of mankind have yet been the blind slaves and vassals of the holy see. Rome Christian hath carried her conquests even farther than Rome Pagan. The Romanists themselves make universality and perpetuity the special marks and characters of their church; and no people more industrious than they in *compassing sea and land to make proselytes*.

All sincere Protestants cannot but be greatly grieved at the success and prevalence of this religion, and the papists as much boast and glory in it, and for this reason proudly denominate theirs *the catholic* religion. But it will abate all confidence on the one hand, and banish all scruples on the other; if we consider that this is nothing more than what was signified before-hand by the Spirit of prophecy. It is directly foretold, that there should be such a power, as that of the Pope of Rome, exercised in the Christian church, and that it should prevail for a long season, but at last should have a fall. Several clear and express prophecies to this purpose have been produced out of Daniel and St. Paul in the course of these dissertations: but others clearer still, and more copious and particular, may be found in the Apocalypse or Revelation of St. John, who was the greatest as he was the last prophet of the Christian dispensation, and hath comprehended in this book, and pointed out the most memorable events and revolutions in the church, from the apostles' days to the consummation of the mystery of God.

But to this book of the Apocalypse or Revelation it is usually objected, that it is so wrapped and involved in figures and allegories, is so wild and visionary, is so dark and obscure, that any thing or nothing, at least nothing clear and certain, can be proved or collected from it. So learned a man as Scaliger is noted for saying[1] that Calvin was wise, because he wrote no comment upon the Revelation. A celebrated[2] wit and divine of our own church hath not scrupled to assert, that that book either finds a man mad or makes him so. Whitby, though an useful commentator on the other books of the New Testament, would not yet adventure upon the Revelation. 'I confess I do it not[3] (says he), for want of wisdom; that is because I neither have sufficient reading nor judgment, to discern the intendment of the prophecies contained in that book.' Voltaire is pleased to say, that Sir Isaac Newton wrote his comment upon the Revelation, to console mankind for the great superiority that he had over them in other respects: but Voltaire, though a very agreeable, is yet a very superficial writer, and often mistaken in his judgment of men and things. He never was more mistaken, than in affirming that Sir Isaac Newton has explained the Revelation in the same manner with all those who went before him; a most evident proof that he had never read either the one or the others, for if ever he had read them, he must have perceived the difference. However it is undeniable that even the most learned men have miscarried in nothing more than in their comments and explanations of this book. To explain this book perfectly is not the work of one man or of one age; and probably it will never all be clearly understood, till it is all fulfilled. It is a memorable thing, that Bishop Burnet[4] relates to this purpose of his friend the most learned Bishop of Worcester. He says that that excellent person was employed above twenty years in studying the Revelation with an amazing diligence and exactness, and that he had foretold and proved from the Revelation the peace made between the Turk and the Emperor in the year 1698 long before it was made, and that after this he said the time of the Turks hurting the papal Christians was at an end: and he was so positive in this, that he consented that all his scheme should be laid aside, if[5] ever the Turk engaged in a new war with them. But it is very well known, that the Turk and the Emperor have engaged in a new war since that time, and probably may engage again, so that by his own consent all his scheme is to be laid aside: And if so great a master of learning, so nice a critic in chronology and history, one who perhaps understood the prophetic writings better than any man of his time, was so grossly mistaken in the most positive of his calculations, it may serve at least as an admonition to others of inferior abilities to beware how they meddle with these matters, and rather to avoid the rocks and shelves about which they see so many shipwrecks.

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[1] 'Calvinus sapit, quod in Apocalypsin non scripsit.' Vide Scaligerana secunda, p. 41. But Scaliger was not very consistent in his opinion of the Revelation. For as the Bishop of Rochester remarks, he says in another place: 'Hoc possum gloriari me nihil ignorare eorum quæ in Apocalypsi, Canonico vere libro, prophetice scribuntur, præter illud caput in quo *væ* septies repetitur: ignoro enim idne tempus præterierit, an futurum sit.' Scaligerana 1ma. p. 13.

[2] Dr. South. See vol. 2. Serm. II. p. 422. 6th Edit.

[3] See Whitby's Pref. to his Treatise of the Millennium.

[4] Burnet's History of his Own Times, vol. 2. p. 204.

Not that this book is therefore to be despised or neglected. They who censure and dissuade the study of it, do it for the most part because they have not studied it themselves, and imagine the difficulties to be greater than they are in reality. It is still *the sure word of prophecy;* and men of learning and leisure cannot better employ their time and abilities than in studying and explaining this book, provided they do it, as Lord Bacon[6] adviseth, 'with great wisdom, sobriety, and reverence.' Lord Bacon adviseth it with regard to all the prophecies, but such caution and reverence are more especially due to this of St. John. 'The folly of interpreters has been, as Sir Isaac Newton[7] observes, to foretel times and things by this prophecy, as if God designed to make them prophets. By this rashness they have not only exposed themselves, but brought the prophecy also into contempt. The design of God was much otherwise. He gave this and the prophecies of the Old Testament, not to gratify men's curiosities by enabling them to foreknow things, but that after they were fulfilled they might be interpreted by the event, and his own providence, not the interpreter's, be then manifested thereby to the world.' If therefore we would confine ourselves to the rules of just criticism, and not indulge lawless and extravagant fancies; if we would be content with sober and genuine interpretation, and not pretend to be prophets, nor presume to be wise above what is written; we should more consider those passages which have already been accomplished, than frame conjectures about those which remain yet to be fulfilled. Where the facts may be compared with the predictions, there we have some clue to guide us through the labyrinth: and though it may be difficult to trace out every minute resemblance, yet there are some strong lines and features, which I think cannot fail of striking every one, who will but impartially and duly examine them.

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[5] Upon reflection I think it not impossible that Bishop Burnet might mistake, and so might misrepresent Bishop Lloyd's meaning. If he said indeed, that the Turks would never engage in a new war with the papal Christians, he was plainly in the wrong, the event hath shewn that he was in the wrong. If he said only that the Turks would no more hurt the papal Christians, would no more subdue any Christian state or potentate, he was probably in the right, the prophet, seemeth to intimate the same thing, and the event hitherto confirms it.

[6] —'Magna cum sapientia, sobrietate, et reverentia.'—See the quotation prefixed to the Introduction.

[7] Sir Isaac Newton's Observations upon the Apocalypse, c. 1. p. 251.

We should be wanting to the subject, and leave our work unfinished, if we should omit so material a part of prophecy, And yet such a disquisition is not to be entered upon hastily, but after a diligent perusal of the best authors, both foreign and domestic; and it will be happy, if out of them all there can be formed one entire system, complete and consistent in all its parts. As Sir Isaac Newton says,[8] 'Amongst the interpreters of the last age there is scarce one of note who hath not made some discovery worth knowing.' But our greatest obligations are owing to three particularly, Mr. Mede, Vitringa, and Daubuz. We shall find reason generally to concur with one or more of them; but as they often differ from one another, so we shall differ sometimes from all the three, and follow other guides, or perhaps no guides at all. What satisfaction we may give to others, is very uncertain; we shall at least have the satisfaction ourselves of tracing the ways of providence. It is little encouragement to this kind of studies to reflect, that two of the most learned men of their times, as well as two of the best interpreters of this book, Mr. Mede and Mr. Daubuz, the one died a fellow of a college, and the other a vicar of a poor vicarage in Yorkshire. Mr. Mede, as we read in the memoirs of his life, was so modest, that he wished for nothing more than a donative or sinecure to be added to his fellowship; but even this he could not obtain.

> Alas! what boots it with incessant care
> To tend the homely slighted shepherd's trade,
> And strictly meditate the thankless Muse?
> Were it not better done as others use, &c.—MILTON'S LYCIDAS.

But however let us proceed, encouraged by that divine benediction, "Blessed is he that readeth, and they that hear the words of this prophecy, and keep those things that are written therein."

CHAP. I.—(1.) THE Revelation of Jesus Christ, which God gave unto him, to shew unto his servants things which must shortly come to pass; and he sent and signified it by his angel unto his servant John: (2) Who bare record of the word of God, and of the testimony of Jesus Christ, and of all things that he saw. (3) Blessed is he that readeth, and they that hear the words of this prophecy, and keep those things which are written therein: for the time is at hand."

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[8] Sir Isaac Newton, ibid. p. 253.

The book opens with the title or inscription of the book itself; the scope and design of it, to foretel things which should shortly begin to be fulfilled, and succeed in their due season and order, till all were accomplished; and the blessing pronounced on him who shall read and explain it, and on them who shall hear and attend to it. The distinction is remarkable of *him that readeth,* and of *them that hear;* for books being then in manuscript were in much fewer hands, and it was a much readier way to publish a prophecy or any thing by public reading than by transcribing copies. It was too the custom of that age to read all the apostolical writings in the congregations of the faithful; but now only some few parts of this book are appointed to be read on certain festivals.

(4) "John to the seven churches which are in Asia: Grace *be* unto you, and peace from him which is, and which was, and which is to come; and from the seven spirits which are before his throne; (5) And from Jesus Christ, *who is* the faithful witness, *and* the first-begotten of the dead, and the prince of the kings of the earth: Unto him that loved us, and washed us from our sins in his own blood, (6) And hath made us kings and priests unto God and his Father; to him *be* glory and dominion for ever and ever. Amen. (7) Behold he cometh with clouds; and every eye shall see him, and they *also* which pierced him; and all kindreds of the earth shall wail because of him: even so, Amen. (8) I am Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the ending, saith the Lord, which is, and which was, and which is to come, the Almighty."

The apostle dedicates his book (ver. 4—6.) to the seven churches of the Lydian or proconsular Asia, wishing them grace and peace from the eternal God, as the author and giver; and from the seven spirits, the representatives and ministers of the Holy Ghost, as the instruments; and from Jesus Christ, as the mediator, who is mentioned last, because the subsequent discourse more immediately relates to him. To the dedication he subjoins a short and solemn preface (ver. 7, 8.), to shew the great authority of the divine person, who had commissioned him to write the Revelation.

(9) "I John, who also am your brother, and companion in tribulation, and in the kingdom and patience of Jesus Christ, was in the isle that is called Patmos, for the word of God, and for the testimony of Jesus Christ. (10) I was in the spirit on

the Lord's day, and heard behind me a great voice, as of a trumpet, (11) Saying, I am Alpha and Omega, the first and the last: and, what thou seest, write in a book, and send *it* unto the seven churches, which are in Asia; unto Ephesus, and unto Smyrna, and unto Pergamos, and unto Thyatira, and unto Sardis, and unto Philadelphia, and unto Laodicea. (12) And I turned to see the voice that spake with me, and being turned, I saw seven golden candlesticks; (13) And in the midst of the seven candlesticks, *one* like unto the Son of man, clothed with a garment down to the foot, and girt about the paps with a golden girdle. (14) His head and *his* hairs *were* white like wool, as white as snow; and his eyes *were* as a flame of fire; (15) And his feet like unto fine brass, as if they burned in a furnace; and his voice as the sound of many waters. (16) And he had in his right hand seven stars; and out of his mouth went a sharp two-edged sword: and his countenance *was* as the sun shineth in his strength. (17) And when I saw him, I fell at his feet as dead: and he laid his right hand upon me, saying unto me, Fear not; I am the first and the last; (18) *I am* he that liveth, and was dead; and behold I am alive for ever more, Amen; and have the keys of hell and of death. (19) Write the things which thou hast seen, and the things which are, and the things which shall be hereafter. (20) The mystery of the seven stars which thou sawest in my right hand, and the seven golden candlesticks. The seven stars are the angels of the seven churches: and the seven candlesticks which thou sawest, are the seven churches."

He then (ver. 9—20.) mentions the place, where the Revelation was given, and describes the manner and circumstances of the first vision. The place, where the Revelation was given, was Patmos, a desolate island in the Archipelago, whither he was banished for the confession of the gospel. It is not well known, at what time, or by whom he was banished into this island; but we may suppose it to have happened in the reign of Nero, more probably than in that of Domitian. It is indeed the more general opinion, that the Apocalypse was written in Domitian's reign; and this opinion is founded upon the [9] testimony of Irenæus, who was the disciple of Polycarp, who had been the disciple of St. John. This authority is great, and is made still greater, as it is confirmed by [1] Eusebius in his Chronicle and in his Ecclesiastical History. But Eusebius a little afterwards in the [2] same history recites a memorable story out of Clemens Alexandrinus; that St. John, after he returned from

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[9] Iren. adversus Hæres. l. 5. c. 30.

[1] Eusebii Chron. l. 1. Edit. Scalig. p. 30. Gr. p. 44. Lat. Vide etiam p. 164. Libri posterioris, et Chron. Can. p. 208. Hist. Eccles. l. 3. c. 18.

[2] Euseb. Hist. ibid. c. 23.

Patmos, committed a hopeful young man to the care of a certain bishop; that the bishop received him into his house, educated, instructed, and at length baptized him; that the bishop afterwards remitting of his care and strictness, the young man was corrupted by idle and dissolute companions, revelled with them, robbed with them, and forming them into a gang of highwaymen was made their captain, and became the terror of all the country; that after some time St. John coming upon other occasions to revisit the same bishop, inquired after the young man, and was informed that he was not to be found in the church, but in such a mountain with his fellow robbers; that St. John called for a horse, and rode immediately to the place; that when the young man saw him, he fled away from him; that St. John forgetting his age pursued eagerly after him, recalled him, and restored him to the church. Now all these transactions must necessarily take up some years; and may seem credible if St. John was banished by Nero, but are altogether impossible if he was banished by Domitian; for he survived Domitian but a very few years, and he was then near one hundred years old, and so very weak and infirm, that he was with great difficulty carried [3] to church, and could hardly speak a few words to the people, and much less ride briskly after a young robber. Epiphanius [4] asserts, that he was banished into Patmos, and wrote the Apocalypse there, in the reign of Claudius: but Epiphanius being not a correct writer, he might possibly mistake Claudius for his successor Nero, especially as Nero had assumed the name of Claudius, by whom he was adopted, Nero Claudius Cæsar. This date is perhaps near as much too early, as the time of Domitian is too late. The churches of Syria have thus [5] inscribed their version, 'The Revelation made to John the Evangelist by God in the island Patmos, into which he was banished by Nero the Cæsar.' The ancient commentators [6] Andreas and Arethas affirm, that it was understood to be written before the destruction of Jerusalem. But if it was written before the destruction of Jerusalem, it might naturally be expected that such a memorable event would not have been unnoticed in this prediction; and neither was it unnoticed in this prediction, as will be seen hereafter. Our Saviour's repeating so frequently in this book, "Behold, I come quickly"—"Behold, he cometh with clouds, and every eye shall see him, and they also who pierced him, and all kindreds of the earth shall wail because of him"—and the like expressions, cannot surely be so well understood of any other event as of the destruction of Jerusalem, which *coming* was also spoken of in the gospels, and what other *coming* was there so speedy and conspicuous? So many spurious Apocalypses, written by Cerinthus and others in early times, demonstrate evidently that the Apocalypse of St. John, in imitation whereof they were written, was still earlier, and was held in high estimation among Christians. But what is to me an unanswerable argument, the style itself, so full of Hebraisms, and as I may say so full of barbarisms and even solecisms, as some [7] even of the ancients have observed, manifestly evinces, that the author was but lately come out of Judea, was little accustomed to write in Greek, and had not yet attained to that greater purity of style, which appears in his Gospels and Epistles. On the contrary it is urged, that there are internal marks in the book itself of its being of a later date than Nero's reign, that the churches of Asia could not have changed and degenerated so much in so short a space of time, that they had not then been exposed to persecution, nor had Antipas suffered martyrdom at Pergamos, the persecutions by Nero being confined to the metropolis of the empire. But why might not St. John charge the churches of Asia with having degenerated and "fallen from their first love," as well as St. Paul accuse the church of Corinth, (1 Cor. iii. 3.) of being "carnal, and having envying and strife and divisions amongst them;" or complain of the churches of Galatia, (Gal. i. 6.) "I marvel that ye are so soon removed from them that called you into the grace of Christ unto another gospel:" (iii. 1.) "O foolish Galatians who hath bewitched you that ye should not obey the truth, before whose eyes Jesus Christ hath been evidently set forth;" or write to Timothy the first Bishop of Ephesus (2 Tim. i. 15.) "This thou knowest that all they which are in Asia be turned away from me?" Why might not the churches of Asia be liable to persecution, when it is said (2 Tim. iii. 12.) that "all who will live godly in Christ Jesus shall suffer persecution;" when unto the Philippians (i. 29.) "it was given in the behalf of Christ, not only to believe on him, but also to suffer for his sake;" and when the Thessalonians (1 Thess. ii. 14.) "suffered like things of their own countrymen, as the churches in Judea of the Jews;" and manifested (2 Thess. i. 4.) "their patience and faith in all their persecutions and tribulations which they endured?" As for Antipas, there is no genuine history or authentic account of him; it is not known, who or what he was, when he suffered, or who caused him to be put to death, so that nothing can be from thence inferred one way or other. Neither is it certain that the persecutions by Nero were confined to the metropolis; they raged indeed most there, but were extended likewise over all the provinces, as [8] Orosius testifies with others. Sir Isaac Newton hath farther shewn, [9] that in the Epistles of St. Peter, and in St Paul's Epistle to the Hebrews, there are several allusions to this book of the Apocalypse; and St. Peter and St. Paul, all the ancients agree, suffered martyrdom in the end of Nero's reign. It may indeed be retorted, that St. John might borrow from St. Peter and St. Paul, as well as St. Peter and St. Paul from St. John: but if you will consider and compare the passages together, you will find sufficient reason to be convinced, that St. Peter's and St. Paul's are the copies, and St. John's the original. Moreover it is to be observed, that this Revelation was given *on the Lord's day*, when the apostle's heart and affections, as we may reasonably suppose, were sublimed by the meditations and devotions of the day, and rendered more recipient of divine inspiration. The heavenly visions were vouchsafed to St. John, as they were before to Daniel (Dan. ix. x.), after supplication and prayer: and there being [1] two kinds of prophetic revelation in a vision and a dream, the Jews accounted a vision superior to a dream, as representing things more perfectly and to the life.

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[3] Hieron. in Epist. ad Galat. c. 6. col. 314.

[4] Epiphan. adv. Hæres. hær. 51. c. 12. 34.

[5] 'Revelatio quæ facta est Joanni evangelistæ a Deo in Patmo insula, in quam injectus fuit a Nerone Cæsare.'

[6] Andreas in Apoc. vi. 16. Arethas in Apoc. xviii. 19.

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[7] *διάλεκτον μέντοι καὶ γλῶσσαν οὐκ ἀκριβῶς ἑλληνίζουσαν αὐτοῦ βλέπω, ἀλλ' ἰδιώμασι μὲν βαρβαρικοῖς χρώμενον καί που καὶ σολοικίζοντα. Verum dictionem ejus non admodum Græcam animadverto, sed barbarismis atque interdum solœcismis inquininatam.* Dionysius Alex. apud Euseb. Hist. Eccles. l. 7. c. 25.

In the first vision, Jesus Christ, or his angel, speaking in his name, and acting in his person, appears amid *the seven golden candlesticks*, meaning *the seven churches*. His clothing is somewhat like the high-priest's, and he is described much in the same manner as the divine appearances in Daniel's visions (Dan. vii. 9. x. 5, &c.). St. John, at the sight of so glorious a person, fell down senseless before him, as Daniel did upon the same occasion; and like Daniel too, he is graciously raised and encouraged, and commanded to "write the things which he had seen," contained in this chapter, "and the things which are," the present state of the seven churches represented in the two next chapters, "and the things which shall be hereafter," the future events which begin to be exhibited in the fourth chapter, as it is there said, (ver. 1.) "Come up hither, and I will shew thee the things which must be hereafter."

CHAP. II.—(1) UNTO the angel of the church of Ephesus, write, These things saith he that holdeth the seven stars in his right hand, who walketh in the midst of the seven golden candlesticks; (2) I know thy works, and thy labour, and thy patience, and how thou canst not bear them which are evil: and thou hast tried them which say they are apostles, and are not; and hast found them liars: (3) And hast borne, and hast patience, and for my name's sake hast laboured, and hast not fainted. (4) Nevertheless, I have *somewhat* against thee, because thou hast left thy first love. (5) Remember therefore from whence thou art fallen, and repent, and do the first works; or else I will come unto thee quickly, and will remove thy candlestick out of his place, except thou repent. (6) But this thou hast, that thou hatest the deeds of the Nicolaitans, which I also hate. (7) He that hath an ear, let him hear what the Spirit saith unto the churches. To him that overcometh I will give to eat of the tree of life, which is in the midst of the paradise of God. (8) And unto the angel of the church in Smyrna, write, These things saith the first and the last, which was dead, and is alive; (9) I know thy works, and tribulation, and poverty (but thou art rich), and *I know* the blasphemy of them which say they are Jews, and are not, but *are* the synagogue of Satan. (10) Fear none of those things which thou shalt suffer: behold, the devil shall cast some of you into prison, that ye may be tried; and ye shall have tribulation ten days: be thou faithful unto death, and I will give thee a crown of life. (11) He that hath an ear, let him hear what the Spirit saith unto the churches, He that overcometh, shall not be hurt of the second death. (12) And to the angel of the church in Pergamos, write, These things saith he, which hath the sharp sword with two edges; (13) I know thy works, and where thou dwellest, *even* where Satan's seat *is*: and thou holdest fast my name, and hast not denieth my faith, even in those days wherein Antipas *was* my faithful martyr, who was slain among you, where Satan dwelleth. (14) But I have a few things against thee, because thou hast there them that hold the doctrine of Balaam, who taught Balak to cast a stumbling-block before the children of Israel, to eat things sacrificed unto idols, and commit fornication. (15) So hast thou also them that hold the doctrine of the Nicolaitans, which thing I hate. (16) Repent; or else I will come unto thee quickly, and will fight against them with the sword of my mouth. (17) He that hath an ear, let him hear what the Spirit saith unto the churches, To him that overcometh will I give to eat of the hidden manna, and will give him a white stone, and in the stone a new name written, which no man knoweth, saving he that receiveth *it*. (18) And unto the angel of the church in Thyatira, write, These things saith the Son of God, who hath his eyes like unto a flame of fire, and his feet *are* like fine brass; (19) I know thy works, and charity, and service, and faith, and thy patience, and thy works; and the last to be more than the first. (20) Notwithstanding, I have a few things against thee, because thou sufferest that woman Jezebel, which calleth herself a prophetess, to teach and to seduce my servants to commit fornication, and to eat things sacrificed unto idols. (21) And I gave her space to repent of her fornication, and she repented not. (22) Behold, I will cast her into a bed, and them that commit adultery with her into great tribulation, except they repent of their deeds. (23) And I will kill her children with death; and all the churches shall know that I am he which searcheth the reins and hearts: and I will give unto every one of you according to your works. (24) But unto you I say, and unto the rest in Thyatira, As many as have not this doctrine, and which have not known the depths of Satan, as they speak; I will put upon you none other burden. (25) But that which ye have *already*, hold fast till I come. (26) And he that overcometh, and keepeth my works unto the end, to him will I give power over the nations: (27) (And he shall rule them with a rod of iron; as the vessels of a potter shall they be broken to shivers) even as I received of my Father. (28) And I will give him the morning star. (29) He that hath an ear, let him hear what the Spirit saith unto the churches."

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[8] 'Primus Romæ Christianos suppliciis et mortibus affecit; ac per omnes provincias pari persecutione excruciari imperavit.' l. 7. c. 7.

[9] Sir Isaac Newton's Obs. upon the Apoc. c. 1. p. 239—246.

[1] 'In istis duabus partibus, *somnio* et *visione*, continentur omnes prophetiæ gradus.' Maimon. in More Nevoch. Part. 2. c. 36. Smith's Discourse of Prophecy, c. 2. p. 174, 175.

CHAP. III.—(1) "AND unto the angel of the church in Sardis, write, These things saith he that hath the seven Spirits of God, and the seven stars; I know thy works, that thou hast a name, that thou livest, and art dead. (2) Be watchful and strengthen the things which remain, that are ready to die: for I have not found thy works perfect before God. (3) Remember therefore how thou hast received and heard, and hold fast, and repent. If therefore thou shalt not watch, I will come on thee as a thief, and thou shalt not know what hour I will come upon thee. (4) Thou hast a few names even in Sardis, which have not defiled their garments; and they shall walk with me in white: for they are worthy. (5) He that overcometh, the same shall be clothed in white raiment; and I will not blot out his name out of the book of life, but I will confess his name before my Father, and before his angels. (6) He that hath an ear, let him hear what the Spirit saith unto the churches. (7) And to the angel of the church in Philadelphia, write, These things saith he that is holy, he that is true, he that hath the key of David, he that openeth, and no man shutteth; and shutteth, and no man openeth; (8) I know thy works: behold, I have set before thee an open door, and no man can shut it: for thou hast a little strength, and hast kept my word, and hast not denied my name. (9) Behold, I will make them of the synagogue of Satan (which say they are Jews, and are not, but do lie) behold, I will make them to come and worship before thy feet, and to know that I have loved thee. (10) Because thou hast kept the word of my patience, I also will keep thee from the hour of temptation, which shall come upon all the world, to try them that dwell upon the earth. (11) Behold, I come quickly: hold that fast which thou hast, that no man take thy crown. (12) Him that overcometh, will I make a pillar in the temple of my God, and he shall go no more out: and I will write upon him the name of my God, and the name of the city of my God, *which is* new Jerusalem, which cometh down out of heaven from my God: and *I will write upon him* my new name. (13) He that hath an ear, let him hear what the Spirit saith unto the churches. (14) And unto the angel of the church of the Laodiceans, write, These things saith the Amen, the faithful and true witness, the beginning of the creation of God; (15) I know thy works that thou art neither cold nor hot: I would thou wert cold or hot. (16) So then, because thou art lukewarm, and neither cold nor hot, I will spue thee out of my mouth: (17) Because thou sayest, I am rich, and increased with goods, and have need of nothing: and knowest not that thou art wretched, and miserable, and poor, and blind, and naked. (18) I counsel thee to buy of me gold tried in the fire, that thou mayest be rich; and white raiment, that thou mayest be clothed, and *that* the shame of thy nakedness do not appear; and anoint thine eyes with eye-salve, that thou mayest see. (19) As many as I love, I rebuke, and chasten: be zealous therefore, and repent. (20) Behold, I stand at the door, and knock: if any man hear my voice, and open the door, I will come in to him, and will sup with him, and he with me. (21) To him that overcometh will I grant to sit with me in my throne, even as I also overcame, and am set down with my Father on his throne. (22) He that hath an ear, let him hear what the Spirit saith unto the churches."

The second and third chapters contain the seven epistles to the seven churches of Asia, Ephesus, Smyrna, Pergamos, Thyatira, Sardis, Philadelphia, and Laodicea. These seven are addressed particularly, because they were under St. John's immediate inspection; he constituted bishops over them;[1] he was as it were their metropolitan, and resided much at Ephesus, which is therefore named the first of the seven. The main subjects too of this book are comprised of sevens, seven churches, seven seals, seven trumpets, and seven vials; as seven was also a mystical number throughout the Old Testament. Many contend, and among them such learned men as More and Vitringa, that the seven epistles are prophetical of so many successive periods and states of the church from the beginning to the conclusion of all. But it doth not appear, that there are or were to be seven periods of the church, neither more nor less; and no two men can agree in assigning the same periods. There are likewise in these epistles several innate characters, which are peculiar to the church of that age, and cannot be so well applied to the church of any other age. Besides other arguments, there is also this plain reason; the last state of the church is described in this very book as the most glorious of all, but in the last state in these epistles, that of Laodicea, the church is represented as "wretched, and miserable, and poor, and blind, and naked."

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[1] Tertull. advers. Marcion. l. 4. c. 5. Millii Prolegom. in Nov. Test. p. 20.

But though these epistles have rather a literal than a mystical meaning, yet they contain excellent moral precepts and exhortations, commendations and reproofs, promises and threatenings, which may be of use and instruction to the church in all ages. The form and order of the parts you will find the same almost in all the epistles; first a command to write; then some character and attributes of the speaker, taken from the vision in the first chapter, and appropriated to the matter of each epistle; then commendations or reproofs with suitable promises or threatenings; and then in all the same conclusion, "He that hath an ear, let him hear what the Spirit saith unto the churches." What therefore the Spirit saith unto one church, he saith in some measure to all the churches. The church of Ephesus in particular is admonished to repent, and forewarned that if she would not repent, her *candlestick should be removed out of his place.* But this admonition belonged equally to all the churches: and hath not the candlestick been accordingly removed out of its place, and the light of the gospel taken from them? Were they not ruined and overthrown by their heresies and divisions from within, and by the arms of the Saracens from without? and doth not Mohammedism still prevail and prosper in those countries, which were once the glory of Christendom, their churches turned into mosques, their worship into superstition? Ephesus in particular,[2] which was once so magnificent and glorious a city, is become a mean sordid village, with scarcely a single family of Christians dwelling in it, as approved authors testify. To the church of Smyrna it is predicted, that she should "have tribulation ten days," or *ten years,* according to the usual style of prophecy: and the greatest persecution that the primitive church ever endured, was the persecution of Diocletian, which lasted ten years,[3] and grievously afflicted all the Asian, and indeed all the eastern churches. This character can agree to none of the other general persecutions, for none of the others lasted so long as ten years.[4] As the commendatory and reproving part of these epistles exhibits the present state of the churches, so the promissory and threatening part foretels something of their future condition; and in this sense, and in none other, can these epistles be said to be prophetical.

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[2] 'Hodie enim hæc urbs Asianæ olim magnificentiæ exemplum, plane sordet, casulis et gurgustiis deformata, non civitas, sed vicus: et vix ibidem superest una Christianorum familia, ut ex certis constat testibus, iisdemque eruditis viris, qui hodiernam Ephesum descripserunt, Smitho (Notit. Sept. Eccles. As. p. 4.) et Ricaultio (de Stat. Eccl. Græc. p. 50.) Vitring. p. 72, 73.

[3] Euseb. Eccl. Hist. l. 1. c. 15, et 16. Lactant. de Mort. Persecut. c. 48.

The first epistle is addressed to the church of Ephesus, as it was the metropolis of the Lydian Asia, and the place of St. John's principal residence. It was, according to Strabo,[5] one of the best and most glorious cities, and the greatest emporium of the proper Asia. It is called by Pliny one of the eyes of Asia,[6] Smyrna being the other: but now, as eye-witnesses have related,[7] it is venerable for nothing but the ruins of palaces, temples, and amphitheatres. It is called by the Turks Ajasaluk, or the temple of the moon, from the magnificent structure formerly dedicated to Diana. The church of St. Paul is wholly destroyed. The little which remains of that of St. Mark, is nodding to ruin. The only church remaining is that dedicated to St. John, which is now converted into a Turkish mosque. The whole town is nothing but a habitation for herdsmen and farmers, living in low and humble cottages of dirt, sheltered from the extremities of weather by mighty masses of ruinous walls; the pride and ostentation of former days, and the emblem in these, of the frailty of the world, and the transient vanity of human glory. All the inhabitants of this once famous city amount not now to above forty or fifty families of Turks, without one Christian family among them: so strikingly hath the denunciation been fulfilled, that their *candlestick should be removed out of his place.*

Smyrna was the nearest city to Ephesus, and for that reason probably was addressed in the second place. It is situated[8] on lower ground than the ancient city, and lieth about forty-five miles northward of Ephesus. It is called Esmir by the Turks, and is celebrated not so much for the splendour and pomp of the buildings (for they are rather mean and ruinous) as for the number, and wealth, and commerce of the inhabitants. The Turks have here fifteen mosques, and the Jews several synagogues. Among these enemies of the Christian name the Christian religion also flourishes in some degree. Smyrna still retains the dignity of a metropolis, although there are only two churches of the Greeks. But besides them, here is a great number of Christians of all nations, sects, and languages. The Latin church hath a monastery of Franciscans. The Armenians have one church. But the English, who are the most considerable number, next to the Greeks and Armenians, have only a chapel in the consul's house; which is a shame, says Wheler, considering the great wealth they heap up here, beyond all the rest: yet they commonly excel them in their pastor; for I esteem a good English priest, an evangelist, if compared with any of the rest. Frequent plagues and earthquakes are the great calamities of the place; but the Christians are here more considerable, and in a far better condition, than in any other of the seven churches: as if the promise was still in some measure made good to Smyrna, "Fear none of those things, which thou shalt suffer;—be thou faithful unto death, and I will give thee a crown of life."

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[4] 'Quæ persecutio omnibus fere ante actis diuturnior—Nam per decem annos, &c.' Oros. l. 7. c. 25.

[5] Strabo, l. 14. p. 941. l. 12. p. 865.

[6] Plin. Nat. Hist. l. 5. c. 31.

[7] Smith Sept. Asiæ Eccles. Notit. Rycaut's Present State of the Greek Church, chap. 2. Wheler and Spon's Voyage, b. 3. Van Egmont's and Heyman's Travels, vol. 1. c. 9.

[8] Smith, Rycaut, Wheler, and Spon, ibid. Van Egmont's and Heyman's Travels, c. 8.

Pergamos, formerly the metropolis of the Hellespontic Mysia, and the seat of the Attalic kings, is [9] by the Turks, with some little variation, still called Bergamo, and hath its situation about sixty-four miles to the north of Smyrna. Here are some good buildings, but more ruins. All the city almost is occupied by the Turks, very few families of Christians being left, whose state is very sad and deplorable. Here is only one church remaining, dedicated to St. Theodorus; and that the name of Christ is not wholly lost and forgotten in Pergamos, is owing to the care of the metropolitan of Smyrna, who continually sendeth hither a priest to perform the sacred offices. The cathedral church of St. John is buried in its own ruins; their angel or bishop removed; and its fair pillars adorn the graves, and rotten carcases of its destroyers, the Turks; who are esteemed about two or three thousand souls in number. Its other fine church, called Santa Sophia, is turned into a mosque, and daily profaned with the blasphemies of the false prophet. There are not in the whole town above a dozen or fifteen families of miserable Christians, who till the ground to gain their bread, and live in the most abject and sordid servitude. There is the less reason to wonder at the wretched condition of this church, when we consider that it was the very *throne of Satan;* that they ran greedily after the error of Balaam, "to eat things sacrificed unto idols, and to commit fornication;" and that they "held the impure doctrines of the Nicolaitans, which *Christ detested.*" It was denounced unto them "to repent, or else *he would* come unto *them* quickly, and fight against them," as the event evinces that he hath done.

Next to Pergamos is Thyatira,[1] situated at the distance of about forty-eight miles to the south-east. Certain heretics called *Alogi* (which may not improperly be interpreted *unrea-*

[9] Smith, Rycaut, Wheler, and Spon, ibid.

[1] Smith and Rycaut, ibid.

sonable men) have [2]affirmed, but have only affirmed without any proof, that at the time of St. John's writing there was no Christain church at Thyatira. Epiphanius admits it, and thence infers that St. John must have written with a prophetic spirit. The objection is frivolous, and Epiphanius might have returned a better answer than 'argumentum ad homines,' and instead of allowing the fact, and arguing from thence for the divinity of the book, he should absolutely have denied their affirmation. For there is no just reason for doubting, that at this time there was a Christian church at Thyatira. This very epistle is a sufficient proof of it. It is said expressly, (Acts xix. 10.) that "all they who dwelt in Asia (meaning Asia Minor) heard the word of the Lord Jesus, both Jews and Greeks:" and what ground is there for thinking that the city of Thyatira was alone excepted? It is said particularly, (Acts xvi. 14.) that *Lydia*, an eminent trader and "seller of purple, of the city of Thyatira, was baptized with her household." At present the city is called by the Turks [3] Akhisar, or the white castle, from the great quantities of white marble there abounding. Only one ancient edifice is left standing. The rest, even the churches, are so destroyed, that no vestiges of them are to be found. The principal inhabitants are Turks, who have here eight mosques, when not so much as one Christian church is still remaining. So terribly have the divine judgments been poured upon this church for "*committing* fornication, and *eating* things sacrificed unto idols: And I gave her space to repent of her fornication, and she repented not."

Sardis, once the renowned capital of Crœsus and the rich Lydian kings,[4] is now no longer worthy of the name of a city. It lieth about thirty-three miles to the south of Thyatira, and is called by the Turks Sart or Sard, with little or no variation from the old original name. It is a most sad spectacle, nor can one forbear weeping over the ruins of so great a city. For now it is no more than an ignoble village, with low and wretched cottages of clay; nor hath it any other inhabitants, besides shepherds and herdsmen, who feed their flocks and cattle in the neighbouring plains. Yet the great extent and grandeur of the ruins abundantly shew, how large and splendid a city it was formerly. The Turks themselves have only one mosque, a beautiful one indeed, perverted to that use from a Christian church. Very few Christians are here to be found; and they with great patience, or rather senseless stupidity, sustain a miserable servitude; and what is far more miserable, are without a church, without a priest among them. Such is the deplorable state of once the most glorious city: but "her works were not found perfect (that is, they were found blameable) before God;" she was *dead*, even while she *lived;* and she is punished accordingly.

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[2] Epiphanius adv. Hæres. hær. 51. c. 33.

[3] Smith and Rycaut, ibid.

[4] Smith, Rycaut, Wheler, and Spon, ibid. Van Egmont's and Heyman's Travels, c. 10.

Philadelphia, so called from Attalus Philadelphus its builder,[3] is distant from Sardis about twenty seven miles to the south-east. It is called by the Turks, Alah Shahr, or the beautiful city, on account of its delightful situation, standing on the declivity of the mountain Tmolus, and having a most pleasant prospect on the plains beneath, well furnished with divers villages, and watered by the river Pactolus. It still retains the form of a city, with something of trade to invite the people to it, being the road of the Persian caravans. Here is little of antiquity remaining, besides the ruins of a church dedicated to St. John, which is now made a dunghill to receive the offals of dead beasts. Howsoever, God hath been pleased to preserve some of this place to make profession of the Christian faith, there being above two hundred houses of Christians, and four churches; whereof the chief is dedicated to Panagia or the Holy Virgin; the other to St. George, who is of great fame among the oriental Christians; the third to St. Theodore; and the fourth to St. Taxiarchus, as St. Michael the archangel is called by the Greeks. Next to Smyrna this city hath the greatest number of Christians, and Christ hath promised a more particular protection to it; "I know thy works: behold, I have set before thee an open door, and none can shut it: for thou hast a little strength, and hast kept my word, and hast not denied my name. Because thou hast kept the word of my patience, I will also keep thee from the hour of temptation, which shall come upon all the world, to try them that dwell upon the earth." Than which, as Dr. Spon saith, what could be said more formally to foretel the coming of the Turks, the open enemies of Christianity; who seem to be sent on purpose for the punishment of our crimes, and to distinguish the faithful from the false Christians, who pretend to be so, and are not?

Laodicea lay south of Philadelphia, in the way to return to Ephesus: and if you will inspect the maps of Asia Minor, you will find the seven churches to lie in a kind of circular form, so that the natural progress was from Ephesus to Smyrna, from Smyrna to Pergamos, from Pergamos to Thyatira, from Thyatira to Sardis, from Sardis to Philadelphia, from Philadelphia to Laodicea, and from Laodicea round to Ephesus again; which is the method and order that St. John hath observed in addressing them, and was probably the circuit that he took in his visitation. That there was a flourishing church at Laodicea in the primitive times of Christianity, is evident from St. Paul's

[5] Smith, Rycaut, Wheler, and Spon, ibid.

Epistle to the Colossians, wherein frequent mention is made of the Laodiceans, as well as from this Epistle of St. John. But the doom of Laodicea[6] seemeth to have been more severe and terrible than that of almost any other of the seven churches. For it is now utterly destroyed and forsaken of men, and is become an habitation only for wolves, foxes, and jackalls, a den of dragons, snakes, and vipers. And that because the Lord hath executed the judgment, that he had pronounced upon her: that all the world might know, and tremble at the fierce anger of God against impenitent, negligent, and careless sinners. For such was the accusation of the *lukewarm* Laodiceans, who grew proud and self-conceited, thinking themselves much better than they really were. Wherefore, because they were "neither hot nor cold," they were loathsome to Christ; and he therefore assured them, that he would "spue them out of his mouth." The ruins shew it to have been a very great city, situate upon six or seven hills, and encompassing a large space of ground. Some notion may be formed of its former greatness and glory from three theatres and a circus which are remaining; one of which is truly admirable, as it was capable of containing above thirty thousand men, into whose area they descended by fifty steps. This city is now called Eski Hisar, or the old castle; and though it was once the mother-church of sixteen bishoprics, yet it now lieth desolate, not so much as inhabited by shepherds, and so far from shewing any of the ornaments of God's ancient worship, it cannot now boast of an anchorite's or hermit's chapel, where God's name is praised or invoked.

Such is the state and condition of these seven once glorious and flourishing churches; and there cannot be a stronger proof of the truth of prophecy, nor a more effectual warning to other Christians. 'These objects,' as Wheler[7] justly observes, 'ought to make us, who yet enjoy the divine mercies, to tremble, and earnestly contend to find out "from whence we are fallen," and do daily fall from bad to worse; that God is a God "of purer eyes than to behold iniquity;" and seeing "the axe" is thus long since "put to the root of the tree," should it not make us repent and turn to God, "lest we likewise perish?"—We see here "what destruction the Lord hath brought upon the earth." But "it is the Lord's doing:" and thence we may reap no small advantage by considering how *just* he is in all his *judgments*, and *faithful* in all his *promises*.' We may truly say (1 Cor. x. 11, 12.) that "all these things happened unto them for ensamples: and they are written for our admonition, upon whom the ends of the world are come. Wherefore let him that thinketh he standeth, take heed lest he fall.

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[6] Smith, Rycaut, Wheler, and Spon, ibid.

[7] Wheler's Voyage, b. 3. p. 259, &c.

CHAP. IV.—(1) "AFTER this, I looked, and behold, a door *was* open in heaven: and the first voice which I heard, *was* as it were of a trumpet talking with me; which said, Come up hither, and I will shew thee things which must be hereafter. (2) And immediately I was in the spirit: and behold, a throne was set in heaven, and *one* sat on the throne. (3) And he that sat was to look upon like a jasper, and a sardine stone: and *there was* a rainbow round about the throne, in sight like unto an emerald. (4) And round about the throne *were* four and twenty seats; and upon the seats I saw four and twenty elders sitting, clothed in white raiment; and they had on their heads crowns of gold. (5) And out of the throne proceeded lightnings, and thunderings, and voices: And *there were* seven lamps of fire burning before the throne, which are the seven Spirits of God. (6) And before the throne *there was* a sea of glass like unto crystal: And in the midst of the throne, and round about the throne *were* four beasts full of eyes before and behind. (7) And the first beast was like a lion, and the second beast like a calf, and the third beast had the face of a man, and the fourth beast *was* like a flying eagle. (8) And the four beasts had each of them six wings about him. and *they were* full of eyes within; and they rest not day and night, saying, Holy, holy, holy, Lord God almighty, which was, and is, and is to come. (9) And when those beasts give glory, and honour, and thanks to him that sat on the throne, who liveth for ever and ever, (10) The four and twenty elders fall down before him that sat on the throne, and worship him that liveth for ever and ever, and cast their crowns before the throne, saying, (11) Thou art worthy, O Lord, to receive glory and honour, and power: for thou hast created all things, and for thy pleasure they are, and were created."

After this vision relating to "the things which are," other visions succeed of the "things which must be hereafter," (ver. 1.) The scene is laid in heaven; and the scenery is drawn in allusion to (Numb. i. 2.) the encampment of the children of Israel in the wilderness. God is represented (ver. 2, 3.) sitting on the throne, as in the tabernacle or temple, much in the same manner as the prophet Ezekiel (i. 26, 27, 28.) hath described him. Next to the tabernacle encamped the priests and Levites; and next to the throne (ver. 4.) "were four and twenty elders sitting," answering to the princes of the four and twenty courses of the Jewish priests; "clothed in white raiment," as emblems of their purity and sanctity; "and they had on their heads crowns of gold," Christ having made them (1 Pet. ii. 9.) "a royal priesthood," and (Rev. v. 10.) "kings and priests unto God." "Out of the throne proceeded (ver. v.) lightnings, and thunderings, and voices," the usual concomitants and attendants of the Divine presence: "and there were seven lamps of fire burning before the throne," answering to the golden candlestick with seven lamps, which was before the most holy place in the tabernacle. Before the throne there was also (ver. 6.) "a sea of glass, like unto crystal," answering to the great molten sea or laver in the temple of Solomon: "and in the midst of the throne, and round about the throne," that is, before and behind the throne, and on each side of the throne, "were four beasts" or rather *four living creatures* (*ζῶα*), representing the heads of the whole congregation in the four quarters of the world, and resembling the cherubim and seraphim in Ezekiel's and Isaiah's visions (Ezek. i. 10. x. 14. Is. vi. 2, 3.); or rather resembling the four standards or ensigns of the four divisions in the camp of Israel, according to the[8] traditionary description of them by Jewish writers. "The first living creature was like a lion," (ver. 7.) which was the standard of Judah with the two other tribes in the eastern division; "and the second like a calf," or ox, which was the standard of Ephraim with the two other tribes in the western division; "and the third had a face as a man," which was the standard of Reuben with the two other tribes in the southern division; "and the fourth was like a flying eagle," which was the standard of Dan with the two other tribes in the northern division: and this traditionary description agrees also with the four faces of the cherub in Ezekiel's visions. Of these living creatures, and of the elders, the constant employment (ver. 8—11.) is to celebrate, in hymns of praise and thanksgiving, the great and wonderful works of creation and providence.

CHAP. V.—(1) "AND I saw in the right hand of him that sat on the throne, a book written within and on the backside, sealed with seven seals. (2) And I saw a strong angel, proclaiming with a loud voice, Who is worthy to open the book, and to loose the seals thereof? (3) And no man in heaven, nor in earth, neither under the earth, was able to open the book, neither to look thereon. (4) And I wept much because no man was found worthy to open, and to read the book, neither to look thereon. (5) And one of the elders saith unto me, Weep not: behold, the Lion of the tribe of Juda, the Root of David, hath prevailed to open the book, and to loose the seven seals thereof. (6) And I beheld, and lo, in the midst of the throne, and of the four beasts, and in the midst of the elders, stood a Lamb, as it had been slain, having seven horns, and seven eyes, which are the seven Spirits of God sent forth into all the earth. (7) And he came and took the book out of the right hand of him that sat upon the throne. (8) And when he had taken the book, the four beasts, and four and twenty elders fell down before the Lamb, having every one of them harps, and golden vials full of odours, which are the prayers of saints. (9) And they sung a new song, saying, Thou art worthy to take the book, and to open the seals thereof: for thou wast slain, and hast redeemed us to God by thy blood, out of every kindred, and tongue, and people, and nation; (10) And hast made us unto our God kings and priests; and we shall reign on the earth. (11) And I beheld, and I heard the voice of many angels round about the throne, and the beasts, and the elders: and the number of them was ten thousand times ten thousand, and thousands of thousands; (12) Saying with a loud voice, Worthy is the Lamb that was slain, to receive power, and riches, and wisdom, and strength, and honour, and glory, and blessing. (13) And every creature which is in heaven, and on the earth, and under the earth, and such as are in the sea, and all that are in them, heard I, saying, Blessing, and honour, and glory, and power be unto him that sitteth upon the throne, and unto the Lamb for ever and ever. (14) And the four beasts said, Amen. And the four and twenty elders fell down and worshipped him that liveth for ever and ever."

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[8] 'Majores nostri dixerunt, &c.' See Aben Ezra and others quoted by Mr. Mede, p. 437

Future events are supposed by St. John, as well as by Daniel and other prophets, in a beautiful figure, to be registered in *a book*, for the greater certainty of them. This book (ver. 1.) is "in the right hand of God," to denote, that as he alone directs the affairs of futurity, so he alone is able to reveal them. This book, through the abundance of the matter, was[9] "written within and on the backside;" as the roll of the book, which was spread before Ezekiel (ii. 10.), was "written within and without." It was also *sealed*, to signify that the decrees of God are inscrutable, and "sealed with seven seals," referring to so many signal periods of prophecy. In short we should conceive of this book, that it was such an one as the ancients used, a volume or roll of a book, or more properly a volume consisting of seven volumes, so that the opening of one seal laid open the contents only of one volume. All creatures are challenged (ver. 2.) "to open the book, and to loose the seals thereof." But (ver. 3.) "no *one* (οὐδεὶς) in heaven, nor in earth, neither under the earth," neither angels nor men, nor departed spirits, were any of them qualified to comprehend and communicate the secret purposes of God. St. John "wept much" (ver. 4.) at the sad disappointment: but who now is concerned or grieved, that he cannot understand these prophecies? However he is comforted (ver. 5.) with an assurance, that still there was one who had power and authority to reveal and accomplish the counsels of God. The Son of God, and he alone, was found worthy to be the great revealer and interpreter of his Father's oracles (ver. 6, &c.); and he obtained this privilege by the merits of his sufferings and death. Whereupon the whole church (ver. 8, &c.), and all the angels (ver. 11, &c.), and all creatures (ver. 13, &c.), sing praises to God and to the Lamb for such glorious manifestations of divine providence. All this is by way of preface or introduction, to shew the great dignity, importance, and excellence of the prophecies here delivered.

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[9] So in Juvenal Sat. i. 5.

—'summi plena jam margine libri,
Scriptus et in tergo, necdum finitus Orestes.'

CHAP. VI.—(1) "AND I saw when the Lamb opened one of the seals, and I heard as it were the noise of thunder, one of the four beasts saying, Come, and see. (2) And I saw, and behold, a white horse; and he that sat on him had a bow, and a crown was given unto him, and he went forth conquering, and to conquer."

As the seals are opened in order, so the events follow in order too. The first seal or period (ver. 1, 2.) is memorable for conquest, and was proclaimed by the first of the four living creatures, who was like a lion, and had his station in the east. "And I saw, and behold, a white horse; and he that sat on him, had a bow, and a crown was given unto him, and he went forth conquering and to conquer." This first period commenceth with Vespasian and Titus, who from commanding[1] in the east were advanced to the empire; and Vespasian for this reason was regarded,[2] both by the Romans and foreigners, as that great prince who was to come out of the east, and obtain dominion over the world. They "went forth to conquer;" for they made an entire conquest of Judea, destroying Jerusalem, and carried the Jews captive into all nations. As these prophecies were written a few years before the destruction of Jerusalem, they properly begin with some allusion to that memorable event; and a short allusion was sufficient, our Saviour himself having enlarged so much upon all the particulars. The *bow*, the *white horse*, and the *crown*, are proper emblems of victory, triumph, and royalty; and the proclamation for conquest is fitly made by a creature like a lion. This period continued during the reigns of the Flavian family and the short reign of Nerva, about twenty-eight years.

They who suppose this book to have been written in Domitian's time, some years after the destruction of Jerusalem, are obliged to give another explanation of this first seal, applicable to some subsequent event, that it may not be deemed a history of things past instead of a prophecy of things to come. Now their notion is, that this first seal exhibits a representation of the person and dignity of Christ, and of the triumphs of the Christian religion over all the powers of Paganism. At the same time they allow (as it is generally allowed) that the six first seals especially relate to Heathen Rome, and comprehend so many notable periods in the Roman history. But where then is the propriety or consistence, of understanding this first seal of Christ and the Christian religion, and the succeeding seals of successive revolutions in the Roman empire, during its pagan and unconverted state? And what good reason can be given for representing the church in triumph and glory, at a period when it was most grievously persecuted and afflicted? Would it not have been more uniform and of a piece, and have agreed better with the series and order of true history, if they had applied this first seal to the conquests of Vespasian and Titus, and the destruction of Jerusalem; as they have applied the second seal to the wars of Trajan and Adrian with the Jews, and the third and following seals to transactions of other Roman emperors? The four living creatures have their stations, as we have shewn, in the four quarters, east, west, south, and north, to denote from what part we are to look for the completion of the prophecy: and as Trajan proceeded from the *west,* Septimius Severus from the *south,* and Maximin from the *north,* what other emperor before them, besides Vespasian, came from the *east,* which was the station of the lion, who made the first proclamation? It should seem therefore that the interpretation which was first proposed is the more eligible, and indeed I cannot see how this first seal can be well explicated otherwise, consistently with the truth of history and other circumstances of the prophecy; and if this be the true interpretation, this is a further argument that the book was more probably written in the persecutions under Nero than in those under Domitian.

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[1] 'Hujus (Vitellii) tempore Vespasianus *in oriente* principatum arripuit.' Aurel. Victor, Epit. c. 8.

[2] Tacit. Hist. l. 5. cap. 13. Sueton. in Vesp. cap. 4. Joseph. de Bell. Jud. l. 6. cap. 5. § 4.

(3) " And when he had opened the second seal, I heard the second beast say, Come and see. (4) And there went out another horse *that was* red: and *power* was given to him that sat thereon; to take peace from the earth, and that they should kill one another: and there was given unto him a great sword."

The second seal or period (ver. 3, 4.) is noted for war and slaughter, and was proclaimed by the second living creature, who was like an ox, and had his station in the west. "And there went out another horse that was red: and power was given to him that sat thereon, to take peace from the earth, and that they should kill one another; and there was given unto him a great sword." This second period commenceth with Trajan, who came from the west, being a [3] Spaniard by birth, and was the first foreigner who was elevated to the imperial throne. In his reign and that of his successor Adrian there were horrid wars and slaughters, and especially between the rebellious Jews and the Romans. Dion relates,[4] that the Jews about Cyrene slew of the Romans and Greeks two hundred and twenty thousand men with the most shocking circumstances of barbarity. In Egypt also and in Cyprus they committed the like barbarities, and there perished two hundred and forty thousand men more. But the Jews were subdued in their turn, by the other generals and Lucius sent against them by Trajan. Eusebius writing of the same time saith,[5] that the Jews inflamed as it were by some violent and seditious spirit, in the first conflict gained a victory over the Gentiles, who flying to Alexandria took and killed the Jews in the city. The emperor sent Marcius Turbo against them, with great forces by sea and land; who in many battles slew many myriads of the Jews. The emperor also suspecting that they might make the like commotions in Mesopotamia ordered Lucius Quietus to expel them out of the province, who marching against them slew a very great multitude of them there. Orosius treating of the same time saith,[6] that the Jews with an incredible commotion, made wild as it were with rage, rose at once, in different parts of the earth. For throughout all Libya they waged the fiercest wars against the inhabitants, and the country was almost desolated. Egypt also and Cyrene and Thebais they disturbed with cruel seditions. But in Alexandria they were overcome in battle. In Mesopotamia also war was made upon the rebellious Jews by the command of the emperor. So that many thousands of them were destroyed with vast slaughter. They utterly destroyed Salamis, a city of Cyprus, having first murdered all the inhabitants. These things were transacted in the reign of Trajan: and in the reign of Adrian[7] was their great rebellion under their false Messiah Barchochab, and their final dispersion, after fifty of their strongest castles and nine hundred and eighty-five of their best towns had been demolished, and after five hundred and eighty thousand men had been slain by the sword, besides an infinite number who had perished by famine and sickness and other casualties, with great loss and slaughter too of the Romans, insomuch that the emperor forbore the usual salutations in his letters to the senate. Here was another illustrious triumph of Christ over his enemies; and the Jews and the Romans, both the persecutors of the Christians, were remarkably made the dreadful executioners of divine vengeance upon one another. The *great sword* and the *red horse* are expressive emblems of this slaughtering and bloody period; and the proclamation for slaughter is fitly made by a creature like an ox that is destined for slaughter. This period continued during the reigns of Trajan and his successors by blood or adoption about ninety-five years.

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[3] Ἴϐηρ ὁ Τραϊανὸς ἀλλ' οὐκ Ἰταλὸς, οὐδ' Ἰταλιώτης ἦν — μηδεὶς ϖρόσθεν ἀλλοεθνὴς τὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων κράτος ἐσχήκει. *Trajanus homo Hispanus, nec Italus erat, nec Italicus — ante eum nemo alterius nationis imperium Romanum obtinuerat.* Dion. Hist. l. 68. § 4.

[4] Καὶ ἐν τούτῳ οἱ κατὰ Κυρήνην Ἰουδαῖοι — τούς τε Ῥωμαίους καὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἔφθειρον — ὥστε τὰς πάσας δύο καὶ εἴκοσι μυριάδας ἀπολέσθαι· ἔν τε Αἰγύπτῳ πολλὰ ἔδρασαν ὅμοια, καὶ ἐν τῇ Κύπρῳ——καὶ ἀπώλοντο καὶ ἐκεῖ μυριάδες τέσσαρες καὶ εἴκοσι. — ἀλλ' Ἰουδαίους μὲν ἄλλοι τε καὶ Λούκιος ὑϖὸ Τραϊανοῦ πεμφθεὶς κατεστρέψαντο. *Interim Judæi, qui circum Cyrenen habitabant — Romanos pariter atque Græcos concîdunt — ita ut interierint hominum ad ducenta viginti millia. Præterea in Ægypto Cyproque — consimilia quædam perpetrarunt, ubi desiderata sunt hominum ducenta quadraginta millia.—Sed Judæi et ab aliis, et maxime a Lucio, quem Trajanus miserat, subacti sunt.* Dion. ibid. § 32.

[5] — ὥσπερ ὑϖὸ ϖνεύματος δεινοῦ τινὸς καὶ στασιώδους ἀναῤῥιπισθέντες — ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ συμβολῇ ἐπικρατῆσαι αὐτοὺς συνέβη τῶν Ἑλλήνων· οἱ καὶ καταφυγόντες εἰς τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν, τοὺς ἐν τῇ ϖόλει Ἰουδαίους ἐζώγρησάν τε καὶ ἀπέκτειναν. — ἐφ' οὓς ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ ἔπεμψε Μάρκιον Τούρβωνα σὺν δυνάμει πεζῇ τε καὶ ναυτικῇ, ἔτι δὲ καὶ ἱππικῇ· ὁ δὲ ϖολλαῖς μάχαις — πολλὰς μυριάδας Ἰουδαίων — ἀναιρεῖ. ὁ δὲ αὐτοκράτωρ ὑποπτεύσας καὶ τοὺς ἐν Μεσοποταμίᾳ Ἰουδαίους ἐϖιθήσεσθαι τοῖς αὐτόθι, Λουκίῳ Κυήτῳ προσέταξεν ἐκκαθᾶραι τῆς ἐπαρχίας αὐτούς· ὃς καὶ παραταξάμενος πάμϖολυ ϖλῆθος τῶν αὐτόθι φονεύει — *velut a violento quodam et seditioso dæmone exagitati — et primo quidem conflictu forte Judæi Gentiles superaverant. Qui mox Alexandriam confugientes, Judæos qui in ea urbe degebant, captos interfecerunt.—Itaque imperator Marcium Turbonem adversus eos misit cum pedestribus ac navalibus copiis, et cum equitatu. Hic multis præliis consertis — infinita Judæorum millia — neci dedit. Sed imperator veritus ne Judæi qui Mesopotamiam habitabant, incolas perinde aggrederentur, mandavit Lucio Quieto, ut eos extra provinciæ fines deportaret. Qui instructa adversus illos acie, ingentem eorum multitudinem prostravit.* Euseb. Eccles. Hist. l. 4. c. 2.

[6] 'Incredibili deinde motu, sub uno tempore Judæi, quasi rabie efferati, per diversas terrarum partes exarserunt. Nam et per totam Libyam adversus incolas atrocissima bella gesserunt: quæ adeo tunc interfectis cultoribus desolata

(5) "And when he had opened the third seal, I heard the third beast say, Come, and see. And I beheld, and lo, a black horse; and he that sat on him had a pair of balances in his hand. (6) And I heard a voice in the midst of the four beasts say, A measure of wheat for a penny, and three measures of barley for a penny; and see thou hurt not the oil and the wine."

The third seal or period (ver. 5, 6.) is characterized by the strict execution of justice and judgment, and by the procuration of corn and oil and wine; and was proclaimed by the third living creature, who was like a man, and had his station in the south. "And I beheld, and lo, a black horse; and he that sat on him had a pair of balances in his hand. And I heard a voice in the midst of the four living creatures say, A measure of

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est — Ægyptum vero totam et Cyrenem et Thebaida cruentis seditionibus turbaverunt. In Alexandria autem commisso prælio victi et attriti sunt. In Mesopotamia quoque rebellantibus jussu imperatoris bellum illatum est. Itaque multa millia eorum vasta cæda delete sunt. Sane Salaminam, urbem Cypri, interfectis omnibus accolis deleverunt.' Oros. Hist. l. 7. c. 12.

[7] Euseb. Hist. Eccles. l. 4. c. 6. Dion Hist. l. 69. § 14.

wheat for a penny; and three measures of barley for a penny; and see thou hurt not the oil and the wine." Where Grotius[8] and others have observed, that a *chœnix* of corn, the measure here mentioned, was a man's daily allowance, as a *penny* was his daily wages; so that if his daily labour could earn no more than his daily bread, without other provision for himself or his family, corn must needs bear a very high price. But whatever may be the capacity of the *chœnix*, which is difficult to be determined, as it was different in different times and countries; yet such care and such regulations about the necessaries of life imply some want and scarcity of them. Scarcity obligeth men to exactness in the price and measure of things. In short, the intent of the prophecy is, that corn should be provided for the people, but it should be distributed in exact measure and proportion. This third period commenceth with Septimius Severus, who was an emperor from the south, being[9] a native of Africa. He was an[1] enactor of just and equal laws, and was very severe and implacable to offences; he would not suffer even petty larcenies to go unpunished: as neither would Alexander Severus[2] in the same period, who was a most severe judge against thieves; and was so fond of the Christian maxim, 'Whatsoever you would not have done to you, do not you to another,' that he commanded it to be engraven on the palace, and on the public buildings. These two emperors were also no less celebrated for the procuring of corn and oil and other provisions, and for supplying the Romans with them after they had experienced the want of them. They repaired the neglects of former times, and corrected the abuses of former princes. Of Septimius Severus[3] it is said, that the provision of corn, which he found very small, he so far consulted, that at his death he left a certain rate or allowance to the Roman people for seven years: and also of oil as much as for the space of five years might supply not only the uses of the city, but likewise of all Italy which might want oil. Of Alexander Severus it is also said, that[4] he took such care in providing for the Roman people, that the corn which Heliogabulus had wasted, he replaced out of his own money; the oil also, which Septimius Severus had given to the people, and which Heliogabalus had lessened, he restored whole as before. The colour of the *black horse* befits the severity of their nature and their name, and the *balances* are the well known emblem of justice, as well as an intimation of scarcity; and the proclamation for justice and judgment, and for the procuration of corn and oil and wine, is fitly made by a creature like a man. This period continued during the reigns of the Septimian family about forty-two years.

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[8] 'Est autem χοῖνιξ tritici tantum, quanto homo sanus in diem indiget, ut ex Herodoti libro tertio et septimo observarunt eruditi, alii etiam ex Hippocrate, Diogene Laertio et Athenæo. Denarius vero tantum, quantum quoque die mereri poterat homo strenue laborans, ut videre est Matt. xx. 2, &c.' Grot. in locum. Vide etiam Vitring. p. 259.

[9] 'Septimius Severus — oriundus ex Africa.—Solus omni memoria et ante et postea ex Africa imperator fuit.' Eutropius, l. 8. c. 10. 'Interfecto Didio Juliano, Severus Africa oriundus imperium obtinuit.' Ælius Spartian. in Severo. Hist. August. Script. VI. p. 64. Edit. Salmasii.

[1] 'Legum conditor longe æquabilium —implacabilis delictis—ne parva latrocinia quidem impunita patiebatur.' Aurel. Victor de Cæsar. c. 20.

[2] 'Severissimus judex contra fures—"Quod tibi fieri non vis, alteri ne feceris;" quam sententiam usque adeo dilexit, ut et in palatio et in publicis operibus præscribi juberet.' Lampridius Hist. August. p. 123 et 132.

[3] 'Rei frumentariæ, quam minimam repererat, ita consuluit, ut excedens vita, septem annorum canonem P. R. relinqueret.' Spartian. Hist. August. p. 67. 'Olei vero tantum ut per quinquennium non solum urbis usibus, sed et totius Italiæ quæ oleo egeret, sufficeret.' Spartian. ibid. p. 73.

(7) "And when he had opened the fourth seal, I heard the voice of the fourth beast say, Come, and see. (8) And I looked, and behold, a pale horse; and his name that sat on him was Death, and Hell followed with him: and power was given unto them, over the fourth part of the earth, to kill with sword, and with hunger, and with death, and with the beasts of the earth."

The fourth seal or period (ver. 7, 8.) is distinguished by a concurrence of evils, war, and famine, and pestilence, and wild beasts; and was proclaimed by the fourth living creature, who was like an eagle, and had his station in the north. "And I looked, and behold, a pale horse; and his name that sat on him was Death, and Hell followed with him: and power was given unto them, over the fourth part of the earth, to kill with sword, and with hunger, and with death, and with the beasts of the earth." These are the same "four sore judgments," with which Ezekiel (xiv. 21.) threatened Jerusalem, "the sword, and the famine, and the noisome beast, and the pestilence;" for in the oriental languages the pestilence is emphatically[5] styled *death*. These *four* were to destroy *the fourth part* of mankind; and the image is very poetical, of *death riding on a pale horse*, and *hell* or *the grave following with him*, ready to swallow up the dead corpses. This period commenceth with Maximin, who was an emperor from the north, being[6] born of barbarous parents in a village of Thrace. He was indeed a barbarian in all respects.

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[4] 'Commeatum populi Romani sic adjuvit, ut quum frumenta Heliogabalus evertisset, vicem de propria pecunia loco suo reponeret.—Oleum quod Severus populo dederat, quodque Heliogabalus imminuerat, integrum restituit.' Lamprid. ibid. p. 121.

[5] Voce *ϑανάτου* intelligendus est *λοιμὸς* ex Hebraismo: Nam ita מות sumitur apud Jer. ix. 21. et xviii. 21. Sic apud Sirachidem legimus xxxix. 29. *λοιμὸς καὶ ϑάνατος*, ubi itidem *ϑάνατος* haud dubie *pestilentiam* significat. Syrus quoque tum hic tum apud Lucam *λοιμοὺς* vertit מותנא i. e. *ϑανάτους*; et LXX Hebræorum דבר i. e. *pestem* vertunt *ϑάνατον*, ut et Chaldæus et Latinus Lev. xxvi. 25. Horum exemplo Severus Sulpitius, Hist. i. *mortem* pro *pestilentia* posuit.' Grot. in Matt. xxiv. 7.

[6] 'Hic de vico Thraciæ vicino, barbaro etiam patre et matre genitus.' Julius Capitolinus Hist. August. Vide etiam notas Salmas. et Casauboni. *Μαξιμῖνος, τὸ μὲν γένος τῶν ἐνδοτάτων Θρᾳκῶν καὶ μιξοβαρβάρων. Maximinus, qui quod ad genus attinet, ex intimis Thrucibus, et semibarbaris erat.* Herodian. l. 6. c. 17.

There was not, as an[7] historian affirms, a more cruel animal upon the earth; he was so cruel that he was deservedly called by the name of Cyclops, Busiris, Phalaris, and the worst of tyrants. The history of his and several succeeding reigns is full of wars and murders, mutinies of soldiers, and invasions of foreign armies, rebellions of subjects, and deaths of princes. There were more than twenty emperors in the space of fifty years, and all or most of them died in war, or were murdered by their own soldiers and subjects. Besides lawful emperors, there were in the reign of Gallienus[8] thirty tyrants or usurpers, who set up in different parts of the empire, and came all to violent and miserable ends. Here was sufficient employment for the *sword;* and such wars and devastations must necessarily produce a *famine,* and the *famine* is another distinguishing calamity of this period. In the reign of Gallus, the Scythians made such incursions, that[9] not one nation subject to the Romans was left unwasted by them, and every unwalled town, and most of the walled cities were taken by them. In the reign of Probus[1] also there was a great famine throughout the world; and for want of victuals the army mutinied, and slew him. A usual consequence of famine is the *pestilence,* and the *pestilence* is the third distinguishing calamity of this period. This pestilence, according to[2] Zonaras, arising from Ethiopia, while Gallus and Volusian were emperors, pervaded all the Roman provinces, and for fifteen years together incredibly exhausted them; and so learned a man as Lipsius declares, that he never read of any greater plague, for the space of time that it lasted, or of land that it overspread. Zosimus, speaking of the devastations of the Scythians in the reign of Gallus[3] before mentioned, farther addeth, that the pestilence, not less pernicious than the war, destroyed whatever was left of human kind, and made such havoc as it had never done in former times. He saith also, that in the reign of Gallienus,[4] such a grievous pestilence as never happened at any time before, rendered the calamities inflicted by the barbarians more moderate. He saith afterwards too in the reign of Claudius,[5] that the pestilence seizing on the Romans as well as the barbarians, many of the army died, and also Claudius the emperor. Dionysius in Eusebius[6] treating of the same time, mentions the *war* and the *famine* and the *pestilence*, as succeeding one another in their natural order. St. Cyprian too mentions[7] all the three together, as troubling the world more at that time than at any other. He wrote also a treatise upon this very pestilence,[8] which he entitled 'De mortalitate,' as if he had taken the name from the prophecy which had predicted it. In short, without alleging more testimonies, Eutropius affirms of Gallus and Volusian,[9] that their reign was remarkable only for the pestilence and diseases and sickness. Orosius[1] asserts much the same thing: and Trebellius Pollio[2] likewise informs us, that in the reign of Gallienus the pestilence was so great that five thousand men died in one day. When the countries lie thus uncultivated, uninhabited, unfrequented, the *wild beasts* multiply, and come into the towns to devour men; which is the fourth distinguishing calamity of this period. This would appear a probable consequence of the former calamities, if history had recorded nothing of it: but we read in history that[3] five hundred wolves together entered into a city, which was deserted by its inhabitants, and where the young Maximin chanced to be. It is well known, that the heathens maliciously ascribed all public calamities to the Christians, and among them we find objected[4] the wars which they were obliged to wage with lions and wild beasts; as we may collect from Arnobius, who wrote soon after this time. The colour of the *pale horse* is very suitable to the mortality of this period; and the proclamation for death and destruction is fitly made by a creature like an eagle that watches for carcases. This period continued from Maximin to Diocletian about fifty years.

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[7] 'Neque enim fuit crudelius animal in terris—tam crudelis fuit, ut illum alii Cyclopem, alii Busiridem, alii Scironem, nonnulli Phalarim, multi Typhonem, vel Gygem vocarent.' Jul. Capitol. Hist. August. p. 141.

[8] Vid. Trebell. Pollio Hist. August. p. 184, &c.

[9] ὥστε μηδὲ ἓν ἔθνος Ῥωμαίοις ὑπήκοον ἀπόρθητον ὑπὸ τούτων καταλειφθῆναι, πᾶσαν δὲ, ὡς εἰπεῖν, ἀτείχιστον πόλιν, καὶ τῶν ὠχυρωμένων τείχεσι τὰς πλείους, ἁλῶναι. *adeo quidem, ut nulla gens Romanæ ditionis ab eis non vastata manserit, sed omnia, prope dixerim, oppida destituta mœnibus, et iisdem munitorum magna pars, capta fuerint.* Zosim. in Gall. l. 1. c. 26.

[1] ἐγένετο λιμὸς κοσμικὸς μέγας, καὶ μὴ εὑρεθέντων ἀναλωμάτων, ἐστασίασεν ὁ στρατὸς, καὶ ἐπελθόντες ἔσφαξαν αὐτόν. *fames ingens per totum orbem grassata est: annona autem deficiente, seditione in exercitu excitata, a militibus interfectus est.* Joan. Malalæ Chronogra. l. 12. p. 400.

[2] 'Zonaras auctor est, nec cæteri tacuere, sub Gallo et Volusiano imperatoribus, *pestem* ab Æthiopia exortam omnes Romanas provincias pervasisse, et per quindecim continuos annos incredibiliter exhausisse. "Nec alia unquam major lues mihi lecta (inquit vir nostro ævo celebris) spatio temporum, sive terrarum."' Mede, p. 446. Zonar. in Gal. et Volus. Lipsius de Constantia, l. 2. c. 23.

[3] οὐχ ἧττον δὲ, τοῦ πανταχόθεν ἐπιβρίσαντος πολέμου, καὶ ὁ λοιμὸς πόλεσί τε καὶ κώμαις ἐπιγενόμενος, εἴ τι λελειμμένον ἦν ἀνθρώπειον γένος, διέφθειρεν, οὔπω πρότερον ἐν τοῖς φθάσασι χρόνοις τοσαύτην ἀνθρώπων ἀπώλειαν ἐργασάμενος. *Nec minus bello, quod undique scaturiendo velut emerserat, lues etiam pestilens in oppidis atque vicis subsecuta, quicquid erat humani generis reliquum, absumsit: quæ sane nunquam superioribus sæculis tantam hominum stragem ediderat.* Zosim. l. 1. c. 26.

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[4] λοιμὸς ἐπιβρίσας ταῖς πόλεσιν, οἷος οὔπω πρότερον ἐν παντὶ τῷ χρόνῳ συνέβη, τὰς μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων συμφορὰς μετριωτέρας ἀπέφηνε. *tanta pestis in civitatibus exorta, quanta nunquam prius ullo tempore exstiterat, calamitates a barbaris illatas leviores reddidit.* Zosim. l. 1. c. 37.

[5] Ἀψαμένου δὲ τοῦ λοιμοῦ καὶ Ῥωμαίων, ἀπέθανον μὲν πολλοὶ τοῦ στρατεύματος, τελευτᾷ δὲ καὶ Κλαύδιος. *Sed quod in Romanos quoque pestis sævire cœpisset, cum alii complures in exercitu mortui sunt, tum etiam Claudius vivendi finem fecit.* Zosim. ibid. c. 46.

[6] Euseb. Eccles. Hist. l. 7. c. 22.

[7] 'Sed enim cum dicas, plurimos conqueri quod bella crebrius surgant, quod lues, quod fames sæviant, &c.' Ad Demetrianum, c. 1. 'Quod autem crebrius bella continuant, quod sterilitas et fames solicitudinem cumulant quod sævientibus morbis valetudo frangitur, quod humanum genus luis populatione vastatur, &c.' Ibid. c. 3.

[8] Vide Edit. Felli. p. 110.

[9] 'Sola pestilentia, et morbis, atque ægritudinibus notus eorum principatus fuit.' Eutrop. l. 9. c. 5.

[1] 'Hac sola pernicie insignes Gallus et Volusianus.' Oros. Hist. l. c. 21.

[2] 'Pestilentia tanta exstiterat, ut uno die quinque millia hominum perirent.' Trebell. Pollio Hist. August. p. 177.

[3] 'Lupi urbem quingenti simul ingressi sunt, in quam se. Maximinus contulerat ——quæ deserta a civibus venienti Maximino patuit.' Julius Capitolin. ibid. p. 150.

[4] 'Quando cum feris bella, et prælia cum leonibus gesta sunt? Non ante nos?' Arnob. advers. Gentes, l. 1. p. 5.

(9) "And when he had opened the fifth seal, I saw under the altar the souls of them that were slain for the word of God, and for the testimony which they held. (10) And they cried with a loud voice, saying, How long, O Lord, holy and true, dost thou not judge and avenge our blood on them that dwell on the earth? (11) And white robes were given unto every one of them, and it was said unto them, that they should rest yet for a little season, until their fellow-servants also, and their brethren that should be killed as they were, should be fulfilled."

The following seals have nothing extrinsical, like the proclamation of the living creatures, to determine from what quarter we must expect their completion; but they are sufficiently distinguished by their internal marks and characters. The fifth seal or period is remarkable for a dreadful persecution of the Christians, who are represented (ver. 9.) lying *under the altar* (for the scene is still in the tabernacle or temple), as sacrifices newly slain and offered to God. They *cry aloud* (ver. 10.) for the Lord to *judge and avenge* their cause; that is, the cruelties exercised upon them were of so barbarous and atrocious a nature, as to deserve and provoke the vengeance of the Lord. "White robes *are* given unto every one of them," (ver. 11.) as a token of their justification and acceptance with God; and they are exhorted to "rest for a season," till the number of the martyrs be completed, when they shall receive their full reward, as we shall see hereafter. Where Mr. Lowman[5] observes very well, that 'this representation seems much to favour the immediate happiness of departed saints, and hardly to consist with that uncomfortable opinion, the insensible state of departed souls, till after the resurrection.' There were other persecutions before, but this was by far the most considerable, the tenth and last general persecution which was begun by Diocletian, and continued by others, and lasted longer, and extended farther, and was sharper and more bloody than any or all preceding; and therefore this was particularly predicted. Eusebius and Lactantius, who were two eye-witnesses, have[6] written large accounts of it. Orosius[7] asserts that this persecution was longer and more cruel than all the past; for it raged incessantly for ten years by burning the churches, proscribing the innocent, and slaying the martyrs. Sulpicius Severus too[8] describes it as the most bitter persecution, which for ten years together depopulated the people of God; at which time all the world almost was stained with the sacred blood of the martyrs, and was never more exhausted by any wars. So that this became a memorable æra to the Christians, under the name of the æra of Diocletian, or as it is otherwise called the æra of martyrs.

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[5] See Lowman on the Rev. p. 51.

[6] Euseb. Eccles. Hist. l. 8. cum supplemento. Lactantius de Mortibus Persecut. c. 7, &c.

[7] —'quæ persecutio omnibus fere ante actis diuturnior atque immanior fuit. Nam per decem annos incendiis ecclesiarum, proscriptionibus innocentum, cædibus martyrum, incessabiliter acta est.' Oros. Hist. l. 7. c. 25.

(12) "And I beheld when he had opened the sixth seal, and lo, there was a great earthquake, and the sun became black as sackcloth of hair, and the moon became as blood. (13) And the stars of heaven fell unto the earth, even as a fig-tree casteth her untimely figs when she is shaken of a mighty wind: (14) And the heaven departed as a scroll when it is rolled together: and every mountain and island were moved out of their places: (15) And the kings of the earth, and the great men, and the rich men, and the chief captains, and the mighty men, and every bond-man, and every free-man hid themselves in the dens, and in the rocks of the mountains; (16) And said to the mountains and rocks, Fall on us, and hide us from the face of him that sitteth on the throne, and from the wrath of the Lamb: (17) For the great day of his wrath is come; and who shall be able to stand?"

The sixth seal or period produceth mighty changes and revolutions, which, according to the prophetic style, are expressed by great commotions in the earth and in the heavens. The very same images, the very same expressions are employed by other prophets concerning the mutations and alterations of religions and governments: and why may they not therefore with equal fitness and propriety be applied to one of the greatest and most memorable revolutions which ever were in the world, the subversion of the Heathen religion, and establishment of the Christian, which was begun by Constantine the Great, and was completed by his successors? The series of the prophecy requires this application, and all the phrases and expressions will easily admit of such a construction. "And I beheld when he had opened the sixth seal (ver. 12.), and lo, there was (σεισμὸς μέγας) a great earthquake," or rather *a great concussion;* for the word in the original comprehends the shaking of *heaven* as well as of *earth.* The same phrase is used by the prophet Haggai (ii. 6, 21.) concerning the first coming of Christ, "I will shake the heavens and the earth:" and this shaking, as the apostle saith, (Heb. xii. 27.) "signifieth the removing of those things which are shaken;" and so the prophet Haggai himself explains it, "I will shake the heavens and the earth, and I will overthrow the throne of kingdoms, and I will destroy the strength of the kingdoms of the Heathen:" And where was ever a greater concussion or removal, than when Christianity was advanced to the throne of Paganism, and idolatry gave place to the true religion? Then follow the particular effects of this general concussion, (ver. 12. 14.) "And the sun became black as sackcloth of hair, and the moon became as blood; And the stars of heaven fell unto the earth, even as a fig-tree casteth her untimely figs when she is shaken of a mighty wind: And the heavens departed as a scroll when it is rolled together; and every mountain and island were moved out of their places." Isaiah speaketh much in the same manner concerning Babylon and Idumea, (xiii. 10. xxxiv. 4.) "For the stars of heaven and the constellations thereof shall not give their light; the sun shall be darkened in his going forth, and the moon shall not cause her light to shine: And all the host of heaven shall be dissolved, and the heavens shall be rolled together as a scroll; and all their host shall fall down as the leaf falleth off from the vine, and as a falling fig from the fig-tree:" and Jeremiah concerning the land of Judah, (iv. 23, 24.) "I beheld the earth, and lo, it was without form and void; and the heavens, and they had no light: I beheld the mountains, and lo, they trembled, and all the hills moved lightly:" And Ezekiel concerning Egypt, (xxxii. 7.) "And when I shall put thee out, I will cover the heaven, and make the stars thereof dark; I will cover the sun with a cloud, and the moon shall not give her light:" And Joel concerning Jerusalem, (ii. 10. 31.) "The earth shall quake before them, the heaven shall tremble, the sun and the moon shall be dark, and the stars shall withdraw their shining: the sun shall be turned into darkness, and the moon into blood, before the great and the terrible day of the Lord come:" And our Saviour himself also concerning the destruction of Jerusalem, (Matt. xxiv. 29.) "The sun shall be darkened, and the moon shall not give her light, and the stars shall fall from heaven, and the powers of the heavens shall be shaken." Now it is certain, that the fall of any of these cities and kingdoms was not of greater concern and consequence to the world, nor more deserving to be described in such pompous figures, than the fall of the Pagan Roman empire, when the great lights of the heathen world, *the sun, moon, and stars,* the powers civil and ecclesiastical, were all eclipsed and obscured, the heathen emperors and cæsars were slain, the heathen priests and augurs were extirpated, the heathen officers and magistrates were removed, the heathen temples were demolished, and their revenues appropriated to better uses. It is customary with the prophets, after they have described a thing in the most symbolical and figurative diction, to represent the same again in plainer language: and the same method is observed here, (ver. 15—17.) "And the kings of the earth, and the great men, and the rich men, and the chief captains, and the mighty men, and every bond-man, and every free-man;" that is, Maximian, Galerius, Maximin, Maxentius, Licinius, &c. with all their adherents and followers, were so routed and dispersed, that they "hid themselves in the dens, and in the rocks of the mountains, and said to the mountains and rocks, Fall on us, and hide us;" expressions used, as in other prophets (Isa. ii. 19. 21. Hos. x. 8. Luke xxiii. 30.), to denote the utmost terror and consternation; "Fall on us, and hide us from the face of him that sitteth on the throne, and from the wrath of the Lamb; for the great day of his wrath is come; and who shall be able to stand?" This is therefore a triumph of Christ over his heathen enemies, and a triumph after a severe persecution; so that the time and all the circumstances, as well as the series and order of the prophecy, agree perfectly with this interpretation. Galerius,[9] Maximin,[1] and Licinius,[2] made even a public confession of their guilt, recalled their decrees and edicts against the Christians, and acknowledged the just judgments of God and of Christ in their destruction.

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[8] 'Acerbissima persecutio, quæ per decem continuos annos plebem Dei depopulata est; qua tempestate omnis fere sacro martyrum cruore orbis infectus est:—Nullis unquam magis bellis mundus exhaustus est.' Sulp. Sever. Hist. Sacr. l. 2. p. 99.

Chap. VII.—(1) "And after these things, I saw four angels standing on the four corners of the earth, holding the four winds of the earth, that the wind should not blow on the earth, nor on the sea, nor on any tree. (2) And I saw another angel ascending from the east, having the seal of the living God: and he cried with a loud voice to the four angels, to whom it was given to hurt the earth and the sea. (3) Saying, Hurt not the earth, neither the sea, nor the trees, till we have sealed the servants of our God in their foreheads. (4) And I heard the number of them which were sealed: *and there were* sealed an hundred *and* forty *and* four thousand, of all the tribes of the children of Israel. (5) Of the tribe of Judah *were* sealed twelve thousand. Of the tribe of Reuben *were* sealed twelve thousand. Of the tribe of Gad *were* sealed twelve thousand. (6) Of the tribe of Aser *were* sealed twelve thousand. Of the tribe of Nepthalim *were* sealed twelve thousand. Of the tribe of Manasses *were* sealed twelve thousand. (7) Of the tribe of Simeon *were* sealed twelve thousand. Of the tribe of Levi *were* sealed twelve thousand. Of the tribe of Issachar *were* sealed twelve thousand. (8) Of the tribe of Zabulon *were* sealed twelve thousand. Of the tribe of Joseph *were* sealed twelve thousand. Of the tribe of Benjamin *were* sealed twelve thousand. (9) After this I beheld, and lo, a great multitude which no man could number, of all nations, and kindreds, and people, and tongues, stood before the throne, and before the Lamb, clothed with white robes, and palms in their hands; (10) And cried with a loud voice, saying, Salvation to our God which sitteth upon the throne, and unto the Lamb. (11) And all the angels stood round about the throne, and *about* the elders, and the four beasts, and fell before the throne on their faces, and worshipped God, (12) Saying, Amen: Blessing, and glory, and wisdom, and thanksgiving, and honour, and power, and might, *be* unto our God for ever and ever. Amen. (13) And one of the elders answered, saying unto me, What are these which are arrayed in white robes? and whence came they? (14) And I said unto him, Sir, thou knowest. And he said to me, These are they which came out of great tribulation, and have washed their robes, and made them white in the blood of the Lamb. (15) Therefore are they before the throne of God, and serve him day and night in his temple: and he that sitteth on the throne shall dwell among them. (16) They shall hunger no more, neither thirst any more, neither shall the sun light on them, nor any heat. (17) For the Lamb which is in the midst of the throne, shall feed them, and shall lead them unto living fountains of waters: And God shall wipe away all tears from their eyes."

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[9] Euseb. Eccles. Hist. l. 8. c. 17. De Vita Constant. l. 1. c. 57. Lactantius de Mort. Persecut. c. 33, &c.

[1] Euseb. Eccles. Hist. l. 9. c. 9, 10, 11. De Vita Const. l. 1. c. 59. Lactant. de Mort. Persec. c. 49.

[2] Euseb. de Vita Constant. l. 2. c. 18.

What follows in this chapter is still a continuation of the sixth seal, for the seventh seal is not opened till the beginning of the next chapter. It is a description of the state of the church in Constantine's time, of the peace and protection that it should enjoy under the civil powers, and of the great accession that should be made to it both of Jews and Gentiles. *Four angels* (ver. 1, 2, 3.) are ordered by another angel to restrain *the four winds* from blowing with violence on any part of the world; to shew that these were halcyon days, wherein the former wars and persecutions should cease, and peace and tranquillity be restored for a season. Eusebius is very copious upon this subject in several parts of his writings; and hath[3] applied that passage of the Psalmist in the version of the Seventy, (Psal. xlvi. 8, 9.) "Come hither, and behold the works of the Lord, what wonders he hath wrought in the earth: He maketh wars to cease unto the end of the earth, he breaketh the bow, and cutteth the spear asunder, he burneth the chariot in the fire;" which things, saith he, being manifestly fulfilled in our times, we rejoice over them. Lactantius[4] also saith in the same triumphant strain, that ‘tranquillity being restored throughout the world, the church which was lately ruined riseth again. Now after the violent agitations of so great a tempest, a calm air and the desired light become resplendent. Now God hath relieved the afflicted. Now he hath wiped away the tears of the sorrowful.’ These are testimonies of contemporary writers; and some[5] medals of Constantine are still preserved with the head of this emperor on one side, and this inscription CONSTANTINUS AUG., and on the reverse BEATA TRANQUILLITAS, *Blessed Tranquillity.* During this time of tranquillity *the servants of God were to be sealed in their foreheads.* It is an expression in allusion to the ancient custom of marking servants in their foreheads to distinguish what they were, and to whom they belonged. Now among Christians baptism being the seal of the covenant between God and man, is therefore by ancient writers[6] often called the *seal,* the *sign,* the *mark* and *character* of the Lord: and it was the practice in early times,[7] as it is at present, to make the sign of the cross upon the foreheads of the parties baptized. The same sign of the cross was also made at confirmation; and upon many other occasions the Christians signed themselves with the sign of the cross in their foreheads, as a token that they were not ashamed of a crucified master, that on the contrary they gloried in the cross of Christ, and triumphed in that symbol and representation of it. The *sealing* therefore *of the servants of God in their foreheads* at this juncture can imply no less, than that many converts should be baptized, and those, who before, in times of persecution, had been compelled to worship God in private, should now make a free, open, and public profession of their religion; and that such an accession was made to the church, every one knoweth who knoweth any thing of the history of this time.

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[3] Euseb. Eccles. Hist. l. 10. c. 1. ἐφ' οἷς εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐναργῶς πεπληρωμένοις χαίροντες—*Quæ cum omnia nostris temporibus manifestè completa sint, læti deinceps et gratulabundi—*

As the church of Christ was first formed out of the Jewish church and nation, so here (ver. 4—8.) the spiritual Israel is first mentioned; and the number of the thousands of Israel is that of the twelve patriarchs multiplied by the twelve apostles, which we shall find to be a sacred number throughout the Revelation. But the twelve tribes are not enumerated here in the same method and order, as they are in other places of Holy Scripture. Judah hath the first rank and precedence, because from him descended the Messiah. Dan is entirely omitted, and Ephraim is not mentioned, because they were the principal promoters of idolatry, and therefore Levi is substituted in the room of the one, and Joseph is mentioned instead of the other. The children too of the bond-women and of the free-women are confounded together, there being (Gal. iii. 28.) "in Christ Jesus neither bond nor free." Besides some of all the tribes of Israel, there was "an innumerable multitude of all nations and tongues, clothed with white robes, and palms in their hands;" (ver. 9, 10.) who received and embraced the gospel: and as Sulpicius Severus says,[8] it is wonderful how much the Christian religion prevailed at that time. The historians, who have written of this reign,[9] relate how even the most remote and barbarous nations were converted to the faith, Jews as well as Gentiles. One historian in particular affirms,[1] that at the time when Constantine took possession of Rome after the death of Maxentius, there were baptized more than twelve thousand Jews and Heathens, besides women and children. The angels also (ver. 11, 12.) join in the celebration of God upon this occasion: for if "there is joy (Luke xv. 10.) in the presence of the angels of God over one sinner that repenteth," much more may those heavenly spirits rejoice at the conversion of whole countries and nations. Then one of the elders (ver. 13—17.) explains to St. John some particulars relating to this innumerable multitude of all nations. They have "palms in their hands," as tokens of their victory and triumph over tribulation and persecution. They are *arrayed in white robes* as emblems of their sanctity and justification through the merits and death of Christ. They are, like the children of Israel, arrived at their Canaan or land of rest, and they shall no more suffer *hunger*, or *thirst*, or *heat*, as they did in the wilderness. They are now happily freed from all their former troubles and molestations; and their heathen adversaries shall no more prevail against them. This period we may suppose to have continued with some little interruption, from the death of Constantine the Great to the death of Theodosius the Great, about seventy years.

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[4] ‘Restituta per orbem tranquillitate, profligata nuper ecclesia rursum exsurgit. —Nunc post tantæ tempestatis violentos turbines placidus aer et optata lux refulsit. Nunc Deus afflictos sublevavit. Nunc mærentium lacrymas detersit.’ Lactantius de Mort. Persecut. c. 1.

[5] See Daubuz, p. 311.

[6] See Mede, p. 511. Bingham's Antiquities, b. 11. c. 1. § 6 et 7.

[7] See Cave's Primitive Christianity, part 1. c. 10. Bingham's Antiq. c. 9. § 4, &c.

CHAP. VIII.—(1) "AND when he had opened the seventh seal, there was silence in heaven about the space of half an hour. (2) And I saw the seven angels which stood before God; and to them were given seven trumpets. (3) And another angel came and stood at the altar, having a golden censer; and there was given unto him much incense, that he should offer *it* with the prayers of all saints upon the golden altar which was before the throne. (4) And the smoke of the incense, *which came* with the prayers of the saints, ascended up before God, out of the angel's hand. (5) And the angel took the censer, and filled it with fire of the altar, and cast it into the earth: and there were voices, and thunderings, and lightnings, and an earthquake. (6) And the seven angels which had the seven trumpets, prepared themselves to sound."

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[8] 'Hoc temporum tractu mirum est quantum invaluerit religio Christiana.' Sulpic. Sever. Sacr. Hist. l. 2. p. 100.

[9] Socrates Hist. Eccles. l. 1. c. 18, 19, 20. Sozomen. Hist. Eccles. l. 2. c. 5, 6, 7, 8, &c. &c.

[1] 'Hoc tempore Romæ baptizati sunt e Judæis et Idololatris ultra duodecim hominum millia, præter mulieres et pueros.' Abul Pharajii Hist. Dyn. 7. p. 85. Vers. Pocock. Vide etiam Epiphanii adv. Hæres. hær. 30. c. 4.

The seventh seal or period is of much longer duration, and comprehends many more events than any of the former seals. It comprehends indeed seven periods distinguished by the sounding of seven trumpets. At the opening of this seal (ver. 1.) "there was silence in heaven about the space of half an hour." This *silence of half an hour* is a sign that the peace of the church would continue but for a short season. It is an interval and pause as it were between the foregoing and the succeeding visions. It is a mark of solemnity, to procure attention, and to prepare the mind for great and signal events; and not without an allusion to a ceremony among the Jews. Philo[2] informs us, the incense used to be offered before the morning, and after the evening sacrifice: and while the sacrifices were made (2 Chron. xxix. 25—28.), the voices and instruments and trumpets sounded; while the priest went into the temple to burn incense, (Luke i. 10.) all were silent, and the people prayed without to themselves. Now this was the morning of the church, and therefore the silence precedes the sounding of the trumpets. It was necessary, before the trumpets could be sounded, that they should be *given* (ver. 2.) to the seven archangels, who were to execute the will of God, and to sound the trumpets each in his season. At the same time (ver. 3, 4, 5.) "another angel," like the priest, "having a golden censer," offereth incense "with the prayers of all saints;" and then filleth the censer "with fire of the altar, and casteth it into the earth;" as in Ezekiel (x. 2.) "coals of fire *are taken* from between the cherubim," and scattered over Jerusalem, to denote the judgments of God to be executed upon that city. Whereupon immediately ensue "voices, and thunderings, and lightnings, and an earthquake," the usual prophetic signs and preludes of great calamities and commotions upon earth. Then the angels (ver. 6.) "prepare themselves to sound:" and as the *seals* foretold the state and condition of the Roman empire before and till it became Christian, so the *trumpets* foreshew the fate and condition of it afterwards. "The sound of the trumpet (as Jeremiah (iv. 19.) says, and as every one understands it) is the alarm of war:" and the sounding of these trumpets is designed to rouse and excite the nations against the Roman empire, called *the third part* of the world, as perhaps including the third part of the world, and being seated principally in Europe, the third part of the world at that time.

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[2] — πρό τε τῆς ἑωθινῆς ϑυσίας καὶ μετὰ τὴν εσπερινὴν — *ante matutinum et post vespertinum sacrificium* — Philo de Animal. sacrif. idon. § 3.

(7) "The first angel sounded, and there followed hail and fire mingled with blood, and they were cast upon the earth : and the third part of trees was burnt up, and all green grass was burnt up."

At the sounding of the first trumpet (ver. 7.) the barbarous nations, like a storm of "hail and fire mingled with blood," invade the Roman territories; and destroy "the third part of trees," that is the trees of the third part of the earth, and "the green grass," that is both old and young, high and low, rich and poor together. Theodosius the Great died in the year 395; and no sooner was he dead, than the [3] Huns, Goths, and other barbarians, like hail for multitude, and breathing fire and slaughter, broke in upon the best provinces of the empire both in the east and west, with greater success than they had ever done before. But by this trumpet, I conceive, were principally intended the irruptions and depredations of the Goths[4] under the conduct of the famous Alaric, who began his incursions in the same year 395, first ravaged Greece, then wasted Italy, besieged Rome, and was bought off at an exorbitant price, besieged it again in the year 410, took and plundered the city, and set fire to it in several places. Philostorgius, who lived in and wrote of these times,[5] saith that 'the sword of the barbarians destroyed the greatest multitude of men; and among other calamities dry heats with flashes of flame and whirlwinds of fire occasioned various and intolerable terrors; yea, and hail greater than could be held in a man's hand fell down in several places, weighing as much as eight pounds.' Well therefore might the prophet compare these incursions of the barbarians to "hail and fire mingled with blood." Clau dian in like manner compares them to [6]a storm of *hail* in his poem on this very war. Jerome also[7] saith of some of these barbarians, 'that they came on unexpectedly every where, and marching quicker than report, spared not religion, nor dignities, nor age, nor had compassion on crying infants; those were compelled to die, who had not yet begun to live.' So truly did they destroy the *trees* and the *green grass* together.

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[3] Socratis Eccles. Hist. l. 6. c. 1. Sozomen. l. 8. c. 1. Zosomi Hist. l. 5 et 6. Pauli Orosii Hist. l. 7. c. 37, &c. Car. Sigonii Hist. de Occident. Imperio, l. 10.

[4] Zosim. Oros. Sigon. ibid. &c. Philostorgius, l. 11 et 12.

[5] βαρβαρικὴ μὲν γὰρ τὸ τῆς φθορᾶς πλῆθος εἰργάζετο μάχαιρα.—αὐχμοὶ φλογώδεις, πρηστῆρές τε ἔστιν οἷς ἐμβαλλόμενοι, ποικίλον τε τὸ δεινὸν ἐποίουν καὶ ἀφόρητον· καὶ δὴ καὶ χάλαζα μείζων ἢ κατὰ χερμάδα πολλαχοῦ γῆς κατεφέρετο. ἄχρι γὰρ καὶ ὀκτῷ τῶν λεγομένων λιτρῶν ἕλκουσα βάρος ὤφθη κατασκήψασα. *Nam et barbaricus ensis maximam hominum multitudinem delevit; — siccitates flammeæ, et ignis turbines cœlitus immissi, multiplicem atque intolerabilem intulerunt calamitatem. Sed et grando, lapide manum implente major, multis in locis decidit. Deprehensa enim est alicubi, quæ octo librarum, ut vocant, pondus æquaret.* Philostorgii Hist. Eccles. l. ii. c 7.

(8) "And the second angel sounded, and as it were a great mountain burning with fire was cast into the sea; and the third part of the sea became blood: (9) And the third part of the creatures which were in the sea, and had life, died; and the third part of the ships were destroyed."

At the sounding of the second trumpet (ver. 8, 9.) "as it were a great mountain burning with fire," that is, a great warlike nation or hero (for in the style of poetry, [8] which is near akin to the style of prophecy, heroes are compared to mountains), "cast into the sea, turneth the third part of it into blood, and destroyeth the fishes and the ships therein;" that is, falling on the Roman empire, maketh a sea of blood, with horrible destruction of the cities and inhabitants: for *waters*, as the angel afterwards (xvii. 15.) explains them to St. John, "are peoples, and multitudes, and nations, and tongues," and *the third part* is all along the Roman empire; for it possessed in Asia and Africa, as much as it wanted in Europe to make up the third of the world, and the principal part was in Europe, the third part of the world at that time. The next great ravagers after Alaric and his Goths were Attila and his Huns, who for the space of fourteen years, as Sigonius says, [9] shook the east and west with the most cruel fear, and deformed the provinces of each empire with all kind of plundering, slaughter, and burning. They first wasted Thrace, [1] Macedon, and Greece, putting all to fire and sword, and compelled the eastern emperor, Theodosius the Second, to purchase a shameful peace. Then Attila turned his arms against the western emperor, Valentinian the Third; entered Gaul with seven hundred thousand men, and not content with taking and spoiling, set most of the cities on fire. But at length being there vigorously opposed, he fell upon Italy, took and destroyed Aquileia with several other cities, slaying the inhabitants, and laying the buildings in ashes, and filled all places between the Alps and Apeninne with flight, [2] depopulation, slaughter, servitude, burning, and desperation. He was preparing to march to Rome, but was diverted from his purpose by a solemn embassy from the emperor, and the promise of an annual tribute; and so concluding a truce, retired out of Italy, and passed into his own dominions beyond the Danube. Such a man might properly be compared to "a great mountain burning with fire," who really was, as he called himself, [3] "the scourge of God, and the terror of men," and boasted that he was sent into the world by God for this purpose, that as the executioner of his just anger he might fill the earth with all kind of evils, and he bounded his cruelty and passion by nothing less than blood and burning.

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[6] Claudian de Bello Getico, ver. 173.

'Ex illo, quocunque vagos impegit Erinnys,
Grandinis aut morbi ritu per devia rerum
Præcipites, per clausa, ruunt.'

Where Mr. Daubuz would read *nimbi* instead of *morbi*.

[7] 'Insperati ubique aderant, et famam celeritate vincentes, non religioni, non dignitatibus, non ætati parcebant, non vagientis miserabantur infantiæ. Cogebantur mori, qui nondum vivere cœperant.' Hieron. Epist. 84. de morte Fabiolæ, col. 661.

[8] So Virgil of his hero, Æn. xii. 701.

'Quantus Athos, aut quantus Eryx, aut ipse coruscis
Cum fremit ilicibus quantus, gaudetque nivali
Vertice se attollens pater Apenninus ad auras.'

[9] Sigonius de Occid. Imper. l. 13. init. 'Hunnica jam hinc bella scribere ordiemur, quæ post per quatuordecim annos sævissima orientem, occidentemque formidine concusserunt, atque utriusque imperii provincias omni direptione, strage, atque incendio deformarunt.'

[1] Sigonius ibid. Ann. 443. Jornandes de rebus Get. &c. &c.

(10) "And the third angel sounded, and there fell a great star from heaven, burning as it were a lamp, and it fell upon the third part of the rivers, and upon the fountains of waters: (11) And the name of the star is called Wormwood: and the third part of the waters became wormwood: and many men died of the waters, because they were made bitter."

At the sounding of the third trumpet (ver. 10, 11.) a great prince appears like *a star shooting from heaven to earth;* a similitude not unusual in poetry.[4] His coming therefore is sudden and unexpected, and his stay but short. "The name of the star is called Wormwood," and he infects *the third part of the rivers and fountains with the bitterness of wormwood;* that is, he is a bitter enemy and proveth the author of grievous calamities to the Roman empire. The *rivers* and *fountains* have a near connexion with the *sea:* and it was within two years after Attila's retreat from Italy, that Valentinian was murdered, and

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[2] 'Jam omnia, quæ intra Apenninum et Alpes erant, fuga, populatione, cæde, servitute, incendio, et desperatione repleta erant.' Sigon. ibid. Ann. 452. fin.

[3] 'Qui se Flagellum Dei, et Terrorem hominum appellabat, et ad id in mundum a Deo missum jactabat, ut tanquam justæ illius vindex iræ terras omni malorum genere permisceret, et crudelitatem ac libidinem suam non nisi sanguine et incendio terminabat.' Sigon. ibid.

[4] Homer, Iliad. iv. 75.

Οἷον δ' ἀστέρα ἧκε Κρόνου παῖς ἀγκυλομήτεω,
Ἠ ναύτησι τέρας, ἠὲ στρατῷ εὐρέϊ λαῶν,
Λαμπρόν· τοῦ δέ τε πολλοὶ ἀπὸ σπινθῆρες ἵενται.

Maximus, who had caused him to be murdered, reigning in his stead,[5] Genseric the king of the Vandals settled in Africa was solicited by Eudoxia, the widow of the deceased emperor, to come and revenge his death. Genseric accordingly embarked with three hundred thousand Vandals and Moors, and arrived upon the Roman coast in June 455, the emperor and people not expecting nor thinking of any such enemy. He landed his men, and marched directly towards Rome; whereupon the inhabitants flying into the woods and mountains, the city fell an easy prey into his hands. He abandoned it to the cruelty and avarice of his soldiers, who plundered it for fourteen days together, not only spoiling the private houses and palaces, but stripping the public buildings, and even the churches of their riches and ornaments. He then set sail again for Africa, carrying away with him immense wealth and an innumerable multitude of captives, together with the empress Eudoxia and her two daughters; and left the state so weakened, that in a little time it was utterly subverted. Some critics understand *rivers* and *fountains* with relation to doctrines; and in this sense the application is still very proper to Genseric, who was a most bigotted Arian, and during his whole reign most cruelly persecuted the orthodox Christians. Victor Uticensis, or Vitensis as he is more usually called, who wrote in three books the history of this persecution by the Vandals,[6] speaking of St. Austin[7] hath used this very same metaphor, of the river of his eloquence being dried up, and his sweetness turned into *the bitterness of wormwood.*

(12) "And the fourth angel sounded, and the third part of the sun was smitten, and the third part of the moon, and the third part of the stars; so as the third part of them was darkened, and the day shone not for a third part of it, and the night likewise."

At the sounding of the fourth trumpet (ver. 12.) *the third part of the sun, moon, and stars,* that is the great lights of the Roman empire, are eclipsed and *darkened,* and remain in darkness for some time. Genseric left the western empire in a weak and desperate condition. It struggled hard, and gasped as it were for breath, through eight short and turbulent reigns,[8] for the space of twenty years, and at length expired in the year 476 under Momyllus, or Augustulus as he was named in derision, being a diminutive Augustus. This change was effected by Odoacer king of the Heruli, who coming to Rome with an army of barbarians, stripped Momyllus of the imperial robes, put an end to the very name of the western empire, and caused himself to be proclaimed King of Italy. His kingdom indeed was of no long duration; for after a reign of sixteen years he was overcome and slain[9] in the year 493 by Theodoric king of the Ostrogoths, who founded the kingdom of the Ostrogoths in Italy, which continued about sixty years under his successors. Thus was the Roman *sun* extinguished in the western emperor; but the other lesser luminaries, the *moon* and *stars* still subsisted; for Rome was still allowed to have her senate, and consuls, and other subordinate magistrates as before. Odoacer[1] at first suppressed them, but after two or three years restored them again. Theodoric[2] changed none of the Roman institutes; he retained the senate, and consuls, and patricians, and all the ancient magistrates, and committed those offices only to Romans. These lights, we may suppose, shone more faintly under barbarian kings than under Roman emperors; but they were not totally suppressed and extinguished, till after the kingdom of the Ostrogoths was destroyed by the emperor of the east's lieutenants, and Italy was made a province of the eastern empire. Longinus[3] was sent then in the year 566 by the emperor Justin II. to govern Italy with absolute authority: and he changed the whole form of the government, abolished the senate, and consuls, and all the former magistrates in Rome and Italy, and in every city of note constituted a new governor with the title of Duke. He himself presided over all; and residing at Ravenna, and not at Rome, he was called the Exarch of Ravenna, as were also his successors in the same office. Rome was degraded to the same level with other places, and from being the queen of cities, and empress of the world, was reduced to a poor dukedom, and made tributary to Ravenna which she had used to govern.

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[5] Evagrii Hist. Eccles. l.2. c.7. Zonaræ Annal. l. 13. in fine. Sigonius de Imper. Occid. l. 14. Ann. 455, &c. &c.

[6] Vossius de Hist. Latinis, l. 2. c. 18. Hofmanni Lex.

[7] 'Tunc illud eloquentiæ, quod ubertim per omnes campos ecclesiæ decurrebat, ipso metu siccatum est flumen; atque dulcedo suavitatis dulcius propinata, in *amaritudinem absinthii* versa est.' Victor Vit. de Persecut. Vandal. l. 1. n. 3. Vide etiam Vitam Augustini, l. 8. c. 11. § 2.

[8] Sigonius de Occid. Imper. l. 14 et 15, in init.

(13) "And I beheld, and heard an angel flying through the midst of heaven, saying with a loud voice, Woe, woe, woe to the inhabiters of the earth, by reason of the other voices of the trumpet of the three angels which are yet to sound."

Notice is then proclaimed by an angel (ver. 13.) that the three other trumpets sound to still greater and more terrible plagues, and are therefore distinguished from the former by the name of *woes*. The design of this messenger is to raise our attention to the following trumpets; and the following we shall find to be more strongly marked than the foregoing. The foregoing relate chiefly to the downfall of the western empire; the two following relate chiefly to the downfall of the eastern empire. The foregoing are described more succinctly, and contain a less compass of time; the following are set forth with more particular circumstances, and are of longer duration as well as of larger description.

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[9] Sigonius ibid. l. 15. in fin. Procop. de Bell. Goth. l. 1. c. 1.

[1] Sigonius ibid. l. 15. Ann. 476 et 479.

[2] 'Jam vero nullum Romanum institutum mutavit: siquidem et senatum, et consules, patricios,—cæterosque qui fuerant in imperio, magistratus retinuit eosque Romanis hominibus tantum mandavit.' Sigonius ibid. l. 16. Ann. 494.

[3] Sigonii Hist. de Regno Italiæ, l. 1. Ann. 566. Blondi Decad. primæ, l. 8.

CHAP. IX.—(1) "AND the fifth angel sounded, and I saw a star fall from heaven unto the earth: and to him was given the key of the bottomless pit. (2) And he opened the bottomless pit, and there arose a smoke out of the pit, as the smoke of a great furnace: and the sun and the air were darkened, by reason of the smoke of the pit. (3) And there came out of the smoke locusts upon the earth; and unto them was given power, as the scorpions of the earth have power. (4) And it was commanded them that they should not hurt the grass of the earth, neither any green thing, neither any tree; but only those men which have not the seal of God in their foreheads. (5) And to them it was given that they should not kill them, but that they should be tormented five months: and their torment *was* as the torment of a scorpion, when he striketh a man. (6) And in those days shall men seek death, and shall not find it; and shall desire to die, and death shall flee from them. (7) And the shapes of the locusts *were* like unto horses prepared unto battle; and on their heads *were* as it were crowns like gold, and their faces *were* as the faces of men. (8) And they had hair as the hair of women, and their teeth were as the *teeth* of lions. (9) And they had breast-plates, as it were breast-plates of iron; and the sound of their wings *was* as the sound of chariots of many horses running to battle. (10) And they had tails like unto scorpions, and there were stings in their tails: and their power was to hurt men five months. (11) And they had a king over them, *which is* the angel of the bottomless pit, whose name in the Hebrew tongue *is* Abaddon, but in the Greek tongue hath *his* name Apollyon. (12) One woe is past, *and* behold, there come two woes more hereafter."

At the sounding of the fifth trumpet (ver. 1—3.) *a star fallen from heaven*, meaning the wicked impostor Mohammed, "opened the bottomless pit, and there arose a smoke out of the pit, and the sun and the air were darkened" by it; that is, a false religion was set up, which filled the world with darkness and error; and swarms of Saracen or Arabian *locusts* overspread the earth. A false prophet is very fitly typified by a blazing *star* or meteor. The Arabians likewise are properly compared to *locusts,* not only because numerous armies frequently are so, but also because swarms of locusts often arise from Arabia: and also because in the plagues of Egypt, to which constant allusion is made in these trumpets, "the locusts (Exod. x. 13.) *are* brought by an east-wind," that is from Arabia, which lay eastward of Egypt; and also because in the book of Judges (vii. 12.) the people of Arabia are compared to *locusts* or "grasshoppers for multitude," for in the original the word for both is the same. As the natural locusts[4] are bred in pits and holes of the earth, so these mystical locusts are truly *infernal,* and proceed with the smoke *from the bottomless pit.* It is too a remarkable coincidence, that at this time *the sun and the air were* really *darkened.* For we learn from an eminent Arabian historian,[5] that 'in the seventeenth year of Heraclius, half the body of the sun was eclipsed, and this defect continued from the former Tisrin to Haziran (that is from October to June), so that only a little of its light appeared.' The seventeenth year of Heraclius[6] coincides with the year of Christ 626, and with the 5th year of the Hegira; and at this time Mohammed was training and exercising his followers in depredations at home, to fit and prepare them for greater conquests abroad.

"It was commanded them (ver. 4.) that they should not hurt the grass of the earth, neither any green thing, neither any tree;" which demonstrates that these were not natural, but symbolical locusts. The like injunctions were given to the Arabian officers and soldiers. When Yezid was marching with the army to invade Syria, Abubeker charged him[7] with this among other orders; 'Destroy no palm-trees, nor burn any fields of corn; cut down no fruit-trees, nor do any mischief to cattle, only such as you kill to eat.' Their commission is to "hurt only those men who have not the seal of God in their foreheads;" that is, those who are not the true servants of God, but are corrupt and idolatrous Christians. Now from history it appears evidently, that in those countries of Asia, Africa, and Europe, where the Saracens extended their conquests, the Christians were generally guilty of idolatry in the worshipping of saints, if not of images; and it was the pretence of Mohammed and his followers to chastise them for it, and to re-establish the unity of the Godhead. The parts which remained the freest from the general infection were Savoy, Piedmont, and the southern parts of France, which were afterwards the nurseries and habitations of the Waldenses and Albigenses: and it is very memorable, that[8] when the Saracens approached these parts, they were defeated with great slaughter by the famous Charles Martel in several engagements.

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[4] Vide Gesner. de Insect. Plin. Nat. Hist. l. 11. c. 29. § 35.

[5] 'Anno Heraclii decimo septimo dimidium corporis solaris lumine defecit, mansitque ejus deliquium a Tisrin priori ad Haziran, adeo ut non appareret nisi parum quid de lumine ipsius.' Abul-Pharajii Hist. Dyn. 8. p. 99. Vers. Pocock.

[6] Blair's Chron. Tab. Nº 33. Abul-Pharaji Dyn. 9. p. 102. Elmacini Hist. Saracen. l. 2. p. 6.

[7] Ockley's Hist. of the Saracens, vol. 1. p. 25.

As they were to hurt only the corrupt and idolatrous Christians, so these (ver. 5, 6.) they were not to *kill* but only to *torment*, and should bring such calamities upon the earth, as should make men weary of their lives. Not that it could be supposed that the Saracens would not *kill* many thousands in their incursions. On the contrary their angel (ver. 11.) hath the name of *the destroyer*. They might *kill* them as individuals, but still they should not *kill* them as a political body, as a state or empire. They might greatly harass and *torment* both the Greek and the Latin churches, but they should not utterly extirpate the one or the other. They besieged Constantinople, and[9] even plundered Rome; but they could not make themselves masters of either of those capital cities. The Greek empire suffered most from them, as it lay nearest to them. They dismembered it of Syria, and Egypt, and some other of its best and richest provinces; but they were never able to subdue and conquer the whole. As often as they besieged Constantinople, they were repulsed and defeated. They attempted it[1] in the reign of Constantine Pogonatus, A.D. 672; but their men and ships were miserably destroyed by the sea-fire invented by Callinicus, and after seven years fruitless pains they were compelled to raise the siege, and to conclude a peace. They attempted it again[2] in the reign of Leo Isauricus, A. D. 718; but they were forced to desist by famine, and pestilence, and losses of various kinds. In this attempt they exceeded their commission, and therefore they were not crowned with their usual success. The taking of this city, and the putting an end to this empire, was a work reserved for another power, as we shall see under the next trumpet.

In the following verses (7, 8, 9, 10.) the nature and qualities of these locusts are described, partly in allusion to the properties of natural locusts, and the description given of them by the prophet Joel, and partly in allusion to the habits and manners of the Arabians, to shew that not real but figurative locusts were here intended. The first quality mentioned is their being "like unto horses prepared unto battle;" which is copied from Joel, (ii. 4.) "the appearance of them is as the appearances of horses, and as horsemen, so shall they run." Many authors have [3] observed that the head of a locust resembles that of a horse. The Italians therefore call them *cavalette*, as it were little horse. The Arabians too have in all ages been famous for their horses and horsemanship. Their strength is well known to consist chiefly in their cavalry.

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[8] Petavii Rationar. Temp. part 1. l. 8. c. 5. Mezeray Abregé Chron. A.D. 732, &c.

[9] Sigonii Hist. de Regno Italiæ, l. 5. Ann. 846.

[1] Theoph. Cedren. ad. an. Const. 5. Zonaræ Annales, l. 14. c. 20, &c. Petavii Rationar. Temp part 1. l. 8. c. 1. Blair's Chronol. Tab. N° 34. part 2d.

[2] Sigonii Hist. de Regno Italiæ, l. 3. Anno 718. Petav ibid. c. 5.

Another distinguishing mark and character is their having "on their heads as it were crowns like gold;" which is an allusion to the head-dress of the Arabians,[4] who have constantly worn turbans or mitres, and boast of having those ornaments for their common attire, which are crowns and diadems with other people. The *crowns* also signify the kingdoms and dominions which they should acquire. For as Mr. Mede[5] excellently observes, 'No nation had ever so wide a command, nor ever were so many kingdoms, so many regions subjugated in so short a space of time. It sounds incredible, yet most true it is; that in the space of eighty or not many more years, they subdued and acquired to the diabolical kingdom of Mohammed, Palestine, Syria, both Armenias, almost all Asia Minor, Persia, India, Egypt, Numidia, all Barbary even to the river Niger, Portugal, Spain. Neither did their fortune or ambition stop here, till they had added also a great part of Italy, as far as to the gates of Rome; moreover Sicily, Candia, Cyprus, and the other islands of the Mediterranean sea. Good God! how great a tract of land! how many *crowns* were here! Whence also it is worthy of observation, that mention is not made here, as in other trumpets, *of the third part;* forasmuch as this plague fell no less without the bounds of the Roman empire than within it, and extended itself even to the remotest Indies.'

They had also "faces as the faces of men, and hair as the hair of women:" and the Arabians wore their beards, or at least mustachoes, as men; while the hair of their heads was flowing or plaited like that of women; as Pliny[6] and other ancient authors testify. Another property, copied from Joel, is their having "teeth as the teeth of lions," that is strong to devour. So Joel describes the locusts (i. 6.) as "a nation, whose teeth are the teeth of a lion, and he hath the cheek-teeth of a great lion:" and it is wonderful how they bite and gnaw all things, as Pliny[7] says, even the doors of houses. They had also "breast-plates, as it were breast-plates of iron:" and the locusts have a hard shell or skin, which hath been called their armour.[8] This figure is designed to express the defensive, as the former was the offensive arms of the Saracens. "And the sound of their wings was as the sound of chariots of many horses running to battle." Much the same comparison had been used by Joel, (ii. 5.) "like the noise of chariots on the tops of mountains shall they leap:" and Pliny[9] affirms, that they fly with so great a noise of their wings, that they may be taken for birds. Their *wings*, and *the sound of their wings*, denote the swiftness and rapidity of their conquests; and it is indeed astonishing, that in less than a century they erected an empire, which extended from India to Spain.

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[3] Vide Albertum, Aldrovandum, Theodoretum, &c. apud Bochart. Hieroz. part post. l. 4. c. 5.——'caput aut faciem equinæ non absimilem. A qua locustæ ab Italis vocantur *cavalette*.' col. 474.

[4] 'Arabes mitrati degunt.' Plin. Nat. Hist. l. 6. c. 28. § 32. 'Hic mitra velatus Arabs.' Claudian de Laud. Stil. i. 159. Pocockii Not. in Carm. Tograi Arab. pag. ult.

[5] 'Nulli unquàm genti tam late regnatum fuit, neque tam brevi temporis spatio unquam tot regna, tot regiones, sub jugum missa. Incredibile dictu, verissimum tamen est; Octoginta, aut non multo plurium, annorum spatio subjugarunt illi et diabolico regno Muhammedis acquisiverunt Palæstinam Syriam, Armeniam utramque, totam ferme Asiam minorem, Persiam, Indiam, Ægyptum, Numidiam, Barbariam totam ad Nigrum usque fluvium, Lusitaniam, Hispaniam. Neque hic stetit illorum fortuna, aut ambitio, donec et Italiæ magnam quoque partem adjecerint, ad portas usque urbis Romæ; quinetiam Siciliam, Candiam, Cyprum, et reliquas maris Mediterranei insulas. Deus bone, quantus hic terrararum tractus! quot hic *coronæ!* Unde dignum quoque observatu est, non hic, ut in cæteris tubis, *trientis* mentionem fieri: siquidem non minus extra imperii Romani fines quam intra ipsum caderet hæc clades, ad extremos usque Indos sese porrectura.' Mede, p. 468.

Moreover they are thrice compared unto *scorpions* (ver. 3. 5. 10.), and "had stings in their tails like unto scorpions;" that is, they should draw a poisonous train after them, and wherever they carried their arms, there also they should distil the venom of a false religion. It is farther added (ver. 11.) that "they had a king over them;" the same person should exercise temporal as well as spiritual sovereignty over them; and the caliphs were their emperors, as well as the heads of their religion. The king is the same as the *star* or *angel of the bottomless pit*, whose name is *Abaddon* in Hebrew, and *Apollyon* in Greek, that is *the destroyer*. Mr. Mede[1] imagines, that this is some allusion to the name of *Obodas*, the common name of the kings of that part of Arabia from whence Mohammed came, as *Pharaoh* was the common name of the kings of Egypt, and

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[6] 'Arabes mitrati degunt, aut intonso crine: barba abraditur, præterquam in superiore labro. Aliis et hæc intonsa.' Plin. Nat. Hist. l. 6. c. 28. § 32. 'Plurimis crinis intonsus, mitrata capita, pars rasa in cutem barba.' Solinus, c. 33. 'Crinitus quidam, &c.' Ammian. Marcell. l. 31. c. 18. ubi notat Valesius: 'Talis erat habitus Saracenorum, ut docet Hieronymus in Vita Malchi. Ecce subito equorum camelorumque sessores Ismaëlitæ irruunt, crinitis vittatisque capitibus, &c: et Theodorus Mopsuestenus in caput X Hieremiæ, Saracenos ait comam a fronte quidem detondere, retro autem intonsam demittere, &c.'

[7] 'Omnia vero morsu erodentes, et fores quoque tectorum.' Plin. Nat. Hist. l. 11. c. 29. § 35.

[8] Claudian. Epigram. 32. De Locusta, Fragmentum:

——'cognatus dorso durescit amictus.
Armavit natura cutem.'

[9] 'Tanto volant pennarum stridore, ut aliæ alites credantur.' Plin. Nat. Hist. l. 11. c. 29. § 35.

[1] Mede, ibid. p. 470.

Cæsar of the emperors of Rome: and such allusions are not unusual in the style of Scripture. However that be, the name agrees perfectly well with Mohammed and the caliphs his successors, who were the authors of all those horrid wars and desolations, and openly taught and professed that their religion was to be propagated and established by the sword.

One difficulty, and the greatest of all, remains yet to be explained; and that is the period of *five months* assigned to these locusts, which being twice mentioned, merits the more particular consideration. They "tormented *men* five months" (ver. 5.), and again (ver. 10.) "their power was to hurt men five months." It is said without doubt in conformity to the type; for locusts[2] are observed to live about *five months*, that is from April to September. Scorpions too, as Bochart[3] asserts, are noxious for no longer a term, the cold rendering them torpid and inactive. But of these locusts it is said, not that their duration or existence was only for *five months*, but their *power of hurting and tormenting men* continued *five months*. Now these months may either be months commonly so taken: or prophetic months, consisting each of thirty days, as St. John reckons them, and so making 150 years at the rate of each day for a year; or the number being repeated twice, the sums may be thought to be doubled, and *five months* and *five months* in prophetic computation will amount to three hundred years. If these months be taken for common months, then, as the natural locusts live and do hurt only in the five summer months, so the Saracens, in the five summer months too, made their excursions, and retreated again in the winter. It appears that this was their usual practice, and particularly when they first besieged Constantinople in the time of Constantine Pogonatus.[4] For 'from the month of April till September, they pertinaciously continued their siege, and then despairing of success, departed to Cyzicum, where they wintered, and in spring again renewed the war: and this course they held for seven years, as the Greek annals tell us.' If these months be taken for prophetic months or 150 years, it was within that space of time that the Saracens made their principal conquests. Their empire might subsist much longer, but their *power* of *hurting* and *tormenting men* was exerted chiefly within that period. Read the history of the Saracens, and you will find that their greatest exploits were performed, their greatest conquests were made, between the year 612 when Mohammed[5] first *opened the bottomless pit*, and began publicly to teach and propagate his imposture, and the year 762 when the caliph Almansor built Bagdad, to fix there the seat of his empire, and called it *the city of peace.* Syria, Persia, India, and the greatest part of Asia: Egypt, and the greatest part of Africa; Spain, and some parts of Europe, were all subdued in the intermediate time. But when the caliphs, who before had removed from place to place, fixed their habitation at Bagdad, then the Saracens ceased from their excursions and ravages like locusts, and became a settled nation; then they made no more such rapid and amazing conquests as before, but only engaged in common and ordinary wars like other nations; then their power and glory began to decline, and their empire by little and little to moulder away; then they had no longer, like the prophetic locusts, *one king over them,* Spain[6] having revolted in the year 756, and set up another caliph in opposition to the reigning house of Abbas. If these months be taken doubly, or for 300 years, then according to Sir Isaac Newton,[7] 'the whole time that the caliphs of the Saracens reigned with a temporal dominion at Damascus and Bagdad together, was 300 years, viz. from the year 637 to the year 936 inclusive;' when their empire was broken and divided into several principalities or kingdoms.[8] So that let these *five months* be taken in any possible construction, the event will still answer, and the prophecy will still be fulfilled; though the second method of interpretation and application appears much more probable than either the first or the third.

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[2] 'Vergiliarum exortu parere [Circa Maii Nonas], deinde ad Canis ortum obire [Circa XV. Calendas Augusti], et alias renasci.' Plin. Nat. Hist. l. 11. c. 29. § 35. 'Locustæ vere natæ sub finem æstatis obeunt, nec supra quinque menses vivere solent.' Bochart. Hieroz. part post. l. 4. c. 8. col. 495.

[3] 'Nec frustra est, quod mysticis locustis, quæ scorpionum caudas habent, non datur potestas nocendi hominibus, nisi per menses quinque. Quippe ut locustæ, ita nec scorpiones diutius nocent. Nam per frigora torpent, nec quidquam ab iis est periculi.' Bochart. ibid. l. 4. c. 29. col. 640.

[4] Howel's Hist. of the World, part 3. chap. 4. § 7. p. 288.—ἀπὸ μηνὸς Ἀπριλλίου εἰς Σεπτεμβρ. καὶ ὑποστρέψαντες ἐν Κυζίκῳ, ταύτην παραλαμβάνουσι, καὶ χειμάζουσιν ἐκεῖ. καὶ κατὰ ἔαρ ὁμοίως ἐπολέμουν μετὰ τῶν χριστιανῶν, ἐπὶ ἑπτὰ ἔτη.—*ab Aprili usque ad Septembrem mensem. Inde barbari revertentes Cyzicum occupaverunt, atque ibi hyemarunt: et vere rursum Christianis bellum fecerunt. Hoc modo septem annos se gessere.* Cedreni Hist. Compend. p. 437. Vide etiam Theophanis Chronograph. p. 264.

In the conclusion it is added, (ver. 12.) " One woe is past and behold there come two woes more hereafter." This is added not only to distinguish the woes, and to mark more strongly each period, but also to suggest that some time will intervene between this first woe of the Arabian locusts, and the next of the Euphratean horsemen. The similitude between the locusts and Arabians is indeed so great that it cannot fail of striking every curious observer: and a farther resemblance is noted by Mr. Daubuz,[9] that 'there hath happened in the extent of this torment a coincidence of the event with the nature of the locusts. The Saracens have made inroads into all those parts of Christendom where the natural locusts are wont to be seen and known to do mischief, and no where else: And that too in the same proportion. Where the locusts are seldom seen, there the Saracens stayed little: where the natural locusts are often seen, there the Saracens abode most; and where they breed most, there the Saracens had their beginning and greatest power. This may be easily verified by history.'

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[5] Prideaux's Life of Mahomet, p. 14. 8th Edit. Elmacini Hist. Saracen. l. 1. c. 1. et l. 2. c. 3. Abul-Pharajii Hist. Dyn. 9. p. 141. Vers. Pocock. Blair's Chronol. Tab. N° 36. part 2.

[6] Elmacini Hist. Saracen. l. 2. c. 3. Blair, ibid.

[7] Sir Isaac Newton on the Apoc. c. 3. p. 305. See likewise p. 91. of Mr. Jackson's Address to the Deists: wherein are some pertinent observations concerning the completion of this and the succeeding Woe.

[8] Elmacin. l. 3. c. 1. Blair's Tab. N° 39.

(13) "And the sixth angel sounded, and I heard a voice from the four horns of the golden altar, which is before God, (14) Saying to the sixth angel which had the trumpet, Loose the four angels which are bound in the great river Euphrates. (15) And the four angels were loosed, which were prepared for an hour, and a day, and a month, and a year, for to slay the third part of men. (16) And the number of the army of the horsemen *were* two hundred thousand thousand: and I heard the number of them. (17) And thus I saw the horses in the vision, and them that sat on them, having breast-plates of fire, and of jacinth, and brimstone: and the heads of the horses *were* as the heads of lions; and out of their mouths issued fire, and smoke, and brimstone. (18) By these three was the third part of men killed, by the fire, and by the smoke, and by the brimstone, which issued out of their mouths. (19) For their power is in their mouth, and in their tails: for their tails *were* like unto serpents, and had heads, and with them they do hurt. (20) And the rest of the men which were not killed by these plagues, yet repented not of the works of their hands, that they should not worship devils, and idols of gold, and silver, and brass, and stone, and of wood: which neither can see, nor hear, nor walk: (21) Neither repented they of their murders, nor of their sorceries, nor of their fornication, nor of their thefts."

At the sounding of the sixth trumpet (ver. 13, 14, 15.) a voice proceeded "from the four horns of the golden altar," (for the scene was still in the temple,) ordering the angel of the sixth trumpet "to loose the four angels which were bound in the great river Euphrates;" and they "were loosed" accordingly Such a voice proceeding "from the four horns of the golden altar" is a strong indication of the divine displeasure; and plainly intimates that the sins of men must have been very great, when the altar, which was their sanctuary and protection, called aloud for vengeance. "The four angels" are the four sultanies or four leaders of the Turks and Othmans. For there were four principal sultanies or kingdoms of the Turks, bordering upon the river Euphrates:[1] one at Bagdad, founded by Togrul Beg, or Tangrolipix, as he is more usually called, in the year 1055: another at Damascus, founded by Tagjuddaulas or Ducas, in the year 1079: a third at Aleppo, founded by Sjarfuddaulas or Melech, in the same year, 1079: and the fourth at Iconium in Asia Minor, founded by Sedyduddaulas or Cutlu Muses, or his son, in the year 1080. These four sultanies subsisted several years afterwards; and the sultans were *bound* and restrained from extending their conquests farther than the territories and countries adjoining to the river Euphrates, primarily by the good providence of God, and secondarily by the croisades or expeditions of the European Christians into the Holy Land, in the latter part of the eleventh, and in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Nay the European Christians took several cities and countries from them, and confined them within narrower bounds. But when an end was put to the croisades, and the Christians totally abandoned their conquests in Syria and Palestine, as they did in the latter part of the thirteenth century; then "the four angels on the river Euphrates were loosed." Soliman Shah[2] the first chief and founder of the Othman race, retreating with his three sons from Jingiz Chan and the Tartars, would have passed the river Euphrates, but was unfortunately drowned, the time of *loosing the four angels* being not yet come. Discouraged at this sad accident, two of his sons returned to their former habitations: but Ortogrul the Third, with his three sons Condoz, Sarubani, and Othman, remained some time in those parts, and having obtained leave of Aladin the sultan of Iconium, he came with four hundred of his Turks, and settled in the mountains of Armenia. From thence they began their excursions; and the other Turks associating with them, and following their standard, they gained several victories over the Tartars on one side, and over the Christians on the other. Ortogrul dying in the year 1288,[3] Othman his son succeeded him in power and authority; and in the year 1299, as some say with the consent of Aladin himself, he was proclaimed sultan, and founded a new empire; and the people afterwards, as well as the new empire, were called by his name. For though they disclaim the name of *Turks*, and assume that of *Othmans*, yet nothing is more certain, than that they are a mixed multitude, the remains of the four sultanies above mentioned, as well as the descendants particularly of the house of Othman.

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[9] Daubuz, p. 409

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[1] Elmacini Hist Saracen. l. 3. c. 7 et 8. Heylin's Cosm. b. 3. p. 726. Edit. 1703. Introduct. to the Hist. of Asia, c. 11. § 2 et 3. Sandys's Travels, b. 1. p. 34. 7th Edit.

[2] Pocockii Supplem. Abul-Pharaj. Hist. p. 41, 42. Herbelot. Bib. Orient. p. 822, 694, &c.

[3] Pocock. ibid. Herbelot. p. 694. 697.

In this manner and at this time "the four angels were loosed, which were prepared for an hour, and a day, and a month, and a year, for to slay the third part of men," that is, as before, the men of the Roman empire, and especially in Europe, the third part of the world. The Latin or western empire was broken to pieces under the four first trumpets; the Greek or eastern empire was cruelly *hurt* and *tormented* under the fifth trumpet; and here under the sixth trumpet it is to be *slain* and utterly destroyed. Accordingly all Asia Minor, Syria, Palestine, Egypt, Thrace, Macedon, Greece, and all the countries, which formerly belonged to the Greek or eastern Cæsars, the Othmans have conquered, and subjugated to their dominion. They first[4] passed over into Europe in the reign of Orchan their second emperor, and in the year 1357; they [5]took Constantinople in the reign of Mohammed their seventh emperor, and in the year 1453; and in time all the remaining parts of the Greek empire shared the fate of the capital city. The last of their conquests were [6]Candia or the ancient Crete in 1669, and Cameniec in 1672. For the execution of this great work it is said that they "were prepared for an hour, and a day, and a month, and a year;" which will admit either of a literal or a mystical interpretation; and the former will hold good, if the latter should fail. If it be taken literally, it is only expressing the same thing by different words, as *peoples and multitudes and nations and tongues* are jointly used in other places: and then the meaning is that they were prepared and ready to execute the divine commission at any time or for any time, any *hour*, or *day*, or *month*, or *year* that God should appoint. If it be taken mystically, and the *hour*, and *day*, and *month*, and *year* be a prophetic *hour*, and *day*, and *month*, and *year*, then a *year* (according to St. John's, who follows herein Daniel's computation) consisting of 360 days is 360 years, and a *month* consisting of 30 days is 30 years, and a *day* is a year, and an *hour* in the same proportion is 15 days; so that the whole period of the Othmans *slaying the third part of men*, or subduing the Christian states in the Greek or Roman empire, amounts to 391 years and 15 days. Now it is wonderfully remarkable, that the first conquest mentioned in history, of the Othmans over the Christians, was[7] in the year of the Hegira 680 and the year of Christ 1281. For Ortogrul 'in that year (according to the accurate historian Saadi) crowned his victories with the conquest of the famous city of Kutahi upon the Greeks.' Compute 391 years from that time, and they will terminate in the year 1672: and in that year, as it was hinted before, Mohammed the Fourth[8] took Cameniec from the Poles, 'and forty-eight towns and villages in the territory of Cameniec were delivered up' to the sultan upon the treaty of peace. Whereupon Prince Cantemir hath made this memorable reflection, 'This was the last victory by which any advantage accrued to the Othman state, or any city or province was annexed to the ancient bounds of the empire.' Agreeably to which observation, he hath entitled the former part of his history *of the growth of the Othman empire*, and the following part *of the decay of the Othman empire.* Other wars and slaughters, as he says, have ensued. The Turks even besieged Vienna in 1683; but this exceeding the bounds of their commission, they were defeated. Belgrade and other places may have been taken from them, and surrendered to them again: but still they have subdued no new state or potentate of Christendom now for the space of between 80 and 90 years; and in all probability they never may again, their empire appearing rather to decrease than increase. Here then the prophecy and the event agree exactly in the period of 391 years; and if more accurate and authentic histories of the Othmans were brought to light, and we knew the very day wherein Kutahi was taken, as certainly as we know that wherein Cameniec was taken, the like exactness might also be found in the 15 days. But though the time be limited for the Othmans' *slaying the third part of men*, yet no time is fixed for the duration of their empire; only this second woe will end, when the third woe, (xi. 14.) or the destruction of the beast, shall be at hand.

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[4] Pocockii Supplem. p. 43. Herbelot. p. 693. A. H. 758. cæpit Decem. 25, 1356. Pocockii Index.

[5] Leunclav. Pandect. Hist. Turc. c. 129. p. 448. Edit. Paris. Pocock. ibid. p. 47. Herbelot. p. 615. Prince Cantemir's Hist. of the Othman Empire, b. 3. c. 1. § 9. Savage's Abridgment of Knolles and Rycaut, vol. i. p. 180, &c.

[6] Prince Cantemir, b. 3. c. 12. § 8, 16. Savage, ibid. vol. 2. p. 192 et 200.

[7] Prince Cantemir's Hist. b. 1. c. 2. § 5.

A description is then given (ver. 16—19.) of the forces, and of the means and instruments, by which the Othmans should effect the ruin of the eastern empire. Their armies are described as very numerous, *myriads of myriads;* and who knoweth not what mighty armies the Othman emperors have brought into the field? When Mohammed the Second besieged Constantinople, he had[9] about four hundred thousand men in his army, besides a powerful fleet of thirty larger and two hundred lesser ships. They are described too chiefly as *horsemen;* and so they are described both by Ezekiel and by Daniel, as there was occasion to observe in the last dissertation upon Daniel: and it is well known, that their armies consisted chiefly of cavalry, especially before the order of Janizaries was instituted by Amurath the First. The Janizaries may be the guard of the court, but the Timariots, or horsemen holding lands by serving in the wars, are the strength of the government: and these, as Heylin[1] affirms, are in all accounted between seven and eight hundred thousand fighting men; some say that they are a million; and besides these, there are Spahis and other horsemen in the emperor's pay.

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[8] Prince Cantemir's Hist. b. 3. c. 12. § 18, 19.

[9] λέγεται δὲ γενέσϑαι κ. τ. λ. *Quadraginta myriades hominum dicuntur tunc temporis in exercitu regis fuisse*——*classis regiæ, in qua erant triremes triginta, naves minores ducentæ.* Laonicus Chalcocondylas de redus Turcicis, l. 8. p. 203.

"In the vision (that is, in appearance, and not in reality), *they had* breast-plates of fire, and of jacinth (or hyacinth), and brimstone." The colour of *fire* is red, of *hyacinth* blue, and of *brimstone* yellow: and this, as Mr. Daubuz[2] observes, 'hath a literal accomplishment; for the Othmans, from the first time of their appearance, have affected to wear such warlike apparel of scarlet, blue, and yellow.' Of the Spahis particularly some have red, and some have yellow standards, and others red or yellow mixed with other colours. In appearance too "the heads of the horses were as the heads of lions," to denote their strength, courage, and fierceness; "and out of their mouths issued fire, and smoke, and brimstone." A manifest allusion to great guns and gunpowder, which were invented under this trumpet, and were of such signal service to the Othmans in their wars. For "by these three was the third part of men killed," by these the Othmans made such havoc and destruction in the Greek or eastern empire. Amurath the Second[3] broke into Peloponnesus, and took several strong places by the means of his artillery. But his son Mohammed at the siege of Constantinople[4] employed such great guns, as were never made before. One is described to have been of such a monstrous size, that it was drawn by seventy yoke of oxen and by two thousand men. There were two more, each of which discharged a stone of the weight of two talents. Others emitted a stone of the weight of half a talent. But the greatest of all discharged a ball of the weight of three talents, or about three hundred pounds; and the report of this cannon is said to have been so great, that all the country round about was shaken to the distance of forty furlongs. For forty days the wall was battered by these guns, and so many breaches were made, that the city was taken by assault, and an end put to the Grecian empire.

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[1] Heylin's Cosm. b. 3. p. 729. Edit. 1703. Sandys's Travels, b. 1. p. 38. 7th Edit.

[2] Daubuz, p. 444. See too Rycaut's Present State of the Othman Empire, b. 3. c. 3. Tournefort's Voyage, vol. 2. Lett. 1. p. 36. &c.

[3] Chalcocond. ibid. l. 7.

[4] τηλεϐόλους ϖοιούμενος μεγίστους κ. τ. λ. *Bombardas fieri curavit maximas, quantas novimus ea tempestate nunquam exstitisse.—Tanta hujus bombardæ magnitudo exstitit, ut a septuaginta jugis boum et a viris bis mille trahenda fuerit.——Bombardæ, quas rex habebat, duæ maximæ, emittebant lapidem qui appendebat talenta duo.—Hæ emittebant lapidem, cujus pondus erat dimidium talentum ——Bombarda maxima torquebat globum, cujus pondus continebat tria circiter talenta —Bombardæ hujus tonitru tantum esse traditum est, ut finitima regio usque ad quadraginta stadia concuteretur.—Jam quadraginta diebus murus bombardis fortiter quassatus erat, &c.'* Chalcocond. ibid. l. 8. p. 203, 204.

Moreover they had power to *do hurt by their tails*, as well as *by their mouths*, "their tails *being* like unto serpents, and *having* heads." In this respect they very much resemble *the locusts;* only the different tails are accommodated to the different creatures, the tails of *scorpions to locusts;* the tails of *serpents with a head at each end to horses.* By this figure it is meant, that the Turks draw after them the same poisonous train as the Saracens; they profess and propagate the same imposture; they do hurt not only by their conquests, but also by spreading their false doctrine; and wherever they establish their dominion, there too they establish their religion. Many indeed of the Greek church remained, and are still remaining among them: but they are [5] made to pay dearly for the exercise of their religion; are subjected to a capitation-tax, which is rigorously exacted from all above fourteen years of age; are burdened besides with the most heavy and arbitrary impositions upon every occasion; are compelled to the lowest and most servile drudgery; are abused in their persons, and robbed of their property; have not only the mortification of seeing some of their friends and kindred daily apostatize to the ruling religion, but had even their children taken from them to be educated therein, of whom the more robust and hardy were trained up to the soldiery, the more weakly and tender were castrated for the seraglio: but notwithstanding these persecutions and oppressions some remains of the Greek church are still preserved among them, as we may reasonably conclude, to serve some great and mysterious ends of providence.

But though the Greek church was thus ruined and oppressed, "the rest of men (ver. 20, 21.) who were not killed by these plagues," the Latin church which pretty well escaped these calamities, "yet repented not of the works of their hands, that they should not worship devils," (*δαιμόνια*, demons or second mediatory gods, as it hath largely been shewn before, saints and angels), "and idols of gold and silver and brass and stone and wood." From hence it is evident, that these calamities were inflicted upon the Christians for their idolatry. As the eastern churches were first in the crime, so they were first likewise in the punishment. At first they were visited by the plague of the Saracens, but this working no change or reformation, they were again chastised by the still greater plague of the Othmans; were partly overthrown by the former, and were entirely ruined by the latter. What churches were then remaining, which were guilty of the like idolatry, but the western, or those in the communion with Rome? and the western were not at all reclaimed by the ruin of the eastern, but persisted still in the worship of saints, and (what is worse) the worship of images, "which neither can see, nor hear, nor walk :" and the world is witness to the completion of this prophecy to this day. "Neither repented they of their murders (their persecutions and inquisitions), nor of their sorceries (their pretended miracles and revelations), nor of their fornication (their public stews and uncleanness), nor of their thefts," their exactions and impositions on mankind : and they were as notorious for their licentiousness and wickedness, as for their superstition and idolatry. As they therefore refused to take warning by the two former woes, the third woe, as we shall see, will fall with vengeance upon them.

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[5] See Smith's and Rycaut's accounts of the Greek church.

Chap. X.—(1) "And I saw another mighty angel come down from heaven clothed with a cloud, and a rainbow *was* upon his head, and his face *was* as it were the sun, and his feet as pillars of fire. (2) And he had in his hand a little book open : and he set his right foot upon the sea, and *his* left *foot* on the earth, (3) And cried with a loud voice, as *when* a lion roareth : and when he had cried, seven thunders uttered their voices. (4) And when the seven thunders had uttered their voices, I was about to write : and I heard a voice from heaven saying unto me, Seal up those things which the seven thunders uttered, and write them not. (5) And the angel which I saw stand upon the sea, and upon the earth, lifted up his hand to heaven, (6) And sware by him that liveth for ever, who created heaven and the things that therein are, and the earth and the things that therein are, and the sea and the things which are therein, that there should be time no longer : (7) But in the days of the voice of the seventh angel, when he shall begin to sound, the mystery of God should be finished, as he hath declared to his servants the prophets. (8) And the voice which I heard from heaven spake unto me again, and said, Go, *and* take the little book which is open in the hand of the angel which standeth upon the sea, and upon the earth. (9) And I went unto the angel, and said unto him, Give me the little book. And he said unto me, Take *it*, and eat it up ; and it shall make thy belly bitter, but it shall be in thy mouth as sweet as honey. (10) And I took the little book out of the angel's hand, and ate it up ; and it was in my mouth as sweet as honey : and as soon as I had eaten it, my belly was bitter. (11) And he said unto me, Thou must prophesy again before many peoples, and nations, and tongues, and kings."

St. John, in the conclusion of the last chapter, having touched upon the corruption of the western church, proceeds now to deliver some prophecies relating to this lamentable event. But before he enters upon the subject, he (and the church in him) is prepared for it by an august and consolatory vision. "Another mighty angel came down from heaven" (ver. 1.), described somewhat like the angel in the three last chapters of Daniel, and in the first chapter of the Revelation. "He had in his hand (ver. 2.) a little book," *βιβλαρίδιον a little book* or codicil, different from the *βιβλίον* or *book* mentioned before: and it was "open," that all men might freely read and consider it. It was indeed a codicil to the larger book, and properly cometh under the sixth trumpet, to describe the state of the western church after the description of the state of the eastern: and this is with good reason made a separate and distinct prophecy, on account of the importance of the matter, as well as for engaging the greater attention. "He set his right foot upon the sea, and his left foot upon the earth," to shew the extent of his power and commission: "and when he had cried aloud (ver. 3.), seven thunders uttered their voices." St. John would have written down (ver. 4.) "those things which the seven thunders uttered," but was forbidden to do it. As we know not the subjects of *the seven thunders*, so neither can we know the reasons for suppressing them: but it may be conceived, that something might be proper to be revealed to the apostle, and yet not to be communicated to the church. By these *seven thunders*, Vitringa understands the seven great croisades or expeditions of the western Christians for the conquest of the Holy Land,[6] and Daubuz the seven kingdoms which received and established the Protestant Reformation by law. But doth it not savour rather of vanity and presumption than of wisdom and knowledge, to pretend to conjecture what they are, when the Holy Spirit hath purposely concealed them? Then the angel (ver. 5, 6, 7.) "lifted up his hand to heaven (like the angel in Daniel, xii. 7.) and sware by him that liveth for ever and ever" (the great creator of all things), *ὅτι χρόνος οὐκ ἔσται ἔτι, that the time shall not be yet*, but it shall be in the days of the seventh trumpet, that "the mystery of God *shall* be finished," and the glorious state of his church be perfected, agreeably to the good things which he hath promised, *ὡς εὐηγγέλισε*, "to his servants the prophets." This is said for the consolation of Christians, that though *the little book* describes the calamities of the western church, yet they shall all have a happy period under the seventh trumpet. St. John is then ordered (ver. 8, 9, 10.) *to eat the little book*, as Ezekiel (iii. 3.) did upon a like occasion: "and he ate it up;" he thoroughly considered, and digested it; and found it to be, as he was informed it would be, *sweet as honey in his mouth*, but *bitter in his stomach*. The knowledge of future things at first was pleasant, but the sad contents of the little book afterwards filled his soul with sorrow. But these contents were not to be *sealed up* like those of *the seven thunders;*

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[6] Vitring. in locum, p. 431. Daubuz, p. 469.

this *little book* was to be published (ver. 11.) as well as the larger book of the Apocalypse; it was a kind of *second* prophecy, added to the former; and as it concerned *kings and nations*, so it was to be made public for their use and information. But if here, as some contend, the prophecy begins again anew, the subject is resumed from the beginning, and all that follows is contained in *the little book*, then *the little book* contains more matter than *the larger book*, and part of the *sealed* book is made part of the *open* book, which is contrary to the regularity and order of the Apocalypse, and in great measure destroys the beauty and symmetry of the different parts; for it is evident and undeniable, that the seventh trumpet is the seventh part of the seventh seal, as the seventh seal is the seventh part of the sealed book, and consequently can be no part of the little book, which endeth, as we shall see, with the sixth trumpet, and immediately before the sounding of the seventh.

CHAP. XI. (1) "AND there was given me a reed like unto a rod: and the angel stood, saying, Rise, and measure the temple of God, and the altar, and them that worship therein. (2) But the court which is without the temple, leave out, and measure it not; for it is given unto the Gentiles: and the holy city shall they tread under foot forty *and* two months. (3) And I will give *power* unto my two witnesses, and they shall prophesy a thousand two hundred *and* threescore days clothed in sackcloth. (4) These are the two olive-trees, and the two candlesticks standing before the God of the earth. (5) And if any man will hurt them, fire proceedeth out of their mouth, and devoureth their enemies: and if any man will hurt them, he must in this manner be killed. (6) These have power to shut heaven, that it rain not in the days of their prophecy: and have power over waters to turn them to blood, and to smite the earth with all plagues as often as they will. (7) And when they shall have finished their testimony, the beast that ascendeth out of the bottomless pit, shall make war against them, and shall overcome them, and kill them. (8) And their dead bodies *shall lie* in the street of the great city, which spiritually is called Sodom and Egypt, where also our Lord was crucified. (9) And they of the people, and kindreds, and tongues, and nations, shall see their dead bodies three days and a half, and shall not suffer their dead bodies to be put in graves. (10) And they that dwell upon the earth shall rejoice over them, and make merry, and shall send gifts one to another; because these two prophets tormented them that dwelt on the earth. (11) And after three days and an half, the spirit of life from God entered into them: and they stood upon their feet, and great fear fell upon them which saw them. (12) And they heard a great voice from heaven, saying unto them, Come up hither. And they ascended up to heaven in a cloud, and their enemies beheld them. (13) And the same hour was there a great earthquake, and the tenth part of the city fell, and in the earthquake were slain of men seven thousand: and the remnant were affrighted, and gave glory to the God of heaven. (14) The second woe is past, *and* behold, the third woe cometh quickly."

In the former part of this chapter, from the first verse to the fourteenth, are exhibited the contents of this little book. St. John is commanded (ver. 1.) to "measure (the inner court) the temple of God, and the altar, and them who worship therein," to shew that during all this period there were some true Christians, who conformed to the rule and measure of God's word. This measuring might allude more particularly to the Reformation from Popery, which fell out under the sixth trumpet; and one of the moral causes of it was the Othmans taking of Constantinople, whereupon the Greeks flying from their own country, and bringing their books with them into the more western parts of Europe, proved the happy occasion of the revival of learning; as the revival of learning opened men's eyes, and proved the happy occasion of the Reformation. But though *the inner court*, which includes the smaller number, was *measured*, yet *the outer court*, which implies the far greater part, was *left out* (ver. 2.) and rejected, as being in the possession of Christians only in name, but *Gentiles* in worship and practice, who profaned it with heathenish superstition and idolatry: "and they shall tread under foot the holy city," they shall trample upon, and tyrannize over the church of Christ, for the space of "forty and two months."

At the same time God should raise up some true and faithful *witnesses* (ver. 3.) to preach and protest against these innovations and corruptions of religion; for there were Protestants long before ever the name came into use. Of these witnesses there should be, though but a small, yet a competent number; and it was a sufficient reason for making them "two witnesses," because that is the number required by the law, and approved by the gospel. (Deut. xix. 15. Matt. xviii. 16.) "In the mouth of two witnesses shall every word be established:" and upon former occasions two have often been joined in commission, as Moses and Aaron in Egypt, Elijah and Elisha in the apostasy of the ten tribes, and Zerubbabel and Jeshua after the Babylonish captivity, to whom these witnesses are particularly compared. Our Saviour himself sent forth his disciples (Luke x. 1.) "two and two:" and it hath been observed also, that the principal reformers have usually appeared as it were in pairs, as the Waldenses and Albigenses, John Huss and Jerome of

Prague, Luther and Calvin, Cranmer and Ridley, and their followers. Not that I conceive, that any two particular men, or two particular churches, were intended by this prophecy; but only it was meant in the general, that there should be some in every age, though but a few in number, who should bear witness to the truth, and declare against the iniquity and idolatry of their times. They should not be discouraged even by persecution and oppression, but though "clothed in sackcloth," and living in a mourning and afflicted state, should yet "prophesy," should yet preach the sincere word of God, and denounce the divine judgments against the reigning idolatry and wickedness: and this they should continue to do, as long as the grand corruption itself lasted, for the space of "a thousand two hundred and threescore days." It is the same space of time with the "forty and two months" before mentioned. For "forty and two months," consisting each of thirty days, are equal to "a thousand two hundred and threescore days," or *years* in the prophetic style: and "a thousand two hundred and threescore years," as we have seen before in Daniel, and shall see hereafter in the Revelation, is the period assigned for the tyranny and idolatry of the Church of Rome. The *witnesses* therefore cannot be any two men, or any two churches, but must be a succession of men, and a succession of churches.

A character is then given of these witnesses, and of the power and effect of their preaching. "These are the two olive-trees, and the two candlesticks standing before the God of the earth" (ver. 4.), that is, they are like Zerubbabel and Jeshua (Zech. iv.), the great instructors and enlighteners of the church. "Fire proceedeth out of their mouth, and devoureth their enemies" (ver. 5.), that is, they are like unto Moses and Elijah (Numb. xvi. 2 Kings i.), who called for fire upon their adversaries. But their fire was real, this is symbolical, and *proceedeth out of the mouth* of the witnesses, denouncing the divine vengeance on the corrupters and opposers of true religion; much in the same manner, as it was said to Jeremiah, (v. 14.) "I will make my words in thy mouth fire, and this people wood, and it shall devour them." "These have power to shut heaven, that it rain not in the days of their prophecy" (ver. 6.), that is, they are like Elijah, who foretold a want of rain in the days of Ahab, (1 Kings xvii. 1. Jam. v. 17.) "and it rained not on the earth for the space of three years and six months," which, mystically understood, is the same space of time as the "forty and two months," and the "thousand two hundred and threescore days," which are allotted for the prophesying of the witnesses. During this time the divine grace, and protection, and blessing shall be withheld from those men, who neglect and despise their preaching and doctrine. They have also "power over the waters to turn them to blood, and to smite the earth with all plagues, as often as they will," that is, they are like Moses and Aaron, who inflicted these plagues on Egypt: and they may be said to *smite the earth with the plagues* which they denounce, for in Scripture-language the prophets are often said to do those things, which they declare and foretel. But it is most highly probable, that these particulars will receive a more literal accomplishment, when the plagues of God and the vials of his wrath (chap. xvi.) shall be poured out upon men, in consequence of their having so long resisted the testimony of the witnesses. Their cause and the cause of truth will finally be avenged on all their enemies.

Next after this description of the power and office of the witnesses, follows a prediction of those things, which shall befall them at the latter end of their ministry: and their passion, and death, and resurrection, and ascension are copied from our Saviour's, who is emphatically styled (iii. 14.) "the faithful and true witness;" but with this difference, that his were real, theirs are figurative and mystical. "And when they shall have finished (ὅταν τελέσωσι, *when they shall be about finishing*) their testimony (ver. 7.), the beast that ascendeth out of the abyss (the tyrannical power of Rome, of which we shall hear more hereafter) shall make war against them, and shall overcome them, and kill them." *The beast* indeed *shall make war against them* all the time that they are performing their ministry; but *when they shall be near finishing it*, he *shall* so *make war against them, as to overcome them, and kill them.* They shall be subdued and suppressed, be degraded from all power and authority, be deprived of all offices and functions, and be politically dead, if not naturally so. In this low and abject state they shall lie some time (ver. 8.) "in the street of the great city," in some conspicuous place within the jurisdiction of Rome,[7] "which spiritually is called Sodom (for corruption of

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[7] Mr. Mann, the late learned master of the Charter-house, in some manuscript notes upon Vitringa's book on the Revelation, communicated to me by my friend Dr. Jortin, hath the following, to prove that not Jerusalem, but Rome was intended in this place. Rev. xi. 8. "The great city, which spiritually is called Sodom and Egypt, where their Lord was crucified."

1. 'Jerusalem in ver. 2. of this very chapter, is called the holy city: can it be in so few periods intended under the names of Sodom and Egypt.'

2. 'The holy city of Jerusalem, ver. 2. was to be wasted and trod under foot by the Gentiles for forty-two months: the two witnesses were to prophesy the same space of time: how then should their carcases lie in the street of Jerusalem so wasted?'

3. 'Jerusalem in this book is four times called the holy city, never the Great (unless it be here meant): the Great City is twelve times repeated only of Babylon, i. e. Rome: is it probable it should be here used of Jerusalem?'

4. 'In ver. 13. at the revival of the two witnesses after lying dead three days and a half, the tenth part of the city fell: but in ver. 2. Jerusalem is already wasted, and not supposed to be rebuilt; and therefore incapable of being so damaged.'

5. 'And were Jerusalem rebuilt, the enemies of Christ out of all people, tongues, and nations (ver. 9.), would not

manners) and Egypt (for tyranny and oppression of the people of God), where also our Lord was crucified" spiritually, being crucified afresh in the sufferings of his faithful martyrs. Nay to shew the greater indignity and cruelty to the martyrs, " their dead bodies" shall not only be publicly exposed (ver. 9.), but they shall be denied even the common privilege of burial, which is the case of many Protestants in popish countries: and their enemies " shall rejoice and insult over them (ver. 10.), and shall send mutual presents and congratulations one to another," for the deliverance from these *tormentors,* whose life and doctrine were a continual reproach to them. But " after three days and a half," (ver. 11.), that is, in the prophetic style *after three years and a half,* for no less time is requisite for all these transactions, they shall be raised again by *the Spirit of God,* and (ver. 12.) shall *ascend up to heaven;* they shall not only be restored to their pristine state, but shall be farther promoted to dignity and honour; and that by " a great voice from heaven," by the voice of public authority. " At the same hour there *shall* be a great earthquake," there shall be great commotions in the world; " and the tenth part of the city *shall fall,*" as an omen and earnest of a still greater fall; *and seven thousand names of men,* or seven thousand men of name, *shall be slain;* and the remainder in their fright and fear shall acknowledge the great power of God.

Some interpreters are of opinion, that this prophecy of the *death and resurrection of the witnesses* received its completion[8] in the case of John Huss and Jerome of Prague, who were *two*

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assemble there, nor the beast expose the slain witnesses but in his own capital.'

1. ' Object. There are two characteristics assigned, which fit Jerusalem only. That it is spiritually or figuratively called Sodom and Egypt; as Jerusalem is compared to Sodom, Isa. i. 10. and iii. 9. (of Egypt no instance.)

1. ' Answ. That Capernaum (Matt. xi. 23, 24.) is likewise compared to Sodom by Christ; and so is any city that shall reject the gospel. Matt. x. 15. Whence Tertullian (adv. Jud. c. 9.) observes of this very name, Nec hoc novum Scripturis divinis, figurate uti translatione nominum, ex comparatione criminum. So Rome might be called Sodom for lewdness, and Egypt for the oppression of God's people.

2. ' Object. The second characteristic, where also our Lord was crucified, determines the place to Jerusalem beyond all possibility of doubting.'

2. ' Answ. Mills says, the text should be read, Ὅϖου ὁ Κύϱιος αὐτῶν ἐσταυϱώθη, where their Lord was crucified; or had been crucified; yet indeed without making any great difference to the literal sense. But why may not this expression be used figuratively as well as the preceding? why may not the Lord of the two witnesses be spiritually crucified, where they are spiritually slain? St. Paul to the Galatians uses this expression figuratively three or four times: The Ep. to the Heb. vi. 6. uses it figuratively, and perhaps in the very sense it may bear here. Though it is capable too of another, which is authorized by Christ himself, for Matt. x. and xxv. and Acts ix. 4, 5. he declares himself to suffer what is done to his followers. In that great city therefore, which was drunk with the blood of the saints, and the martyrs of Jesus, ch. xvii. 6. Jesus himself might be said to be crucified.'

[8] Fox et Vitring. p. 487, &c. Vide etiam Fred. Spanhemii Hist. Christ. Sæc. xv. c. 6. 7. Histoire du Concile de Constance par Jaques Lenfant, Voltaire's General History and State of Europe, part 2. and Annals of the Empire, vol. 2.

faithful *witnesses* and martyrs of the blessed Jesus. It is very well known, that they were condemned to death, and afterwards burnt for heresy by the council of Constance. Which council sitting about *three years and a half*, from November 1414 to April 1418, their *bodies* may that time be said to have lain *unburied in the street of the great city*, in Constance, where was the greatest assembly not only of bishops and cardinals, but likewise of ambassadors, barons, counts, dukes, princes, and the emperor himself. But after the council was dissolved, these two preachers were restored as it were to life in their disciples and followers, who propagated the same doctrines, maintained them by force of arms as well as by preaching, and even vanquished the Imperialists in several battles. It was truly said to them, "Come up hither," when they were invited to the council of Basil with a promise of redress of grievances: but the council having dealt fraudulently with them, they broke out again into open rebellion, "and the tenth part of the city fell," the kingdom of Bohemia revolted, and fell alike from its obedience to the pope and emperor.

Others refer this prophecy to the[9] Protestants of the league of Smalcald, who were entirely routed by the emperor Charles V. in the battle of Mulburg, on the 24th of April, 1547; when the two great champions of the Protestants, John Frederic, elector of Saxony, was taken prisoner, and the Landgrave of Hesse was forced to surrender himself, and to beg pardon of the emperor. Protestantism was then in a manner suppressed, and the mass restored. The witnesses were *dead* but *not buried;* and the Papists "*rejoiced* over them, and *made* merry, and *sent* gifts one to another." But this joy and triumph of theirs were of no very long continuance; for in the space of about *three years and a half*, the Protestants were *raised again* at Magdeburg, and defeated and took the duke of Mecklenburg prisoner in December, 1550. From that time their affairs changed for the better almost every day; success attended their arms and counsels; and the emperor was obliged by the treaty of Passau to allow them the free exercise of their religion, and to re-admit them into the imperial chamber, from which they had ever since the victory of Mulburg been excluded. Here was indeed *a great earthquake*, a great commotion, in which many *thousands were slain:* and *the tenth part of the city fell*, a great part of the German empire renounced the authority, and abandoned the communion of the church of Rome.

Some again may think this prophecy very applicable to the horrid massacre of the Protestants at Paris,[1] and in other cities of France, begun on the memorable eve of St. Bartholomew's day, 1572. According to the best authors, there were slain thirty or forty thousand Hugonots in a few days; and among them without doubt many true witnesses and faithful martyrs of Jesus Christ. "Their dead bodies *lay* in the street of the great city," one of the greatest cities of Europe; for they were not suffered to be buried, being the bodies of heretics; but were dragged through the street, or thrown into the river, or hung upon gibbets, and exposed to public infamy. Great *rejoicings* too were made in the courts of France, Rome, and Spain; they went in procession to the churches, they returned public thanks to God, they sung Te Deums, they celebrated jubilees, they struck medals; and it was enacted that St. Bartholomew's day should ever afterwards be kept with double pomp and solemnity. But neither was this joy of long continuance; for in little more than *three years and a half*, Henry III., who succeeded his brother Charles IX., entered into a treaty with the Hugonots, which was concluded and published on the 14th of May, 1576, whereby all the former sentences against them were reversed, and the free and open exercise of their religion was granted to them: they were to be admitted to all honours, dignities, and offices, as well as the Papists; and the judges were to be half of the one religion, and half of the other; with other articles greatly to their advantage, which were in a manner the *resurrection* of the witnesses, and their *ascension into heaven.* The *great earthquake*, and the *falling of the tenth part of the city*, and the *slaying of thousands of men*, according to this hypothesis, must be referred to the great commotions and civil wars, which for several years afterwards cruelly disturbed, and almost destroyed the kingdom of France.

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[9] Brightman and Vitring. p. 493, &c. See also Sleidan's Hist. of the Reformation, b. 19, &c. Voltaire's Annals of the Empire, vol. 2.

[1] Vitring. p. 496, &c. Thuani Hist. l. 52, 53 et 62. Davila's Hist. b. 5 et 6. Mezeray, Charles IX. and Henry III.

Others again have recourse to later events, and the later indeed the better and fitter for the purpose. Peter Jurieu, a famous divine of the French church at Rotterdam,[2] imagined that the persecution then carried on by Lewis XIV. against the Protestants of France, after the revocation of the edict of Nantes, in October, 1685, would be the last persecution of the church; that during this time the witnesses would lie dead, but should recover and revive within a few years, and the Reformation should be established in that kingdom by royal authority; the whole country should renounce popery, and embrace the Protestant religion. Bishop Lloyd and after him Mr. Whiston[3] apply this prophecy to the poor Protestants in the valleys of Piedmont, who, by a cruel edict of their sovereign the Duke of Savoy, instigated by the French king, were imprisoned and murdered, or banished and totally dissipated at the latter end of the year 1686. They were kindly received and succoured by the Protestant states; and after a while secretly entering Savoy with their swords in their hands, they regained their ancient possessions with great slaughter of their enemies; and the Duke himself, having then left the French interest, granted them a full pardon; and re-established them, by another edict signed June 4, 1690, just *three years and a half* after their total dissipation. Bishop Lloyd not only understood the prophecy in this manner, but what is very remarkable, made the application even before the event took place, as Mr. Whiston relates, and upon this ground encouraged a refugee minister, of the Vaudois, whose name was Jordan, to return home, and returning he heard the joyful news of the deliverance and restitution of his country. These were indeed most barbarous persecutions of the Protestants both in France and Savoy; and at the same time popery here in England was advanced to the throne, and threatened an utter subversion of our religion and liberties, but in little more than *three years and a half* a happy deliverance was wrought by the glorious Revolution.

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[2] Jurieu's Accomplishment of the Prophecies, part 2. chap. 12 and 13.

[3] Whiston's Essay on the Rev. part 3. Vision 2.

In all these cases there may be some resemblance to the prophecy before us, of *the death and resurrection of the witnesses;* and it may please an overruling providence so to dispose and order events, that the calamities and afflictions of the church may in some measure run parallel one to another, and all the former efforts of that tyrannical and persecuting power called *the beast*, may be the types and figures as it were of this his last and greatest effort against the witnesses. But though these instances sufficiently answer in some respects, yet they are deficient in others, and particularly in this, that they are none of them the last persecution; others have been since, and in all probability will be again. Besides as *the two witnesses* are designed to be the representatives of the Protestants in general, so the persecution must be general too, and not confined to this or that particular church or nation. We are now living under *the sixth trumpet:* and the empire of the *Euphratean horsemen* or Othmans is still subsisting, and perhaps in as large extent as ever: *the beast* is still *reigning;* and *the witnesses* are still in some times and places more, in some less, *prophesying in sackcloth.* It will not be till toward *the end of their testimony*, and that *end* seemeth to be yet at some distance, that the great victory and triumph of the *beast*, and the suppression, and resurrection, and exaltation of *the witnesses* will take effect. When all these things shall be accomplished, then *the sixth trumpet* will end, then "the second woe shall be past" (ver. 14.), the Othman empire shall be broken in the same manner that Ezekiel (xxxviii. xxxix.) and Daniel (xi. 44, 45.) have predicted;

the sufferings of *the witnesses* shall cease, and they shall be raised and exalted above their enemies: and when *the second woe* shall be thus *past*, " behold the third woe, (or the total destruction of the beast) cometh quickly." Some time intervened between *the first* and *the second woes;* but upon the ceasing of *the second, the third* shall commence immediately.

It appears then that the greater part of this prophecy relating to *the witnesses* remains yet to be fulfilled: but possibly some may question, whether any part of it hath been fulfilled; whether there have been any such persons as *the witnesses,* any true and faithful servants of Jesus Christ, who have in every age professed doctrines contrary to those maintained by the pope and church of Rome. The truth of the fact will best appear by an historical deduction; and if it can be proved, that there have constantly been such *witnesses* from the seventh century down to the Reformation, during the most flourishing period of popery, I presume there can be little doubt about the times preceding or following. As there hath been occasion to observe before, the seeds of popery were sown even in the apostles' time, but they were not grown up to maturity, the power of the pope as a *horn* or temporal prince was not established till the eighth century; and from thence therefore it will be proper to begin our deduction, when the beast began to reign, and the witnesses to *prophesy in sackcloth.*

Great as the power of the Latin church was grown in the *eighth* century, the Greek church still dissented from it, and opposed it. The emperors Leo Isauricus and his son Constantine Copronymus[4] not only vigorously opposed the worship of images, but also denied the intercession of saints, and burnt and destroyed their relics. In the year 754, Constantine Copronymus held a general council at Constantinople of 338 bishops, who prohibited unanimously the worship of saints as well as of images; and declared[5] that ' only one image was constituted by Christ himself, namely the bread and wine in the eucharist, which represent the body and blood of Christ:' than which there cannot be a stronger declaration against the doctrine of transubstantiation as well as against the worship of images. It is true that the second council of Nice, in the year 787, restored and established the worship of images, and the pope ratified and confirmed it; but nevertheless great opposition was made to it by several churches in the west.

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[4] Theoph. Cedren. Zonar. &c. &c. Fred. Spanhemii Hist. Christian. Sæc. VIII. c. 6, 7, &c.

[5] 'Aliis explosis imaginibus, [verba sunt Bellarmini tom. 1. p. 535.] 'unicam' definiverunt esse 'imaginem ab ipso Christo institutam, nimirum panem et vinum in Eucharistia, quæ repræsentant Christi corpus et sanguinem.' Ex Concil. Constantinop. tom. 3. p. 359. Edit. Binnii. Usserius de Christian. Eccles. successione et statu, c. 2. § 4.

Charlemain[6] held a council at Francfort in the year 794, consisting of 300 bishops of various nations, who condemned equally the second council of Nice and the worship of images. The Carolin books were also set forth under the name and authority of that great monarch; and the doctrines therein contained, of the sufficiency of the Scriptures, of the worship of God alone, of prayers in the vulgar tongue, of the eucharist, of justification, of repentance, of pretended visions and miracles, and various other points, are such as a Papist would abhor, and a Protestant would subscribe. Not to seek for farther instances, the [7] British churches lamented and execrated the second council of Nice; and the famous Albin or Alcuin wrote a letter against it, disproving and refuting it by express authorities of Holy Scripture; which letter was transmitted to Charles the Great in the name of the bishops and other great men of the kingdom. Even in Italy[8] the council of Forojulio prescribed the use of no other creed but that of the apostles, so that they had no conception of the necessity of so many additional articles, as have since been made by pope Pius IV., and received by the church. Some even of the Italian bishops assisted at the council of Francfort before mentioned, and particularly Paulinus bishop of Aquileia bore a principal part in it.

Popery prevailed still more in the *ninth* century, but yet not without considerable opposition. Not only the emperors of the east,[9] Nicephorus, Leo Armenius, Michael Balbus, Theophilus, and the emperors of the west, Charles the Great, and Lewis the Pious, but also several prelates and ecclesiastics, opposed the absolute power and supremacy of the pope, together with the worship of images, and invocation of saints and angels. The capitularies and edicts of Charles the Great and Lewis the Pious,[1] enjoining the reading of the canonical Scripture as the sole rule of faith, without any regard to human traditions or apocryphal writings. Private masses and pilgrimages, and other such superstitions[2] were forbidden by the same capitularies. Lewis the Pious held a council at Paris in the year 824, which[3] agreed with the council of Francfort in rejecting the second council of Nice, and forbidding the worship of images. Agobard, archbishop of Lyons, in his book against pictures and images, maintains, that we ought not to adore any image of God, but only that which is God himself, even his eternal Son; and that there is no other mediator between God and men, save Jesus Christ God and man: so that it is no wonder that this book is condemned in the Index Expurgatorius of the church of Rome. It was in this century, that the doctrine of transubstantiation was first advanced here in the west by Paschasius Radbertus, abbot of Corbie in France; but it was strenuously opposed by Rabanus Maurus, Bertramus, Johannes Scotus, and many other bishops and learned men of that age. Rabanus Maurus, archbishop of Mentz,[4] passes this censure upon the novelty of the doctrine; 'Some,' says he, 'of late, not rightly conceiving concerning the sacrament of the body and blood of our Lord, have affirmed that this is the very same body of our Lord, which was born of the Virgin Mary, and in which our Lord himself suffered, &c.; which error we have opposed to the utmost of our power, &c.' He thus expresses his own sentiments;[5] 'Our Lord would have the sacrament of his body and blood be taken and eaten by the faithful, that by a visible work an invisible effect might appear. For as the material food outwardly nourishes and refreshes the body, so also the word of God inwardly nourishes and strengthens the soul.' Again: 'the sacrament is reduced into the nourishment of the body, but by the virtue of the sacrament eternal life is obtained.' Bertramus, or Ratramnus as he is otherwise called, a monk of Corbie, wrote a book *of the body and blood of our Lord,* which he inscribed to the emperor Charles the Bald. The emperor had inquired of him,[6] 'whether the same body, which was born of Mary, and suffered, and was dead and buried, and which sitteth at the right hand of the Father, is what is daily taken in the mouth of the faithful by the mystery of the sacrament in the church:' and Bertram answers, that the difference between them is 'as great as between the pledge, and the thing for which the pledge is delivered; as great as between the image, and the thing whose image it is; as great as between the representation, and the reality.' He says in several places,[7] that 'the bread and wine are figuratively the body of Christ, spiritually not corporally, in figure, in image, in mystery, not in truth, or real existence, or presence of the substance.' Johannes Scotus, the famous Irishman, for the Irish were the Scots of those times,[8] wrote also a book *of the eucharist,* by the command of Charles the Bald: and therein he asserted, that 'the sacrament of the altar is not the true body, nor true blood of our Lord, but only the memorial of the true body and of the true blood.' He was after this invited into England by king Alfred, was preferred by him, and honoured with the title of martyr after his death; which is at least a strong presumption, that the church of England had not at that time received the doctrine of transubstantiation. In Italy itself Angilbertus, archbishop of Milan,[9] would not acknowledge the supremacy of the pope, nor did the church of Milan submit to the see of Rome till two hundred years afterwards. But no one was more willing, as indeed no one of that age was more able, to stem the torrent of superstition than Claude, bishop of Turin, in his numerous writings and comments upon Scripture. He[1] asserted the equality of all the apostles with St. Peter, and maintained that Jesus Christ was the only head of the church. He overthrew the doctrine of merit and all pretences to works of supererogation. He rejected traditions in matters of religion, held the church to be subject to error, and denied the use of prayers for the dead. He proposed the doctrine of the eucharist in a manner totally different from Paschasius Radbertus, and entirely conformable to the sense of the ancient church. He opposed with all his might the worship of saints, of relics, of images, together with pilgrimages, penances, and other superstitions of the like kind. He may in a manner be said to have sown the seeds of the Reformation in his diocese of Turin; and his doctrines took such deep root, especially in the valleys of Piedmont, that they continued to flourish there for some centuries, as the Papists themselves acknowledge.

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[6] Spanhem. ibid. c. 6. et 9. Usser. ibid. Allix's Remarks upon the ancient churches of the Albigenses, c. 8.

[7] Hoveden, Annal. pars prior. p. 232. Simeon Dunelm. Hist. p. 111. Matt. Westm. Flores Hist. Ann. 793. Usser. ibid. Collier's Eccles. Hist. b. 2. p. 139.

[8] Tom. 7. Concil. p. 1002. Allix's Remarks upon the ancient churches of Piedmont, c. 8. Spanhem. ibid. c. 9, 10.

[9] Fred. Spanhemii Hist. Christian. Sæc. IX. c. 9. Miscell. Sacræ Antiq. l. 6. Hist. Imag. 7—9.

[1] Capit. Aquisgranens. Spanhem. Hist. Christian. Sæc. IX. c. 3. § 2. c. 9. § 2.

[2] Spanhem. ibid. c. 9. § 5. 8, &c.

[3] Spanhem. ibid. c. 9. § 3. c. 12. § 2. Hist. Imag. § 9. Allix's Remarks upon the ancient churches of the Albigenses, c. 9.

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[4] 'Quidam nuper de ipso sacramento corporis et sanguinis Domini non recte sentientes, dixerunt hoc ipsum corpus Domini quod de Maria virgine natum est, et in quo ipse Dominus passus est, &c.; cui errori quantum potuimus, &c.' Lib. Pœnitent. c. 33. Spanhem. Hist. Christian. Sæc. IX. c. 10. § 4.

[5] 'Maluit Dominus corporis et sanguinis sui sacramenta fidelium ore percipi, et in partem [al. pastum] eorum redigi, ut per visibile opus invisibilis ostenderetur effectus. Sicut enim cibus materialis forinsecus nutrit corpus et vegetat, ita etiam verbum Dei intus animam nutrit et roborat. Sacramentum in alimentum corporis redigitur, virtute autem sacramenti æterna vita adipiscitur.' Institut. Cleric. l. 1. c. 31. et de Universo, l. 5. c. 11. Usser. de Christian. Eccles. successione et statu, c. 2. § 16.

[6] Ubi quærenti imperatori 'utrum ipsum corpus quod de Maria natum est et passum, mortuum et sepultum, quodque ad dexteram Patris consideat, sit quod ore fidelium per sacramentorum mysterium in ecclesia quotidie sumitur:' respondet Bertramus discrimen inter utrumque esse tantum, 'quantum est inter pignus, et eam rem pro qua pignus traditur; quantum inter imaginem, et rem cujus est imago; et quantum inter speciem et veritatem.' Usser. ibid. § 17.

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[7] Ibi fusè Bertramus, 'Panem vinumque figuratè corpus Christi exsistere; spiritualiter, non corporaliter; in figura, in imagine, in mysterio; non in veritate,' sua reali existentia, vel præsentia *substantiæ,* &c. Spanhem. ibid.

[8] 'Sacramentum altaris non esse verum corpus, nec verum sanguinem Domini, sed solummodo memoriale veri corporis et veri sanguinis.' Spanhem. ibid. Usser. ibid. § 19. Dupin. IX. Siecle, c. 7. Cave Hist. Litt. Ann. 858. p. 45. vol. 2. Collier's Ecclesiast. Hist. b. 3. p. 165.

[9] Sigon. de Regn. Ital. l. 5. Ann. 844. Spanhem. ibid. c. 9. § 1.

[1] See these points proved by quotations and extracts from his works in Dr. Allix's Remarks upon the ancient churches of Piedmont, c. 9. See also Spanheim, Dupin, Cave, &c.

The *tenth* century even the writers of the Romish communion lament and describe as the most debauched and wicked, the most illiterate and ignorant age since the coming of Christ. Genebrard[2] says, 'This is called the unhappy age, being destitute of men famous for wit and learning, as also of famous princes and popes; in which scarce any thing was done worthy of the memory of posterity.' He subjoins, 'But chiefly unhappy in this one thing, that for almost 150 years about fifty popes totally degenerated from the virtue of their ancestors, being more like apostates than apostles.' Baronius[3] himself denominates it an *iron*, a *leaden*, and *obscure* age: and declares that 'Christ was then, as it appears, in a very deep sleep, when the ship was covered with waves; and what seemed worse, when the Lord was thus asleep, there were wanting disciples who by their cries might awaken him, being themselves all fast asleep.' It is not to be wondered, that in so long and dark a night as this, while all were asleep, the subtle enemy should sow his tares in great abundance. However, there were some few like *lights shining in a dark place*, who remonstrated against the degeneracy and superstition of the times. The resolutions and decrees of the councils of Francfort and Paris against the worship of images[4] had still some force and influence in Germany, in France, in England, and other countries. In the former part of this century, in the year 909, a council[5] was held at Trosly, a village near Soissons in France: and having made several wise and good regulations, they concluded with a profession of the things, which Christians ought to believe and practise: and in that profession are none of those things which constitute the sum of popish doctrine, nothing of the pope's being head of the church, nothing of the daily sacrifice of the mass, or of purgatory, or of the worship of creatures, or of commentitious sacraments, or of confession to the priest, but of pure and sincere confession to God: so much did this council differ from the spirit and principles of the council of Trent. Many churches still retained the use of the Scriptures in the vulgar tongue: and in England particularly Athelstan caused them to be translated into the Anglo-Saxon idiom.[6] Great opposition[7] was also made in several countries to the celibacy of the clergy; and several councils were held upon the controversy between the monks and the secular clergy, and particularly in England, where Elfere earl of Mercia expelled the monks out of the monasteries in that province, and introduced the clergy with their wives. Many too even in this age denied the doctrine of transubstantiation. Heriger abbot of Lobes near Liege[8] wrote expressly against it; as did also[9] Alfric in England, whose homily for Easter used to be read publicly in the churches. His principal aim therein[1] is to prove, 'that we spiritually taste the body of Christ, and drink his blood, when with true faith we partake of that holy sacrament; the bread and wine cannot by any benediction be changed into the body and blood of Christ, they are indeed the body and blood of Christ, yet not corporally, but spiritually;' with much more to the same purpose. He wrote also two epistles, the one addressed to Wulfin bishop of Shirburn, and the other to Wulfstan archbishop of York, wherein he asserts the same doctrine. In the former he thus[2] explains the doctrine of the sacrament: 'The host is the body of Christ, not corporally, but spiritually. Not the body in which he suffered; but the body of which he spake, when he consecrated the bread and wine the night preceding his passion, and said of the consecrated bread, This is my body, and again of the consecrated wine, This is my blood, which is shed for many for the remission of sins.' In the latter he hath these memorable words,[3] which some Papists of more zeal than knowledge attempted to erase out of the manuscript copy. 'Yet this sacrifice is not made his body in which he suffered for us, nor his blood which he poured out for us, but it is spiritually made his body and blood: as the manna which rained from heaven, and the water which flowed from the rock, as Paul the apostle saith.' The synods and councils, which were held in this age by the authority of kings and bishops, shew evidently that the power of the pope had not yet extended over all. Nay there were kings and bishops who opposed the supremacy of the pope; and none more than [4] the council of Rheims in the year 991, and Gerbert archbishop of Rheims, who declared 'that if the pope did amiss, he was liable to the censures of the church:' and speaking of the pope then reigning, John XV., 'What,' says he, 'do you conceive this man, sitting on a lofty throne, glittering in purple clothing and in gold, what, I say, do you conceive him to be? If he is destitute of charity, and is puffed up by knowledge alone, he is Antichrist sitting in the temple of God, and shewing himself that he is God.' He was afterwards himself chosen pope, under the name of Sylvester II., and possibly the change of his situation might produce a change in his sentiments.

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[2] 'Infelix dicitur hoc sæculum, exhaustum hominibus ingenio et doctrina claris, sic etiam claris principibus; et pontificibus; in quo nihil fere dignum memoria posteritatis gestum sit—Hoc vero uno infelix, quod per annos fere 150 poutifices circiter 50 a virtute majorum prorsus defecerint, Apotactici Apostatici've potius quam Apostolici.' Genebrard. Chron. l. 4. In initio X. Sæc. Usser. de Christian. Eccles. successione et statu, c. 2. § 34. Spanhemii Hist. Christian. Sæc. X. c. 3. § 1.

[3] 'En novum inchoatur sæculum, quod sui asperitate ac boni sterilitate *ferreum*, malique exundantis deformitate *plumbeum*, atque inopia scriptorum appellari consuevit *obscurum*.' Baron. ad ann. 900. 'Dormiebat. tunc planè alto (ut apparet) sopore Christus, cum navis fluctibus operiretur: et quod deterius videbatur, deerant qui Dominum sic dormientem clamoribus excitarent discipuli, stertentibus omnibus.' Ibid. ad. ann. 912. Usser. ibid. Spanhem. ibid.

[4] Spanhem. ib. c. 6. § 3. Hist. Imag. § 9.

[5] Tom. 3. Concil. Galliæ, Spanhem. ibid. c. 8. § 3. Dupin. X. Siecle, c. 3.

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[6] Spanhem. ibid. c. 6. § 2 et 10. 'Scripturas divinas verti fecit in Anglo-Saxonicum idioma.' Wilh. Malmes. et Belæus.

[7] Spanhem. ibid. § 5. Spelmanni Concil. Brit. vol. 1. Collier's Eccles. Hist. b. 3. p. 199.

[8] Sigebert de Ecclesiast. Script. c. 138. Usser. ibid. § 20. Spanhem. ibid. c. 7. § 3. Dupin. ibid. c. 4.

[9] Usser. ibid. § 20, 21. Spanhem. ibid. § 2. Dupin. ibid. c. 5. Cave, Hist. Litt. vol. 2. p. 108. &c. Collier's Ecclesiast. Hist. b. 3. p. 204, &c.

[1] —'id pene unice agit, ut ostendat nos spiritualiter corpus Christi gustare ejusque sanguinem bibere, cum vera fide sacram illam gustamus eucharistiam; panem et vinum non posse per ullam benedictionem in Christi corpus et sanguinem mutari; vere quidem Christi corpus et sanguinem esse, non tamen corporaliter, sed spiritualiter, &c.' Cave, ibid. p. 110.

[2] 'Hostia illa est Christi corpus non corporaliter, sed spiritualiter. Non corpus in quo passus est: sed corpus de quo locutus est, quando panem et vinum, ea quæ passionem antecessit nocte, in hostiam consecravit: et de sacrato pane dixit, Hoc est corpus meum; rursumque de sacro vino, Hic est sanguis meus, qui pro multis effunditur in remissionem peccatorum.' Apud Usser. ibid. § 21.

[3] 'Non sit tamen hoc sacrificium corpus ejus in quo passus est pro nobis, neque sanguis ejus quem pro nobis effudit, sed spiritualiter corpus ejus efficitur et sanguis: sicut manna quod de cælo pluit, et aqua quæ de petra fluxit, sicut Paulus apostolus ait.' Apud Usser. ibid. et Cave, ibid.

Much of the same complexion with the tenth was the *eleventh* century, equally sunk in profligacy, superstition, and ignorance, but yet not without some superior spirits to bear testimony against it. The papal power was in this century carried beyond all bounds by the ambition and arrogance of the reigning popes, and particularly by the violence and haughtiness of Gregory VII., whose former name was Hildebrand, or *Hellbrand,* as he hath often been denominated. But yet there were emperors and councils, who strenuously opposed the pretensions and usurpations of the see of Rome; and these contests and struggles between the popes and emperors about the right of investitures and other articles make a principal part of the history of this age. Our English kings, devoted as they were to the religion, yet would not entirely submit to the authority of the bishop of Rome; but contradicted it in several instances. When William I. was required by the pope to pay him homage, he made answer,[5] 'To pay homage I have been unwilling, nor am I willing; for neither did I promise it, neither do I find that my predecessors paid it to your predecessors.' His son William Rufus exerted somewhat of the same spirit, and [6] insisted that the pope, without his permission, had no manner of jurisdiction in England. Early in this century, there [7] appeared at Orleans some heretics as they were called, who maintained that the consecration of the priest could not change the bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ, and that it was unprofitable to pray to saints and angels; and they were condemned by the council of Orleans in the year 1017. Not long after these[8] appeared other heretics of the same stamp in Flanders, who were also condemned by the synod of Arras in the year 1025. They came originally from Italy, where they had been the disciples of Gundulphus; and they are said to have admitted no Scripture but the gospels and apostolical writings; to have denied the reality of the body and blood of Christ in the eucharist; to have attributed no religious worship to the holy confessors, none to the cross, none to images, nor to temples nor altars; and to have asserted, that there was no purgatory, and that penances after death could not absolve the deceased from their sins. Other tenets were ascribed to them, which were really heretical: and perhaps they might hold some errors, as well as some truths; or perhaps their adversaries, as it hath been their usual artifice, might lay things to their charge merely to blacken and defame them. Not long after these[9] arose the famous Berengarius, a native of Tours, and archdeacon of Angers, who more professedly wrote against the doctrine of transubstantiation; and also[1] called 'the church of Rome a church of malignants, the council of vanity, and the seat of Satan.' It is true that he was compelled by the authority of popes and councils to renounce, abjure, and burn his writings. But this was all forced, and not in the least a voluntary recantation. As often as he recanted, he relapsed again. He returned like a dog to his vomit,[2] as a contemporary popish writer expresseth it. He lived and died in the same sentiments. His heresy was from him called the Berengarian heresy; and his followers were so numerous, that as [3] old historians relate, he had corrupted almost all the French, Italians, and English with his depravities. When Gregory VII. had, both by letters and by a council held at Rome in the year 1074, strictly forbidden the marriage of the clergy, it raised[4] great commotions among the ecclesiastics in Germany; who not only complained of the pope for imposing this yoke, but likewise accused him of advancing a notion insupportable, and contrary to the words of our Saviour, who saith that all are not able to live in continence, and to the words of the apostle, who ordereth those who have not the gift of continence to marry. They added that this law, in forcing the ordinary course of nature, would be the cause of great disorders; that they would rather renounce the priesthood than marriage; and the pope should provide, if he could, angels to govern the church, since he refused to be served by men. This was the language of these corrupt ecclesiastics, as Dupin[5] hath called them: but the decree of the pope was no less opposed in France, in Flanders, in Italy, and England, than in Germany. A council was held at Winchester in the year 1076, wherein it was[6] decreed indeed, that no canon should marry; but the priests in the country, who were already married, were allowed to cohabit with their wives; whereas the pope had enjoined all priests without distinction to put away their wives, or to forbear the exercise of their office. Whereupon Mr. Collier hath made this just reflection: 'From hence it appears that the papal supremacy had not reached its zenith in this century, and that the English bishops did not believe the patriarchal power arbitrary and unlimited, but that a national church had some reserves of liberty, and might dissent from the constitutions of the see of Rome upon occasion.'

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[4] Spanhem. ex Baronio ad ann. 992. Num. 10, &c. et ex Epist. Gerberti. 'Si peccaverit, subesse judicio ecclesiæ.—Quid hunc, reverendi patres, in sublimi solio residentem, veste purpurea et auro radiantem, quid hunc, inquam, esse censetis? Nimirum si charitate destituitur, solaque scientia inflatur et extollitur, Antichristus est in templo Dei sedens, et se ostendens tanquam sit Deus.' c. 6. § 3, &c. Dupin. ibid. chap. 5. See also Allix's Remarks upon the ancient churches of the Albigenses, chap. 10.

[5] 'Fidelitatem facere nolui, nec volo; quia nec ego promisi, nec antecessores meos antecessoribus tuis id fecisse comperio.' Apud Baron. Ann. 1079. § 25. Usser. de Christian. Eccles. successione et statu. c. 7. § 9.

[6] Eadmer. Hist. l. 2. Collier's Eccles. Hist. b. 4. p. 279.

[7] Dupin. XI. Siecle. c. 13. Fred Spanhemii Hist. Christian. Sæc. XI. c. 10. § 1.

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[8] Spanhem. ibid. Dupin. ibid. Allix's Remarks upon the ancient church of Piedmont, c. 11.

[9] Usser. ibid. c. 7. § 24, &c. Dupin. ibid. c. 2. Spanhem. ibid. c. 8, &c. &c.

[1] 'Ecclesiam Romanam, ecclesiam malignantium, concilium vanitatis, et sedem Satanæ vocabat.' Gulielm. Reginald. Calvino Turcism. l. 2. c. 5. Usser. ibid. § 24.

[2] 'Qui licet eandem hæresin sæpissime in synodo abjuravit, ad vomitum tamen suum canino more non expavit redire.' Bertoldus Constantiensis presbyter apud Usser. ibid. § 34.

[3] 'Eodem tempore, Berengarius Turonensis, in hæreticam prolapsus pravitatem, omnes Gallos, Italos, et Anglos, suis jam pene corruperat pravitatibus.' Matt. Westmonast. et Hist. Roffen. in anno 1087. Usser. ibid. § 27.

[4] Dupin. ib. c. 5. Spanhem. ib. c. 7. § 4.

Europe hitherto was involved in the dark night of popery, with only some stars appearing here and there in the horizon; but in the *twelfth* century there began to be visible some streaks of the morning light, some dawnings of a reformation. Here in England, during the reign of Henry II., the famous constitutions of Clarendon were sworn to and signed both by the clergy and the laity, in recognition of the rights of the crown, particularly forbidding all appeals to Rome without the king's license, and appointing the trial of criminal clerks before secular judges: but the best account of this, as well as of the other memorable transactions of this reign, the public expects with some impatience from one of the most masterly and elegant writers of the present age, a friend to religion and virtue, a friend to liberty and his country; and the public expectations have been since fully answered. Fluentius bishop of Florence taught publicly,[7] that Antichrist was born, and come into the world: whereupon pope Paschal II. went to Florence, held a council there in the year 1105, and severely reprimanded the bishop, and strictly forbade him to preach any such doctrine. St. Bernard himself, devoted as he was and bigoted to the church of Rome, in other respects,[8] yet inveighed loudly against the corruption of the clergy, and the pride and tyranny of the popes, saying that they were the ministers of Christ and served Antichrist, that nothing remained but that the man of sin should be revealed, that the beast in the Apocalypse occupied St. Peter's chair, with other expressions to the same effect. While our King Richard I. was at Messina in Sicily, going upon his expedition to the Holy Land, he sent for the famous abbot Joachim of Calabria,[9] and heard him with much satisfaction explain the Apocalypse, and discourse of Antichrist. He said that Antichrist was already born in the city of Rome, and that he would be advanced to the apostolical chair, and "exalted above all that is called God or is worshipped." So that some true notion of Antichrist began to spread even among the members of the church of Rome; and no wonder it prevailed among those, who more directly opposed the doctrines of that church. Peter de Bruis and Henry his disciple taught in several parts of France,[1] that 'the body and blood of Christ were not offered in the theatrical mass; that the doctrine of the change of the substances in the sacrament is false; that sacrifices, that is, masses, prayers, alms, and other works of the living for the dead, are foolish and impious, and profit them nothing; that priests and monks ought rather to marry than to burn; that crosses are not to be adored, or venerated, and so many crosses, serving to superstition, ought rather to be removed than retained,' and they both were martyrs, the one being burnt, and the other imprisoned for life, on account of their doctrines. Other heresies were laid to their charge, and their own writings are not extant to speak for them; but these things they taught and professed, their enemies themselves being judges. Arnold of Brescia[2] held opinions contrary to those of the church concerning the sacrament, and preached mightily against the temporal power and jurisdiction of the pope and the clergy; for which he was burnt at Rome in the year 1155, and his ashes were thrown into the Tyber, to prevent the people from expressing any veneration for his relics. But the true witnesses, and as I may say the Protestants of this age, were the Waldenses and Albigenses, who began to be famous at this time, and being dispersed into various places were distinguished by various appellations. Their first and proper name seemeth to have been *Vallenses,* or inhabitants of the valleys; and so saith one of the oldest writers,[3] Ebrard of Bethune, who wrote in the year 1212; 'They call themselves *Vallenses,* because they abide in the valley of tears,' alluding to their situation in the valleys of Piedmont. They were called *Albigenses,* from Alby a city in the southern parts of France, where also great numbers of them were situated. They were afterwards denominated *Valdenses* or *Waldenses,* from Peter Valdo or Waldo, a rich citizen of Lyons, and a considerable leader of the sect. From Lyons too they were called *Leonists,* and *Cathari* from the professed purity of their life and doctrine, as others since have had the name of *Puritans.* As there was a variety of names, so there might be some diversity of opinions among them; but that they were not guilty of Manicheism and other abominable heresies, which have been charged upon them, is certain and evident from all the remains of their creeds, confessions, and writings. Their opinions[4] are thus recited from an old manuscript by the Centuriators of Magdeburgh.

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[5] 'C'est ainsi que ces ecclesiastiques corrompus parloient.' Dupin. ibid. p. 36.

[6] Collier's Ecclesiast. Hist. b. 4. p. 248, 249. Spelmanni Concil. vol. 2.

[7] Platina in vita Paschal II. Spanhemii Hist. Christian. Sæc. XII. c. 5. § 2. Cave Hist. Litt. Sæc. XII. Concilia, vol. 2. p. 258. Calmet. Dict. in ANTICHRIST.

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[8] Spanhem. ibid. Usser de Christian. Eccles. successione et statu, c. 7. § 5, 6.

[9] Rogeri de Hóveden Annal. Pars posterior, p. 681. Edit. Francof. 1601. 'Jam natus est in civitate Romana, et in sede apostolica sublimabitur, &c.' Collier's Eccles. Hist. b. 6. p. 401.

[1] 'Corpus et sanguinem Christi in theatrica missa non offerri. Doctrinam de speciebus sacramenti, ipsis nimirum substantiis mutatis, esse falsam. Sacrificia, id est missas, orationes, eleemosynas, et reliqua vivorum opera pro defunctis, esse stultitiam et impietatem, nihilque eis prodesse. Sacerdotes et monachos debere uxores potius ducere, quam comburi. Cruces non adorandas aut venerandas: et tot cruces superstitioni servientes, potius amovendas quam retinendas, &c.' Hist. Eccles. Magdeburg. vol. 3. cent. xii. c. 5. p. 833, sq. Spanhem. ibid. c. 7. § 2, Dupin XII. Siecle. c. 6. Allix's Remarks upon the ancient churches of the Albigenses, c. 14.

[2] Otho Frising de Gestis Frederici, l. 1. Spanhem. ibid. c. 7. § 4. Dupin. ibid. Allix's Remarks on the ancient church of Piedmont, c. 18.

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[3] 'Vallenses se appellant, eo quod in valle lachrymarum maneant.' Ebrard. Beth. Antihæres. c. 25. Usser. ibid. c. 8. § 4. Alix. ibid.

[4] 'In articulis fidei summam esse sacræ scripturæ authoritatem, eamque ob causam esse illam normam judicandi; ut quicquid cum verbo Dei non congruat, merito sit repudiandum et fugiendum.'

'Patrum et conciliorum dogmata ea tenus probanda, quatenus cum verbo Dei conveniunt.'

'Sacrarum scripturarum lectionem et cognitionem, omnibus hominibus, tum laicis, tum sacratis viris, liberam et necessariam esse; imo potius prophetarum et apostolorum monumenta legenda esse, quam hominum commenta.'

'Duo esse ecclesiæ Christi sacramenta, baptismum et cænam Domini.'

'Utriusque speciei usum, pro sacerdotibus et laicis, a Christo institutum esse.'

'Missas esse impias; ac furorem esse, pro mortuis missificare.'

'Purgatorium esse figmentum hominum; credentes enim, in vitam æternam, non credentes autem, in damnationem æternam venire.'

'Sanctorum mortuorum invocationes et cultum, esse idololatriam.'

'Romanam ecclesiam esse meretricem Babylonicam.'

'Papæ et episcopis non obtemperandum; quia sint lupi ecclesiæ Christi.'

'Papam non habere primatum super omnes ecclesias Christi, nec habere potestatem utriusque gladii.'

'Ecclesiam Christi esse, quæ sincerum Christi verbum audiat, et sacramentis ab ipso institutis utatur, ubicunque locorum ea exsistat.'

'Vota esse hominum figmenta, Sodomam nutrientia.'

'Tot ordines esse tot characteres bestiæ.'

'Monochatum esse cadaver fætidum.'

'Templorum tot superstitiosas dedicationes, memorias mortuorum, benedictiones creaturarum, peregrinationes, tot coacta jejunia, tot festa superflua. perpetuos istos hominum indoctorum boatus, ac reliquarum ceremoniarum observationes, verbi doctrinam et institutionem manifeste impedientes, esse inventiones diabolicas.'

'Conjugium sacerdotum esse licitum et necessarium.'

Hæc ex antiquo manuscripto libro proferimus, Hist. Eccles. Magdeburg. vol. 3. cent. xii. c. 8. p. 1206, sq. See also the Confession of the faith of the Waldenses in Perrin's History, b. 1. c. 12, &c.

'In articles of faith the authority of the Holy Scripture is the highest, and for that reason it is the rule of judging; so that whatsoever agreeth not with the word of God, is deservedly to be rejected and avoided.'

'The decrees of fathers and councils are so far to be approved, as they agree with the word of God.'

'The reading and knowledge of the Holy Scripture is free and necessary for all men, the laity as well as the clergy; yea and the writings of the prophets and apostles are to be read rather than the comments of men.'

'The sacraments of the church of Christ are two, baptism and the supper of the Lord.'

'The receiving in both kinds for priests and people was instituted by Christ.'

'Masses are impious; and it is madness to say masses for the dead.'

'Purgatory is an invention of men; for they who believe, go into eternal life, they who believe not, into eternal damnation.'

'The invocating and worshipping of dead saints is idolatry.'

'The church of Rome is the whore of Babylon.'

'We must not obey the pope and bishops; because they are the wolves of the church of Christ.'

'The pope hath not the primacy over all the churches of Christ, neither hath he the power of both swords.'

'That is the church of Christ which heareth the sincere word of Christ, and useth the sacraments instituted by him, in what place soever it exist.'

'Vows of celibacy are inventions of men, and occasions of Sodomy.'

'So many orders are so many characters of the beast.'

'Monkery is a stinking carcase.'

'So many superstitious dedications of churches, commemorations of the dead, benedictions of creatures, pilgrimages, so many forced fastings, so many superfluous festivals, those perpetual bellowings (meaning the singing and chanting) of unlearned men, the observations of the other ceremonies, manifestly hindering the teaching and learning of the word, are diabolical inventions.'

'The marriage of priests is lawful and necessary.'

Much hath been written in censure and commendation of this sect, both by enemies and friends, by Papists and Protestants. If they have been grossly misrepresented and vilified on one side, they have been amply vindicated and justified on the other; but I will only produce the testimonies of three witnesses concerning them, whom both sides must allow to be unexceptionable, Reinerius, Thuanus, and Mezeray. Reinerius flourished about the year 1254; and his testimony is the more remarkable, as he was a Dominician, and inquisitor-general.[5] 'Among all the sects, which still are or have been, there is not any more pernicious to the church than that of the Leonists. And this for three reasons. The first is, because it is older; for some say that it hath endured from the time of pope Sylvester; others, from the time of the apostles. The second, because it is more general; for there is scarce any country wherein this sect is not. The third, because when all other sects beget horror in the hearers by the outrageousness of their blasphemies against God, this of the Leonists hath a great show of piety: because they live justly before men, and believe all things rightly concerning God, and all the articles which are contained in the creed; only they blaspheme the church of Rome and the clergy; whom the multitude of the laity is easy to believe.' The credit of Thuanus as an historian is too well established to need any recommendation; and he is so candid and impartial,[6] as to distinguish between their real opinions, and those heresies which were falsely imputed to them by their enemies. 'Peter Valdo, a wealthy citizen of Lyons, about the year of Christ 1170, gave name to the Valdenses. He (as Guy de Perpignan, bishop of Elna in Roussillon, who exercised the office of inquisitor against the Valdenses, hath left testified in writing), leaving his house and goods, devoted himself wholly to the profession of the gospel, and took care to have the writings of the prophets and apostles translated into the vulgar tongue—When now in a little time he had many followers about him, he sent them forth as his disciples into all parts to propagate the gospel—Their fixed opinions were said to be these: that the church of Rome, because she hath renounced the true faith of Christ, is the whore of Babylon, and that barren tree which Christ himself hath cursed, and commanded to be rooted up; therefore we must by no means obey the pope, and the bishops who cherish his errors: that the monastic life is the sink of the church, and a hellish institution; its vows are vain, and subservient only to the filthy love of boys: the orders of the presbytery are the marks of the great beast which is mentioned in the Apocalypse: the fire of purgatory, the sacrifice of the mass, the feasts of the dedications of churches, the worship of saints, and propitiations for the dead, are inventions of Satan. To these, the principal and certain heads of their doctrine, others were feigned and added, concerning marriage, the resurrection, the state of the soul after death, and concerning meats.' Mezeray, the celebrated historiographer of France, is short, but full to our purpose; for he saith[7] that 'they had almost the same opinions as those who are now called Calvinists.' It cannot be objected that this is protestant evidence, for they were all three members of the church of Rome.

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[5] 'Inter omnes sectas, quæ adhuc sunt vel fuerunt, non est perniciosior ecclesiæ quam Leonistarum. Et hoc tribus de causis. Prima est, quia est diuturnior; aliqui enim dicunt, quod duraverit a tempore Sylvestri; aliqui, a tempore apostolorum. Secunda, quia est generalior; fere enim nulla est terra, in qua hæc secta non sit. Tertia, quia cum omnes aliæ sectæ immanitate blasphemiarum in Deum audientibus horrorem inducant, hæc Leonistarum magnam habet speciem pietatis; eo quod coram hominibus juste vivant, et bene omnia de Deo credant, et omnes articulos qui in symbolo continentur; solummodo Romanam ecclesiam blasphemant et clerum; cui multitudo laicorum facilis est ad credendum.' Reiner. contra Hæret. c. 4. Usser. ibid. c. 6. § 11. c. 8. § 1. Cave, Hist. Litt. vol. 2. ad ann. 1244. p. 302. Usher hath added other remarkable testimonies concerning the morals of the Waldenses and their followers: 'Pontificius quidam inquisitor [Rerum Bohem. Script. a Frehero edit. p. 231.] Leonistarum sive Valdensium mores descripturus, hujusmodi utitur præfatiuncula: 'Cognoscuntur hæretici per mores et verba. Sunt enim in moribus compositi, et modesti; superbiam in vestibus non habent, &c.' Miserrima profecto tempora in quibus *compositi et modesti mores* hæreticorum haberentur insignia. De iisdem Claudius Seysillius archiepiscopus Taurinensis [Seysil. tract. adversus errores et sectam Waldensium. Edit. Paris. Ann. 1520. fol. 9.] 'Nonnihil etiam ad horum Valdensium confirmandam tolerandamque sectam confert, quod præter hæc quæ contra fidem religionemque nostram assumunt, in reliquis ferme puriorem quam cæteri Christiani vitam agunt. Non enim nisi coacti jurant, raroque nomen Dei in vanum proferunt, promissaque sua bona fide implent, et in paupertate pars maxima degentes, apostolicam vitam doctrinamque servare se solus protestantur: ob idque potestatem ecclesiæ apud se, velut innoxios et veros Christi discipulos, residere affirmant; pro cujus fide religioneque in egestate vivere, et a nobis persecutionem pati, pulchrum et gloriosum ducunt.' Fratribus Bohemis, Valdensium soboli, non dissimile perhibuit testimonium, qui fidei ipsorum fuit inimicissimus, Jacobus Liclenstenius Dominicanus [Citatus a Joachim Camerario de Eccles. Fratr. Bohem.] 'Dico (inquit) quod in moribus et vita boni sunt, veraces in sermone, in caritate fraterna unanimes. Sed fides eorum est incorrigibilis et pessima, ut patuit in tractatu meo.' Usser. c. 6. § 15.

[6] 'Petrus Valdus locuples civis Lugdunensis anno Christi circiter MCLXX. Valdensibus nomen dedit. Is (ut monumentis testatum reliquit Vidus Perpinianus præsul Elnensis, qui quæsitoris in Valdenses munus exercuit) domo ac bonis relictis totum se evangelicæ professioni devoverat, et prophetarum atque apostolorum scripta populari lingua vertenda curaverat——Cum jam multos sectatores exiguo tempore circa se haberet, eos tanquam discipulos ad evangelium promulgandum in omnes partes ablegat—Eorum

In the *thirteenth* century, the Waldenses and Albigenses had spread and prevailed so far, and were prevailing still farther, that the pope thought it necessary to exert his utmost efforts to suppress them. For this purpose the first croisade was proclaimed of Christians against Christians, and the office of inquisition was first erected, the one to subdue their bodies, the

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hæc dogmata ferebantur; Ecclesiam Romanam, quoniam veræ Christi fidei renunciaverit, Babylonicam meretricem esse, et arborem illam sterilem, quam ipse Christus diris devovit et revellendam esse præcepit; proinde minime parendum pontifici, et episcopis, qui ejus errores fovent: monasticam vitam ecclesiæ sentinam ac Plutonium esse; vana illius vota, nec nisi fædis puerorum amoribus servientia: presbyterii ordines magnæ bestiæ, quæ in Apocalypsi commemoratur, notas esse: ignem purgatorium, solemne sacrum, templorum encænia cultum sanctorum, ac pro mortuis propitiatorium, Satanæ commenta esse. His præcipuis ac certis eorum doctrinæ capitibus alia afficta, de conjugio, resurrectione, animæ statu post mortem, et de cibis.' Thuani Hist. l. 6. § 16.

[7] —'avoient à peu prés les mesmes opinions que ceux qu'on nomme aujourd'huy Calvinistes.' Abregé Chronol. Philippe Auguste. p. 657. Edit. Amsterdam, 1674.

other to inslave their souls. It is enough to make the blood run cold, to read of the horrid murders and devastations of this time, how many of these poor innocent Christians were sacrificed to the blind fury and malice of their enemies. It is[8] computed that in France alone were slain a million; and what was the consequence of these shocking barbarities? No writer can better inform us than the wise and moderate historian Thuanus.[9] 'Against the Waldenses (saith he) when exquisite punishments availed little, and the evil was exasperated by the remedy which had been unseasonably applied, and their number increased daily, at length complete armies were raised: and a war of no less weight, than what our people had before waged against the Saracens, was decreed against them: the event of which was, that they were rather slain, put to flight, spoiled every where of their goods and dignities, and dispersed here and there, than that convinced of their error they repented. So that they who at first had defended themselves by arms, at last overcome by arms fled into Provence and the neighbouring Alps of the French territory, and found a shelter for their life and doctrine in those places. Part withdrew into Calabria, and continued there a long while, even to the pontificate of Pius IV. Part passed into Germany, and fixed their abode among the Bohemians, and in Poland and Livonia. Others turning to the west obtained refuge in Britain.' But there were others in this age, who proceeded not so far as the Waldenses and Albigenses, and yet opposed the church of Rome in many respects. At the beginning of this century[1] Almeric and his disciples were charged with several heresies, and were condemned by the second council of Paris in the year 1209. They might possibly hold some heterodox opinions; but their great offence was their denying the change of the substance of the bread and wine in the eucharist, their opposing the worship of saints, images, and relics, and their affirming that the pope was Antichrist, that Rome was Babylon, and that the prelates were the members and ministers of Antichrist: so that these differed little from the Waldenses and Albigenses. William of St. Amour, a doctor of the Sorbonne,[2] wrote a treatise *of the perils of the last times,* wherein he applied that prophecy of St. Paul, (2 Tim. iii. 1.) "This know also that in the last days perilous times shall come," to the mendicant orders and preachers of his time; and it was so severe a satire upon the Dominicans, that pope Alexander IV. condemned it, as containing perverse sentiments, contrary to the power and authority of the Roman pontiff and of the other bishops, and in fine as a book capable of causing great scandals and troubles in the church. Robert Grosthead or Greathead, bishop of Lincoln,[3] in his speeches and writings inveighed bitterly against the corruption and superstition, the lewdness and wickedness of the clergy in general, and the rapacity and avarice, the tyranny and antichristianism of pope Innocent IV. in particular. He was also no less a friend to[4] civil than to religious liberty, and ordered all the violaters of Magna Charta, whosoever and wheresoever they were within his diocese, to be excommunicated. Matthew Paris, a contemporary historian,[5] hath related the substance of his dying discourses, wherein he proves the pope to be an heretic, and deservedly to be called Antichrist: and concludes with giving him the character of 'refuter of the pope, reprover of prelates, corrector of monks, director of priests, instructor of the clergy, and in short the hammer to beat down the Romans and to bring them into contempt.' It is no marvel that such a man was excommunicated;[6] but he little regarded the censure, and appealed from the court of Innocent to the tribunal of Christ. Not to mention others, Matthew Paris himself hath painted in the most lively colours the corruptions and abominations of the see of Rome, the tyranny, superstition, simony, and wickedness of the popes and clergy. A protestant historian could not more freely lash and expose the vices of the times, than he did who was a monk of St. Albans.

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[8] Vide Mede in Apoc. p. 503.

[9] 'Contra quos [Valdenses] cum exquisita supplicia parum proficerent, et remedio, quod intempestive adhibitum fuerat, malum exacerbaretur, numerusque eorum in dies cresceret, justi tandem exercitus conscripti sunt; nec minoris molis bellum quam quod antea nostri adversus Saracenos gesserant, contra eosdem decretum est: cujus is exitus fuit, ut potius cæsi, fugati, bonis ac dignitatibus ubique spoliati atque huc illuc dissipati sint, quam erroris convicti resipuerint. Itaque qui armis se initio tutati fuerant, postremò armis victi in Provinciam apud nos et Gallicæ ditionis Alpes vicinas confugerunt, latebrasque vitæ ac doctrinæ suæ iis in locis repererunt. Pars in Calabriam concessit, in eaque diu, atque adeo usque ad Pii IV. pontificatum, se continuit. Pars in Germaniam transiit, atque apud Bohemos, et in Polonia et Livonia, larem fixit. Alii ad occidentem versi in Britannia perfugium habuerunt.' Thuani Præfat. ad Henric IV.

[1] Dupin. XIII. Siecle, c. 8. Spanhemii Hist. Christian. Sæc. XIII. c. 9. § 2.

As "they are not all Israel which are of Israel;" so neither have all the members of the Romish church believed all her doctrines. Dante and Petrarch, the former of whom died, and the latter was born as well as died, in the *fourteenth* century, were[7] severe satirists upon the times, and wrote freely against the temporal dominion of the pope, and the corruptions of the clergy, treating Rome as Babylon, and the pope as Antichrist:

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[2] Hist. Ecclesiast. Magdeburg. Cent. XIII. c. 10. p. 1189. Dupin. ibid. c. 7. Spanhem. ibid. c. 6. § 1.

[3] Vide Cent. Magdeburg. Balæum, Dupin, Cave, Tanner, &c.

[4] Matt. Paris ad Ann. 1253. p. 874. Edit. Wats. 1646.

[5] Matt. Paris. ibid. 'Papæ redargutor, prælatorum correptor, monachorum corrector, presbyterorum director, clericorum instructor—Romanorum malleus et contemptor.' p. 876.

[6] 'Excommunicatus appellavit a curia Innocentii ad tribunal Christi. Henr. de Knyghton.' l. 2. inter Scriptores X. p. 2436.

[7] Spanhemii Hist. Christian. Sæc. XIV. c. 5. § 8 et 9. Robertus Gerius et Henricus Wharton in Appendice ad Cave Hist. Litt. p. 9 et 50.

and they probably did more hurt to the court and church of Rome by their wit and raillery, than others by invective and declamation. Peter Fitz Cassiodor, whether a fictitious or a real person,[8] addressed a remonstrance to the church of England against the tyranny, avarice, and exactions of the court of Rome, advising and exhorting the English to shake off the Roman yoke from their necks. Michael Cæsenas and William Occam[9] exposed the various errors and heresies of John XXII. to the number of seventy-seven; and secure in the protection of the emperor, they set at nought the thunder of the pope's excommunications. Marsilius, a famous lawyer of Padua,[1] wrote a treatise entitled *the defender of peace*, wherein he advanced the power of the emperor above that of the pope in things spiritual as well as temporal; painted in the strongest colours the pride, ambition, and luxury of the court of Rome; and abundantly proved that the pope had not by divine right the least authority or pre-eminence over other bishops. It is no wonder that the author and his book were condemned together. But there were other and better witnesses than these in this age. It was shewn before from Thuanus, that the Waldenses and Albigenses being persecuted in their own country, fled for refuge into foreign nations, some into Germany, and some into Britain. In Germany they grew and multiplied so fast, notwithstanding the rage and violence of croisaders and inquisitors, that at the beginning of this century[2] it is computed, that there were eighty thousand of them in Bohemia, Austria, and the neighbouring territories; and they pertinaciously defended their doctrines even unto death. Among a variety of other names they were called *Lollards*, from[3] one Walter Lollard, who preached in Germany about the year 1315 against the authority of the pope, the intercession of saints, the mass, extreme unction, and other ceremonies and superstitions of the church of Rome; and was burned alive at Cologn in the year 1322. In England also they were denominated Lollards, though there was a man more worthy to have given name to the sect, the deservedly famous John Wickliffe, the honour of his own, and the admiration of all succeeding times. Rector only of Lutterworth,[4] he filled all England, and almost all Europe with his doctrine. He began to grow famous about the year 1360 by preaching and writing against the superstitions of the age, the tyranny of the pope, the erroneous doctrines and vicious lives of the monks and the clergy; and especially by defending the royal and ecclesiastical jurisdiction against the usurpations of the popes and mendicant friars. The more he opposed, the more reason he found for opposition. He translated the canonical Scriptures into the English language, and wrote comments upon them. He demonstrated the antichristianity of popery, and the abomination of desolation in the temple of God. He asserted the one true sacrifice of Christ, and opposed the sacrifice of the mass, transubstantiation, the adoration of the host, the seven sacraments, purgatory, prayers for the dead, the worship of saints and images, and in short all the principal corruptions and superstitions of the church of Rome. His success too was greater than he could have expected. The princes, the people, the university of Oxford, many even of the clergy, favoured and supported him, and embraced his opinions. His enemies have charged him with several heterodox notions; but many years ago was published *An apology for John Wickliffe, shewing his conformity with the now church of England, &c. collected out of his written works in the Bodleian library by Thomas James, keeper of the same, at Oxford,* 1608. This truly great and good man died of a palsy the last day of the year 1387, but his doctrines did not die with him. His books were read in the public schools and colleges at Oxford, and were recommended to the diligent perusal of each student in the university, till they were condemned and prohibited by the council of Constance in the next century. His followers the Lollards in the year 1395 presented[5] a remonstrance to the parliament, which contained these with other articles; that when the church of England began to mismanage her temporalities in conformity to the precedents of Rome, faith, hope, and charity began to take their leave of her communion; that the English priesthood derived from Rome, and pretending to a power superior to angels, is not that priesthood which Christ settled upon his apostles; that enjoining celibacy to the clergy was the occasion of scandalous irregularities in the church; that the pretended miracle of transubstantiation runs the greatest part of christendom upon idolatry; that exorcisms and benedictions pronounced over wine, bread, water, the mitre, the cross, &c. have more of necromancy than religion in them; that prayer made for the dead is a wrong ground for charity and religious endowments; that pilgrimages, prayers, and offerings made to images and crosses, are near of kin to idolatry; that auricular confession makes the priests proud, lets them into the secrets of the penitent, gives opportunities for intrigues, and is attended with scandalous consequences, as well as the doctrine of indulgences; that the vow of single life undertaken by women in the church of England is the occasion of horrible disorders, &c. Some false tenets might be contained in the same remonstrance; for alas, who is there that holdeth the truth without any mixture or allay of error? They denied the infallibility of the pope, and they could not well pretend to be infallible themselves.

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[8] Appendix ad Cave. p. 10. Collier's Ecclesiast. Hist. b. 5. p. 501, &c.

[9] H. Wharton in Append. ad Cave. p. 20 et 28. Dupin XIV. Siecle. c. 5.

[1] Wharton, ibid. p. 26, 27. Dupin. ibid. c. 5 et 8.

[2] Bzovius ad Ann. 1315. Spanhem. ibid. c. 6. § 1. Dupin. ibid. c. 8.

[3] Dupin. ibid. Hoffmanni Lex. Spelman. Skinner, &c.

[4] H. Wharton in Append. ad Cave. p. 60, &c. Spanhem. ibid. c. 6. Leland, Bale, Tanner, &c. &c.

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[5] Walsingham, Stow, Spelman, Collier's Eccles. Hist. b. 6. p. 596, &c.

Two things contributed much to the revival of learning in the *fifteenth* century, the Greeks flying with their books from Constantinople which the Turks had taken, and the invention of printing. As learning more revived, so the truth prevailed more; and the more the truth prevailed, the fury of persecution increased in proportion. Wickliffe himself had been permitted to die in peace; but after his death[6] his doctrines were condemned, his books were burnt, his very body was dug up and burnt too, by a decree of the council of Constance, and the command of pope Martin V., executed by Richard Fleming bishop of Lincoln. His followers, however, were not discouraged, and many of them witnessed a good confession even unto death. William Sawtre, parish priest of St. Osith in London, hath the honour of being the first who was burnt for heresy in England; which was done in the reign of Henry IV., at the beginning of this century. A few years afterwards Thomas Badby[8] was convicted of heresy, and ordered also to be burnt in Smithfield. Henry prince of Wales was present at his execution: and the poor man shewing very sensible signs of the torment he endured, the prince out of compassion commanded the fire to be removed, and promised him pardon and a pension for life, provided he would retract his errors. But Badby being come to himself, resolutely rejected this offer; he chose rather to die with a good, than to live with an evil conscience; and so the fire was kindled again, and he was consumed to ashes. In the next reign Sir John Oldcastle, baron of Cobham,[9] was prosecuted for being the principal patron and abettor of the Lollards. Being examined before the archbishop of Canterbury, he declared against transubstantiation, penances, the worshipping of the cross, the power of the keys; and asserted that the pope was Antichrist and the head of that body, the bishops were the members, and the friars the hinder parts of the antichristian society. He was therefore pronounced a heretic convict, and delivered over to the secular power. But before the day fixed for his execution he escaped out of prison; and being charged by his enemies with endeavouring to make an insurrection, he was outlawed for high treason: and being taken afterwards, he was hanged as a traitor, and burnt hanging as an heretic, being the first nobleman in

[6] Balæi Script. Brit. Cent. 6. No. 1. H. Wharton in Append. ad Cave, p. 63. Dupin, Collier, Tanner, &c.

[7] Fox, Burnet's Hist. of the Ref. b. 1. Collier's Eccles. Hist. b. 7. p. 617, &c. Rapin, &c.

[8] Walsingham, Rapin, Collier, ibid. p. 620, &c. &c.

[9] Walsingham, Rapin, Collier, ibid. p. 632, &c. &c.

England who suffered death for the cause of religion. It was the great blot and stain of Henry the Fifth's reign and character, that while he was carrying the glory of the English arms abroad, he was still persecuting the poor Lollards at home. But notwithstanding these persecutions, and the severest laws and proclamations against them, their numbers still increased, not only among the people, but even in parliament, not only in England, but even in foreign countries, and especially in Bohemia. For there [1] John Huss and Jerome of Prague having received Wickliffe's books, advanced and propagated the same doctrines; for which they were both condemned to the flames, and suffered death with the most heroic fortitude. It was a most unjust sentence, contrary to all faith and the solemn engagement of a safe-conduct, and drew after it the most fatal consequences. For out of their ashes a civil war was kindled; the Bohemians revolted against the emperor, and maintained and defended their opinions by arms as well as by arguments. What the opinions generally received among the Bohemians were, we may learn with some exactness from one, who had opportunities of being well informed by living and conversing some time among them, and was far from being prejudiced in their favour, Æneas Sylvius, who being afterwards chosen pope, assumed the name of Pius II. These then were[2] their

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[1] Spanhemii Hist. Christian. Sæc. XV. c. 6 et 7. Dupin, Siecle XV. c. 7. Lenfant, Hist. Conc. Pis. et Constance.

[2] Usser. de Christian. Eccles. successione et statu, c. 6. § 16. Allix's Remarks upon the ancient church of Piedmont. c. 22. Æneas Sylv. Hist. Bohem. c. 35.

'Romanum præsulem reliquis episcopis, parem esse.'

'Inter sacerdotes nullum discrimen; presbyterum non dignitatem, sed vitæ meritum efficere potiorem.'

'Animas e corporibus excedentes, aut in æternas e vestigio pænas mergi, aut perpetua consequi gaudia.'

'Purgatorium ignem nullum inveniri.'

'Vanum esse orare pro mortuis, et avaritiæ sacerdotalis inventum.'

'Dei et sanctorum imagines delendas.'

'Aquarum palmarumque benedictiones irridendas.'

'Mendicantium religiones malos dæmonas invenisse.'

'Sacerdotes pauperes esse debere, sola contentos eleemosyna.'

'Liberam cuique prædicationem verbi Dei patere.'

'Nullum capitale peccatum, quantumvis majoris mali vitandi gratia, tolerandum.'

'Qui mortalis culpæ reus sit, eum neque seculari, neque ecclesiastica dignitate potiri, neque parendum ei.'

'Confirmationem, quam chrismate pontifices inducunt, et extremam unctionem inter ecclesiæ sacramenta minimè contineri.'

'Auricularem confessionem nugacem esse; sufficere sua quamque Deo in cubili suo conqueri peccata.'

'Baptisma fluvialis undæ, nulla interjecta sacri olei mixtura recipiendum.'

'Cœmiteriorum inanem usum, quæstus causa repertum; quacunque tegantur tellure humana corpora, nihil distare.'

'Templum Dei latè patentis ipsum mundum esse; coarctare majestatem ejus, qui ecclesias, monasteria, oratoriaque construunt, tanquam propitior in eis divina bonitas inveniatur.'

'Sacerdotales vestes, altarium ornamenta, pallas, corporalia, calices, patinas, vasaque hujusmodi nil habere momenti.'

'Sacerdotem quocunque loco, quocunque tempore sacrum Christi corpus conficere posse, petentibusque ministrare; sufficere, si verba sacramentalia tantum dicat.'

'Suffragia sanctorum in cælis cum Christo regnantium frustra impetrari, opinions according to him, who, we may be certain, would not represent them better, if he would not represent them worse, than they were in reality.

'The pope of Rome is equal with other bishops.'

'Among priests there is no difference; not dignity, but merit, giveth the preference.'

'Souls departing out of bodies, are immediately either plunged into eternal punishments, or attain eternal joys.'

'There is no purgatory fire.'

'It is in vain to pray for the dead, and an invention of priestly covetousness.'

'The images of God and the saints ought to be destroyed.'

'The blessing of water and palm branches is ridiculous.'

'The religion of the mendicants was invented by evil demons.'

'Priests ought to be poor, content with alms alone.'

'Every one hath free liberty to preach the word of God.'

'No capital sin ought to be tolerated, although for the sake of avoiding a greater evil.'

'He who is guilty of mortal sin ought not to enjoy any secular or ecclesiastical dignity, nor is he to be obeyed.'

'Confirmation, which the bishops celebrate with anointing, and extreme unction, are by no means contained among the sacraments of the church.'

'Auricular confession is trifling; it is sufficient for every one in his chamber to confess his sins unto God.'

'Baptism ought to be celebrated without any mixture of holy oil.'

'The use of church-yards is vain, invented for the sake of gain; in whatsoever ground human bodies are buried, it maketh no difference.'

'The temple of the great God is the whole world; they confine his majesty, who build churches, monasteries, and oratories, as if the divine goodness would be found more propitious in them.'

'Sacerdotal vestments, ornaments of altars, palls, corporals, chalices, patins and vessels of this sort are of no moment.'

'A priest in any place, at any time, can consecrate the body of Christ, and administer it to those who desire it; it is sufficient, if he repeat only the sacramental words.'

'The suffrages of the saints reigning with Christ in heaven are implored in vain, forasmuch as they cannot help us.'

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quæ juvare non possunt.'

'In canonicis horis cantandis dicendisque frustra tempus teri.'

'Nulla die ab opere cessandum, nisi quæ Dominica nunc appellatur.'

'Celebritates sanctorum prorsus rejiciendas.'

'Jejuniis quoque ab ecclesiis institutis, nihil inesse meriti.'

'The time is consumed in vain in singing and saying the canonical hours.'

'We should cease from work on no day, except that which is now called the Lord's day.'

'The festivals of saints are altogether to be rejected.'

'The fasts also instituted by the church have no merit in them.'

These were the opinions of the Bohemians or Hussites, for which they fought as well as disputed against the pope and emperor. At first they were victorious under the conduct of the famous John Ziska; and when they were beaten at last, they retired into the mountains and caves, where they continued distinguished by the name of *Bohemian brethren* till the time of the Reformation. Even in the bosom of the church of Rome there were many good men, who called aloud for a reformation in faith as well as in morals, in doctrine as well as in discipline. One instance is more particularly worthy of our attention. Jeronimo Savonarola[3] was a Dominican, celebrated in all Italy, and especially in Florence, for the great purity and strictness of his life and doctrine. He preached freely against the vices of the age, the luxury, avarice, and debauchery of the Roman clergy in general, and the tyranny and wickedness in particular of pope Alexander VI. and his son Cæsar Borgia. In his discourses, sermons, and writings, he pressed the necessity of holding a general council and of making a general reformation: and he wrote particularly a treatise[4] entitled, *The lamentation of the spouse of Christ against false apostles, or an exhortation to the faithful that they would pray unto the Lord for the renovation of the church.* But what was the fruit and consequence of all his pious zeal? He was excommunicated, he was imprisoned, he was tortured, he was burnt; which he suffered with all possible constancy on the 23d of May, 1498, and in the 46th year of his age. All persons of any note and eminence bear a double character in the world, and so doth Savonarola, his admirers extolling him as the best of men and the prophet of God, his enemies reviling him as the worst of impostors and hypocrites; but if his works may speak for him, they are, in the opinion of Dupin,[5] 'full of grace and maxims of piety; he speaketh freely there against the vices, and teacheth the most pure and the most exalted morality.'

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[3] Spanhem. ibid. c. 5. § 3. H. Wharton in Append. ad Cave, p. 198, &c. Guicciardin. b. 3. toward the end. Phil. de Comines, b. 8. c. 19. Dupin, ibid. c. 4. Bayle's Dict. &c. &c.

[4] 'Lamentatio Christi sponsæ adversus Pseudapostolos, sive exhortatio ad fideles, ut precentur Dominum pro renovatione ecclesiæ.' Venet. 1537. et cum vita Savonarolæ, Paris 1674. 8°. Wharton, ibid.

[5] 'Les ouvrages de cet auteur sons pleius d'onction et de maximes de pieté; il y parle librement contre les vices, et y enseigne la morale la plus pure et la plus relevée.' Dupin. ibid.

We are now arrived at the *sixteenth* century, 'sæculum reformatum' as it hath been called, or the age of reformation. The materials had in great measure been collected, and the foundations had been laid deep before, but this age had the happiness of seeing the superstructure raised and completed. All the christian world almost had groaned earnestly for a reformation: and pope Adrian himself[6] acknowledged the necessity of it, and promised to begin with reforming the court of Rome, as the source and origin of evil. Erasmus and others led the way; and Luther[7] began publicly to preach against the pope's indulgences in the year 1517, which is usually reckoned the æra of the Reformation. So that during all the dark ages of popery, from the first rise of the beast down to the Reformation, there have constantly been some true and faithful *witnesses* of Jesus Christ, who, though they may have fallen into some errors and mistakes, (as indeed who is altogether free from them?) yet it may charitably be presumed, held none which are contrary to the fundamentals of the Christian faith, and destructive of salvation. Many more there were without doubt than have come to our knowledge; many more might have been collected, and this deduction drawn out into a greater length: but I have studied brevity as much as I well could: and they who are desirous of seeing a larger and more particular account of *the witnesses* may find it in Flaccius Illyricus,[8] in the Centuriators of Magdeburg, in Usher, in Allix, in Spanheim, and other authors. Here only some of the principal instances are selected: but this deduction, short and defective as it is, evidently demonstrates, however, that there hath not been that uninterrupted union and harmony, which the members of the church of Rome pretend and boast to have been before the Reformation: and at the same time it plainly evinces, that they betray great ignorance, as well as impertinence, in asking the question, *Where was your religion before Luther?* Our religion, we see, was in the hearts and lives of many faithful witnesses; but it is sufficient, if it was no where else, that it was always in the Bible. 'The Bible, as Chillingworth[9] says, the Bible only is the religion of Protestants.'

(15) "And the seventh angel sounded, and there were great voices, in heaven, saying, The kingdoms of this world are become *the kingdoms* of our Lord, and of his Christ, and he shall

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[6] Sleidan's Hist. of the Reformation, b. 4. Father Paul's Hist of the Council of Trent. b. 1. § 60.

[7] Sleidan. b. 1. F. Paul. b. 1. § 18, &c.

[8] Matthias Flaccius in Catalogo testium veritatis, Hist. Ecclesiast. Magdeburg, Usher de Christian. Eccles. successione et statu, Allix's Remarks upon the ancient church of Piedmont, and the ancient churches of the Albigenses, Frederici Spanhemii Hist. Christiana et Hist. Imaginum.

[9] Chillingworth's Religion of Protestants, c. 6. § 56.

reign for ever and ever. (16) And the four and twenty elders which sat before God on their seats, fell upon their faces and worshipped God. (17) Saying, We give thee thanks, O Lord God Almighty, which art, and wast, and art to come; because thou hast taken to thee thy great power and hast reigned. (18) And the nations were angry, and thy wrath is come, and the time of the dead that they should be judged, and that thou shouldst give reward unto thy servants the prophets, and to the saints and them that fear thy name, small and great, and shouldst destroy them which destroy the earth."

We are now come to the seventh and last trumpet, or the third woe trumpet, and the seventh trumpet as well as all the trumpets being comprehended under the seventh seal, and the seventh seal and all the seals being constituent parts or members of the sealed book, it is evident that the seventh trumpet cannot any way belong to the little open book, but is plainly distinct from it, the little book being no more than an appendage to the sixth trumpet, and the contents all comprehended under it, or at least ending with it. *The forty and two months of the Gentiles treading the holy city under foot*, and *the* 1260 *days of the witnesses prophesying in sackcloth,* are 1260 synchronical years, and terminate at the same time with the fall of the Othman empire, or the end of the sixth trumpet or second woe trumpet. And when "the second woe is past (it is said, xi. 14.), behold, the third woe cometh quickly." At the sounding of the seventh trumpet (ver. 15.) *the third woe* commenceth, which is rather implied than expressed, as it will be described more fully hereafter. *The third woe* brought *on the inhabitants of the earth* is the ruin and downfall of the Antichristian kingdom: and then, and not till then, according to the heavenly chorus, "the kingdoms of this world will become the kingdoms of our Lord and of his Christ, and he shall reign for ever and ever." St. John is wrapped and hurried away as it were to a view of the happy millenium, without considering the steps preceding and conducting to it. At the same time "the four and twenty elders," or the ministers of the church (ver. 16—18.), are represented as praising and glorifying God for manifesting his *power* and *kingdom* more than he had done before: and give likewise an intimation of some succeeding events, as *the anger of the nations*, Gog and Magog (xx. 8.), and *the wrath of God,* displayed in their destruction (xx. 9.), and *the judging of the dead,* or the general judgment (xx. 12.) *and the rewarding of all the good, small and great,* as well as *the punishment of the wicked.* Here we have only a summary account of the circumstances and occurrences of the seventh trumpet, but the particulars will be dilated and enlarged upon hereafter.

And thus are we arrived at the consummation of all things, through a series of prophecies extending from the apostle's days to the end of the world. It is this series which has been our clue to conduct us in our interpretation of these prophecies: and though some of them may be dark and obscure, considered in themselves, yet they receive light and illustration from others preceding and following. All together they are as it were a chain of prophecies, whereof one link depends on, and supports another. If any parts remain yet obscure and unsatisfactory, they may perhaps be cleared up by what the apostle himself hath added by way of explanation.

XXV.—AN ANALYSIS OF THE REVELATION.

PART II.

MOST of the best commentators divide the Apocalypse or Revelation into two parts, *the book, βιβλίον, sealed with seven seals,* and *the little book, βιβλαρίδιον,* as it is called several times. But it happens unluckily, that according to their division the lesser book is made to contain as much or more than the larger: whereas in truth *the little book* is nothing more than a part of *the sealed book,* and is added as a codicil or appendix to it. If we were to divide the Revelation, as they would have it divided, into two parts, the former ending with chap. ix., and the latter beginning with chap. x., the whole frame of the book would be disjointed, and things would be separated, which are plainly connected together and dependent upon one another. The former part, as they agree, comprehends the book sealed with seven seals, which are all opened in order; but the seventh seal consists of the seven trumpets, and of the seven trumpets the three last are distinguished by the name of *the three woe trumpets;* so that the seven trumpets, as well as the seven seals, all belong properly to the former part. Whereas if we were to follow the other division, the trumpets would be divided, the three last trumpets would be divided from each other, the sixth trumpet itself would be divided, would begin in the former part of the book, and end in the latter, and the seventh trumpet would remain separated from the rest, which would be a strange interruption of the series and order of the prophecies, and greatly disturb and confound the course of events. The former part, instead of closing with the seventh trumpet, would then break off in the middle of the sixth trumpet; the latter part would then commence under the sixth trumpet, and after that would follow the seventh and last trumpet, and after this the general subject of the Revelation would be resumed from the beginning of the Christian æra, which, instead of coming in after so many events posterior in point of time, ought certainly to be the beginning of the latter part. For we would also divide the Revelation into two parts, or rather the book so divides itself. For the former part proceeds, as we have seen, in a regular and successive series from the apostle's days to the consummation of all things. Nothing can be added, but it must fall somewhere or other within the compass of this period; it must in some measure be a resumption of the same subjects; and this latter part may most properly be considered as an enlargement and illustration of the former. Several things, which were only touched upon, and delivered in dark hints before, require to be more copiously handled, and placed in a stronger light. It was said that "the beast should make war against the witnesses, and overcome them;" but who or what *the beast* is we may reasonably conjecture indeed, but the apostle himself will more surely explain. The transactions of the seventh trumpet are all summed up and comprised in a few verses, but we shall see the particulars branched out and enlarged into as many chapters. In short this latter part is designed as a supplement to the former, to complete what was deficient, to explain what was dubious, to illustrate what was obscure: and as the former described more the destinies of the Roman empire, so this latter relates more to the fates of the Christian church.

(19) "And the temple of God was opened in heaven, and there was seen in his temple the ark of his testament: and there were lightnings, and voices, and thunderings, and an earthquake, and great hail."

This last verse of the eleventh chapter, in my opinion, should have been made the first verse of the twelfth chapter; for it appears to be the beginning of a new subject. It is somewhat like the beginning of Isaiah's vision, (vi. 1.) "I saw the Lord sitting upon a throne (*the ark*) high and lifted up, and his train filled the temple." It is somewhat like the beginning of St. John's prophetic visions, (iv. 1, 2.) "I looked, and behold, a door was opened in heaven; and behold, a throne was set in heaven, and one sat on the throne." This is much in the same spirit: "And the temple of God was opened in heaven, and there was seen in his temple the ark of his testament," that is, more open discoveries were now made, and the mystery of God was revealed to the prophet. "Lightnings, and voices, and thunderings, and an earthquake, and great hail," are the usual concomitants and attendants of the Divine Presence, and especially at the giving of new laws and new revelatious. So at Mount Sinai (Exod. xx. 16, &c.) "there were thunders, and lightnings, and a thick cloud upon the mount, and the voice of the trumpet exceeding loud, and the whole mount quaked greatly." So likewise in this very book of the Apocalypse, before the opening of the seven seals, (iv. 5.) there were "lightnings, and thunderings, and voices." So again before the sounding of the seven trumpets (viii. 5.) "there were voices, and thunderings, and lightnings, and an earthquake:" and with as much reason they are made in this place the signs and preludes of the revelations and judgments, which are to follow. It is no just objection, that a new subject is supposed to begin with the conjunction *and;* for this is frequent in the style of the Hebrews; some books, as Numbers, Joshua, the two books of Samuel, and others, begin with *Vau* or *and;* and the same objection would hold equally against beginning the division with the first verse of the next chapter.

Chap. XII.—(1) "And there appeared a great wonder in heaven, a woman clothed with the sun, and the moon under her feet, and upon her head a crown of twelve stars: (2) And she being with child, cried, travailing in birth, and pained to be delivered. (3) And there appeared another wonder in heaven, and behold, a great red dragon, having seven heads, and ten horns, and seven crowns upon his heads. (4) And his tail drew the third part of the stars of heaven, and did cast them to the earth: and the dragon stood before the woman which was ready to be delivered, for to devour her child as soon as it was born. (5) And she brought forth a man child, who was to rule all nations with a rod of iron: and her child was caught up unto God, and *to* his throne. (6) And the woman fled into the wilderness, where she hath a place prepared of God, that they should feed her there a thousand two hundred *and* threescore days."

St. John resumes his subject from the beginning, and represents the church (ver. 1, 2.) as a woman, and a mother bearing children unto Christ. She is "clothed with the sun," invested with the rays of Jesus Christ the sun of righteousness; having "the moon," the [1] Jewish new-moons and festivals, as well as all sublunary things, "under her feet; and upon her head a crown of twelve stars," an emblem of her being under the light and guidance of the twelve apostles. "And she being with child, cried, travailing in birth, and pained to be delivered." St. Paul hath made use of the same metaphor, and applied it to his preaching and propagating of the gospel in the midst of tribulation and persecution, (Gal. iv. 19.) "My little children, of whom I travail in birth again, until Christ be formed in you." But the words of St. John are much stronger, and more emphatically express the pangs, and struggles, and torments, which the church endured from the first publication of the gospel to the time of Constantine the Great, when she was in some measure eased of her pains, and brought forth a deliverer. Mr. Whiston carries the comparison farther, (Essay on the Revelation. Part 3. Vision 3.) 'For as the time of gestation from the conception to the birth in women with child, is known to be 40 weeks or 280 days; so it is as well known, that from the first rise of our Saviour's kingdom at his resurrection and ascension, A.D. 33, till the famous proclamation and edict, for the universal liberty and advancement of Christianity by Constantine and Licinius, A.D. 313, which put an end to the pangs of birth in the heaviest persecution that ever was then known, was exactly 280 years,' reckoning according to the prophetical account a day for a year. At the same time "there appeared (ver. 3.) a great dragon;" which is the well known sign or symbol of the Devil and Satan, and of his agents and instruments. We find the kings and people of Egypt, who were the great persecutors of the primitive church of Israel, distinguished by this title in several places of the Old Testament: (Psal. lxxiv. 13. Is. li. 9. Ezek. xxix. 3.) and with as much reason and propriety may the people and emperors of Rome, who were the great persecutors of the primitive church of Christ, be called by the same name, as they are actuated by the same principle. For that the Roman empire was here figured, the characters and attributes of the dragon plainly evince. He is "a great red dragon:" and purple or scarlet was the distinguishing colour of the Roman emperors, consuls, and generals; as it hath been since of the popes and cardinals. His "seven heads," as the angel afterwards (xvii. 9, 10.) explains the vision, allude to the seven mountains upon which Rome was built, and to the seven forms of government, which successively prevailed there. His "ten horns" typify the ten kingdoms, into which the Roman empire was divided; and the "seven crowns upon his heads" denote, that at this time the imperial power was in Rome, the high city, as Propertius[2] describes it, seated on seven hills, which presides over the whole world. "His tail also (ver. 4.) drew the third part of the stars of heaven, and did cast them to the earth," that is, he subjected the third part of the princes and potentates of the earth; and the Roman empire, as we have seen before, is represented as *the third part* of the world. "*He* stood before the woman, which was ready to be delivered, for to devour her child as soon as it was born:" and the Roman emperors and magistrates kept a jealous watchful eye over the Christians from the beginning. As Pharaoh laid snares for the male children of the Hebrews, and Herod for the infant Christ, the son of Mary; so did the Roman dragon for the mystic Christ, the son of the church, that he might destroy him even in his infancy. But notwithstanding the jealousy and envy of the Romans, the gospel was widely diffused and propagated, and the church brought many children unto Christ, and in time such as were promoted to the empire. "She brought forth a man-child, who was to rule all nations with a rod of iron" (ver. 5.). It was predicted, that Christ should rule over the nations, (Psal. ii. 9.) "Thou shalt break them with a rod of iron, thou shalt dash them in pieces like a potter's vessel:" but Christ, who is himself invisible in the heavens, ruleth visibly in Christian magistrates, princes, and emperors. It was therefore promised before to Christians in general, (ii. 26, 27.) "He that overcometh, and keepeth my works unto the end, to him will I give power over the nations: And he shall rule them with a rod of iron; as the vessels of a potter shall they be broken to shivers: even as I received of my Father." But it should seem that Constantine was here particularly intended, for whose life [3] the dragon Galerius laid many snares, but he providentially escaped them all; and notwithstanding all opposition, *was caught up unto the throne of God,* was not only secured by the divine protection, but was advanced to the imperial throne, called *the throne of God,* for (Rom. xiii. 1.) "there is no power but of God; the powers that be, are ordained of God." He too *ruleth all nations with a rod of iron;* for he had not only the Romans, who before had persecuted the church, under his dominion, but also subdued the Scythians,[4] Sarmatians, and other barbarous nations, who had never before been subject to the Roman empire: and as the learned Spanheim[5] informs us, there are still extant medals and coins of his with these inscriptions, 'the subduer of the barbarous nations,' 'the conqueror of all nations,' 'every where a conqueror,' and the like. What is added (ver. 6.) of "*the woman's flying* into the wilderness for a thousand two hundred and threescore days," is said by way of prolepsis or anticipation. For the war in heaven between Michael and the dragon, and other subsequent events, were prior in order of time to the flight of the woman into the wilderness: but before the prophet passeth on to a new subject, he giveth a general account of what happened to the woman afterwards, and entereth more into the particulars in their proper place.

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[1] A learned correspondent observes, that the Jewish religion is aptly compared to the moon, as its light is not its own, but furnished by the Christian religion, to which it relates, and wherein its types are accomplished.

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[2] 'Septem urbs alta jugis, toti quæ præsidet orbi.'
Propert. l. 3. El. 11. ver. 57.

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[3] Euseb. de Vita Constant. l. 1. c. 20. Lactant. de Mort. Persecut. c. 24. Auctor ignotus ad calcem Amm. Marcellini, p. 656. Edit. Vales.

[4] Euseb. de Vita Constant. l. 4. c. 5, &c.

[5] Spanhemii Dissert. Decima Tertia de Præstantia et Usu Numism. Antiqu. p. 636. 638. Observat. ad Juliani Imp. Orat. I. in laudem Constantii, p. 66.

(7) "And there was war in heaven: Michael and his angels fought against the dragon, and the dragon fought and his angels: (8) And prevailed not, neither was their place found any more in heaven. (9) And the great dragon was cast out, that old serpent, called the Devil and Satan, which deceiveth the whole world: he was cast out into the earth, and his angels were cast out with him. (10) And I heard a loud voice, saying in heaven, Now is come salvation, and strength, and the kingdom of our God, and the power of his Christ: for the accuser of our brethren is cast down, which accused them before our God day and night. (11) And they overcame him by the blood of the Lamb, and by the word of their testimony: and they loved not their lives unto the death. (12) Therefore rejoice, ye heavens, and ye that dwell in them. Woe to the inhabiters of the earth, and of the sea: for the devil is come down unto you, having great wrath, because he knoweth that he hath but a short time."

It might reasonably be presumed, that all the powers of idolatry would be strenuously exerted against the establishment of Christianity, and especially against the establishment of a Christian on the imperial throne: and these struggles and contentions between the Heathen and the Christian religions are represented (ver. 7.) by "war in heaven" between the angels of darkness and angels of light. Michael was (Dan. x. 21. xii. 1.) the tutelar angel and protector of the Jewish church. He performs here the same office of champion for the Christian church. He and the good angels, who are "sent forth (Heb. i. 14.) to minister to the heirs of salvation," were the invisible agents on one side, as the devil and his evil angels were on the other. The visible actors in the cause of Christianity were the believing emperors and ministers of the word, the martyrs and confessors; and in support of idolatry were the persecuting emperors and heathen magistrates, together with the whole train of priests and sophists. This contest lasted several years, and the final issue of it was (ver. 8, 9.) that the Christian prevailed over the Heathen religion; the Heathens were deposed from all rule and authority, and the Christians were advanced to dominion and empire in their stead. Our Saviour said unto his disciples casting devils out of the bodies of men, (Luke x. 18.) "I beheld Satan, as lightning, fall from heaven." In the same figure Satan fell from heaven, and "was cast out into the earth," when he was thrust out of the imperial throne, "and his angels were cast out with him," not only all the heathen priests and officers, civil and military, were cashiered, but their very gods and demons, who before were adored for their divinity, became the subjects of contempt and execration. It is very remarkable, that Constantine himself and the Christians of his time describe his conquests under the same image, as if they had understood that this prophecy had received its accomplishment in him. Constantine himself,[6] in his epistle to Eusebius and other bishops concerning the re-edifying and repairing of churches, saith that 'liberty being now restored, and *that dragon* being removed from the administration of public affairs, by the providence of the great God; and by my ministry, I esteem the great power of God to have been made manifest even to all.' Moreover,[7] a picture of Constantine was set up over the palace gate, with the cross over his head, and under his feet 'the great enemy of mankind, who persecuted the church by the means of impious tyrants, in the form of a dragon,' transfixed with a dart through the midst of his body, and falling headlong into the depth of the sea: in allusion, as it is said expressly, to the divine oracles in the books of the prophets, where that evil spirit is called the dragon and the crooked serpent. Upon this victory of the church, there is introduced (ver. 10.) a triumphant hymn of thanksgiving for the depression of idolatry, and exaltation of true religion: for now it was no longer in the power of the heathen persecutors, as Satan accused holy Job before God, to accuse the innocent Christians before the Roman governors, as the perpetrators of all crimes, and the causers of all calamities. It was not by temporal means or arms that the Christians obtained this victory, (ver. 11.) but by spiritual, by the merits and death of their Redeemer, by their constant profession of the truth, and by their patient suffering of all kinds of tortures even unto death: and the blood of the martyrs hath been often called *the seed of the church.* This victory was indeed (ver. 12.) matter of joy and triumph to the blessed angels and glorified saints in heaven, by whose sufferings it was in great measure obtained; but still new woes are threatened "to the inhabiters of the earth;" for though the dragon was deposed, yet was he not destroyed; though idolatry was depressed, yet was it not wholly suppressed; there were still many Pagans intermixed with the Christians, and the devil would incite fresh troubles and disturbances on earth, "because he knoweth that he hath but a short time," it would not be long before the Pagan religion should be totally abolished, and the Christian religion prevail in all the Roman empire.

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[6] Νυνὶ δὲ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἀποδοθείσης, καὶ τοῦ δράκοντος ἐκείνου ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν κοινῶν διοικήσεως, τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦ μεγίστου προνοίᾳ, ἡμετέρᾳ δ' ὑπηρεσίᾳ ἐκδιωχθέντος, ἡγοῦμαι καὶ πᾶσι φανερὰν γεγενῆσθαι τὴν θείαν δύναμιν κ. τ. λ. *Nunc vero cum libertas restituta sit, et draco ille providentia quidem Dei optimi maximi, ministerio autem nostro a reipublicæ administratione submotus; equidem existimo divinam potentiam omnibus clarissimè innotuisse, &c.* Euseb. de Vita Constant. l. 2. c. 46. Socratis Hist. Eccles. l. 1. c. 9. Theodoret. l. 1. c. 15.

[7] Euseb. de Vita Constant. l. 3. c. 3. τὸν δὲ ἐχθρὸν καὶ πολέμιον θῆρα, τὸν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ Θεοῦ διὰ τῆς τῶν ἀθέων πολιορκήσαντα τυραννίδος,—ἐν δράκοντος μορφῇ. *hostem illum et inimicum generis humani, qui impiorum tyrannorum operâ ecclesiam Dei oppugnaverat, sub draconis forma.*

(13) "And when the dragon saw that he was cast unto the earth, he persecuted the woman which brought forth the man-*child.* (14) And to the woman were given two wings of a great eagle, that she might fly into the wilderness, into her place: where she is nourished for a time, and times, and half a time, from the face of the serpent. (15) And the serpent cast out of his mouth water as a flood, after the woman; that he might cause her to be carried away of the flood. (16) And the earth helped the woman, and the earth opened her mouth, and swallowed up the flood, which the dragon cast out of his mouth. (17) And the dragon was wroth with the woman, and went to make war with the remnant of her seed, which kept the commandments of God, and have the testimony of Jesus Christ."

When the dragon was thus deposed from the imperial throne, and "cast unto the earth" (ver. 13.), he still continued to persecute the church with equal malice, though not with equal power. He made several attempts to restore the Pagan idolatry in the reign of Constantine, and afterwards in the reign of Julian; he traduced and abused the Christian religion by such writers as Hierocles, Libanius, Eunapius, and others of the same stamp and character; he rent and troubled the church with heresies and schisms; he stirred up the favourers of the Arians, and especially the kings of the Vandals in Africa, to persecute and destroy the orthodox Christians. These things, as [8] Eusebius saith upon one of these occasions, some malicious and wicked demon, envying the prosperity of the church, effected. But the church was still under the protection of the empire, (ver. 14.) "and to the woman were given two wings of a great eagle." As God said to the children of Israel, (Exod. xix. 4.) "Ye have seen what I did unto the Egyptians, and how I bare you on eagles' wings, and brought you unto myself;" so the church was supported and carried as it were on eagles' wings: but the similitude is the more proper in this case, an *eagle* being the Roman ensign, and the *two wings* alluding probably to the division that was then made of the eastern and the western empire. In this manner was the church protected, and these wings were given, "that she might fly into the wilderness," into a place of retirement and security, "from the face of the serpent." Not that she fled into the wilderness at this time, but several years afterwards; and there "she is nourished for a time, and times, and half a time," that is three prophetic years and a half, which is the same period with the thousand, two hundred and threescore days or years before-mentioned. So long the church is to remain in a desolate and afflicted state, during the reign of Antichrist; as Elijah (1 Kings xvii. xviii. Luke iv. 25, 26.), while idolatry and famine prevailed in Israel, was secretly fed and nourished three years and six months in the wilderness. But before the woman fled into the wilderness, "the serpent cast out of his mouth water as a flood" (ver. 15.) with intent to wash her away. *Waters* in the style of the Apocalyse (xvii. 16.) signify *peoples* and *nations;* so that here was a great inundation of various nations, excited by the dragon, or the friends and patrons of the old idolatry, to oppress and overwhelm the Christian religion. Such appeared plainly to have been the design of the dragon, when [9] Stilicho, prime minister of the emperor Honorius, first invited the barbarous heathen nations, the Goths, Alans, Sueves, and Vandals, to invade the Roman empire, hoping by their means to raise his son Eucherius to the throne, who from a boy was an enemy to the Christians, and threatened to signalize the beginning of his reign with the restoration of the Pagan, and abolition of the Christian religion. Nothing indeed was more likely to produce the ruin and utter subversion of the Christian church, than the irruptions of so many barbarous Heathen nations, into the Roman empire. But the event proved contrary to human appearance and expectation; "the earth swallowed up the flood" (ver. 16.), the Barbarians were rather swallowed up by the Romans, than the Romans by the Barbarians; the Heathen conquerors, instead of imposing their own, submitted to the religion of the conquered Christians; and they not only embraced the religion, but affected even the laws, the manners, the customs, the language, and the very name of Romans, so that the victors were in a manner absorbed and lost among the vanquished. This course not succeeding according to probable expectation, the dragon did not therefore desist from his purpose (ver. 17.), but only took another method of persecuting the true sons of the church, as we shall see in the next chapter. It is said that he "went to make war with the remnant of her seed, who kept the commandments of God, and have the testimony of Jesus;" which implies that at this time there was only a *remnant*, that corruptions were greatly increased, and "the faithful were minished from among the children of men."

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[8] Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν φθόνος [forsan φθονερός] τις καὶ πονηρὸς δαίμων, τοῖς τῆς ἐκκλησίας βασκαίνων ἀγαθοῖς κατειργάζετο. *Hæc livor invidiæ, et malignus dæmon ecclesiæ felicitatem semper ægre ferens, in nostram perniciem machinatus est.* Euseb. de Vita Constant. l. 2. c. 73.

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[9] 'Interea comes Stilicho, Vandalorum inbellis, avaræ, perfidæ et dolosæ gentis genere editus, parvipendens quod sub imperatore imperabat, Eucherium filium suum, sicut a plerisque traditur, jam inde Christianorum persecutionem a puero privatoque meditantem, in imperium quoquo modo sustinere nitebatur. Quamobrem Alaricum, cunctamque Gothorum gentem, &c.—Eucherius, qui ad conciliandum sibi favorem Paganorum, restitutione templorum et eversione ecclesiarum imbuturum se regni primordia minabatur, &c.' Orosii Hist. l. 7. c. 38. Vide etiam Jornandem de Rebus Geticis et de Regn. Success. et Paulum Diaconum, l. 13.

Chap. XIII. (1) "And I stood upon the sand of the sea, and saw a beast rise up out of the sea, having seven heads, and ten horns, and upon his horns ten crowns, and upon his heads the name of blasphemy. (2) And the beast which I saw was like unto a leopard, and his feet were as *the feet* of a bear, and his mouth as the mouth of a lion: and the dragon gave him his power, and his seat, and great authority. (3) And I saw one of his heads, as it were wounded to death; and his deadly wound was healed: and all the world wondered after the beast. (4) And they worshipped the dragon which gave power unto the beast: and they worshipped the beast, saying, Who *is* like unto the beast? who is able to make war with him? (5) And there was given unto him a mouth speaking great things, and blasphemies; and power was given unto him to continue forty *and* two months. (6) And he opened his mouth in blasphemy against God, to blaspheme his name, and his tabernacle, and them that dwell in heaven. (7) And it was given unto him to make war with the saints, and to overcome them: and power was given him over all kindreds, and tongues, and nations. (8) And all that dwell upon the earth shall worship him, whose names are not written in the book of life of the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world. (9) If any man have an ear, let him hear. (10) He that leadeth into captivity, shall go into captivity: He that killeth with the sword, must be killed with the sword. Here is the patience and the faith of the saints."

Here *the beast* is described at large, who was only mentioned before (xi. 7.): and a *beast* in the prophetic style is a tyrannical idolatrous empire. The kingdom of God and of Christ is never represented under the image of a *beast*. As Daniel (vii. 2, 3.) beheld *four great beasts*, representing the four great empires, *come up from* a stormy *sea*, that is, from the commotions of the world; so St. John (ver. 1.) saw this *beast* in like manner "rise up out of the sea." He was said before (xi. 7.) to ascend ἐκ τῆς ἀβύσσου, *out of the abyss*, or *bottomless pit;* and it is said afterwards (xvii. 8.) that he shall ascend ἐκ τῆς ἀβύσσου, *out of the abyss*, or *bottomless pit;* and here he is said to ascend ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης, *out of the sea;* so that *the sea* and *abyss* or *bottomless pit* are in these passages the same. No doubt is to be made, that this beast was designed to represent the Roman empire; for thus far both ancients and moderns, Papists and Protestants are agreed: the only doubt and controversy is, whether it was Rome Pagan or Christian, imperial or papal, which may perhaps be fully and clearly determined in the sequel.

St. John saw this beast *rising* out of the *sea*, but the Roman empire was risen and established long before St. John's time; and therefore this must be the Roman empire, not in its then present, but in some future shape and form; and it arose in another shape and form, after it was broken to pieces by the incursions of the northern nations. The beast hath "seven heads and ten horns," which are the well known marks and signals of the Roman empire, *the seven heads* alluding to the seven mountains whereon Rome was situated, and to the seven forms of government which successively prevailed there, and the *ten horns* signifying the ten kingdoms into which the Roman empire was divided. It is remarkable, that the dragon had "seven crowns upon his heads," but the beast hath "upon his horns ten crowns;" so that there had been in the meanwhile a revolution of power from the *heads* of the dragon to the *horns* of the beast, and the sovereignty, which before was exercised by Rome alone, was now transferred and divided among ten kingdoms: but the Roman empire was not divided into ten kingdoms, till after it was become Christian. Although the heads had lost their crowns, yet they still retained "the name of blasphemy." In all its heads, in all its forms of government Rome was still guilty of idolatry and blasphemy. Imperial Rome was called, and delighted to be called,[1] 'The eternal city,' 'The heavenly city,' 'The goddess of the earth,' 'The goddess;' and had her temples and altars with incense and sacrifices offered up to her: and how the papal Rome likewise hath arrogated to herself divine titles and honours, there will be a fitter occasion of shewing in the following part of this description.

As Daniel's fourth beast (vii. 7.) was without a name, and *devoured and brake in pieces* the three former: so this beast (ver. 2.) is also without a name, and partakes of the nature and qualities of the three former, having *the body of a leopard,* which was the third beast or Grecian empire, and *the feet of a bear,* which was the second beast or Persian empire, and *the mouth of a lion,* which was the first beast or Babylonian empire: and consequently this must be the same as Daniel's fourth beast, or the Roman empire. But still it is not the same beast, the same empire entirely, but with some variation; "and[2] the dragon gave him his power (*δύναμιν*, or *his armies*), and his seat (*ϑρόνον*, or *his imperial throne*), and great authority; or *jurisdiction over all the parts of his empire. The beast* therefore is the successor and substitute of *the dragon* or of the idolatrous heathen Roman empire; and what other idolatrous power hath succeeded to the heathen emperors in Rome, all the world is a judge and witness. *The dragon* having failed in his purpose of restoring the old heathen idolatry, delegates his power to *the beast*, and thereby introduces a new species of idolatry, nominally different, but essentially the same, the worship of angels and saints instead of the gods and demigods of antiquity.

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[1] 'Urbem æternam.' Ammian. Marcell. l. 14. c. 6. 'Urbis ab æternæ, &c.' Ausonii Epigram. 3 de Fastis. *οὐρανοπόλει Ῥώμη.* Athenæi l. 1. p. 20. 'Terrarum dea, gentiumque Roma. Cui par est nihil, et nihil secundum.' Martial. l. 12. Epigram. 8. 1. 'Ita Romam, orbis caput tanquam cæleste aliquod numen, seu *terrarum deam gentiumque* a Bilbilitano vate dictam, divinis honoribus, templis, sacerdotibus, ædituis, ipso ΘΕΑΣ ΡΩΜΗΣ appellatione, quod plures Græcarum illarum civitatum nummi ostendunt, sibi condecorandam existimarunt. Quo autem referendum mihi videtur illud *nomen blasphemiæ,* quod septem capitibus inscriptum gestâsse legitur bestia in sacro Revelationum libro, et quod Hieronymus ac Prosper ad *urbis æternæ* appellationem retulerunt, Romæ cum alibi, tum in nummis ejus itidem familiarem.' Spanhemii Dissert. Tertia de Præstant. et Usu Numm. Ant. § 3. p. 138.

[2] 'Imperium Romano-Papale tunc natum videtur, quum papam omnium ecclesiarum caput esse dixit Justinianus. V. Cod. l. 1. t. 1. A. D. 533, et 534, idque non verbo tantum significavit sed missis

Another mark, whereby the beast was peculiarly distinguished, was (ver. 3.) "one of his heads as it were wounded to death." It will appear hereafter, that this head was the sixth head, for "five were fallen" (xvii. 10.) before St. John's time: and the sixth head was that of the Cæsars or emperors, there having been before kings, and consuls, and dictators, and decemvirs, and military tribunes with consular authority. The sixth head was "as it were wounded to death," when the Roman empire was overturned by the northern nations, and an end was put to the very name of emperor in Momyllus Augustulus; or rather, as the government of the Gothic kings[3] was much the same as that of the emperors with only a change of the name, this head was more effectually *wounded to death*, when Rome was reduced to a poor dukedom, and made tributary to the exarchate of Ravenna; and Sigonius, who hath written the best of these times and of these affairs, includes the history of the Gothic kings in his history of the western empire. But not only one of his heads was as it were wounded to death but "his deadly wound was healed." If it was the sixth head which was wounded, that wound could not be healed by the rising of the seventh head, as interpreters commonly conceive; the same head which was wounded, must be healed: and this was effected by the pope and people of Rome revolting from the exarch of Ravenna, and proclaiming Charles the Great Augustus and emperor of the Romans. Here the wounded imperial head was *healed* again, and hath subsisted ever since. At this time partly

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ad eum episcopis, quasi legatis. Id Gregorius I. in fine seculi sexti in episcopos Hispaniæ, Galliæ, &c; satis superbe exercuit; successores seculi septimi multo etiam magis. In utroque seculo faventibus papis invaluere imaginum cultus, et sanctorum, invocatio: nam hic ipse Gregorius litaniis inseruit nomen beatæ virginis Mariæ. Eas igitur blasphemias, Seculo octavo A. D. 727. imperium civile Romæ, et ducatus Romani, excommunicato pulsoque imperatore Græco, arripuit papa (teste Anastasio et Sigonio deRegno Italiæ l. 3.) Gregorius II. Interea non orthodoxi, i. e. papis dissentientes, infames, extorres, intestabiles impp. legibus facti sunt. V. Cod. in quo canones æquantur legibus, &c. Nonne hæc omnia satis clare præstant *magnam illam bestiæ jam ortæ potestatem a dracone traditam, &c.*' Mr. Mann's M. S.

[3] —'regnum veteris imperii ex omni parte simillimum.' Signonius de Occid. Imper. l. 16. ann. 494.

through the pope, and partly through the emperor, supporting and strengthening each other, the Roman name again became formidable: "and all the world wondered after the beast, and (ver. 5.) they worshipped the dragon which gave power unto the beast, and they worshipped the beast, saying, Who is like unto the beast? Who is able to make war with him?" No kingdom or empire was *like* that of the beast, it had not a parallel upon earth, and it was in vain for any to *resist* or *oppose* it, it prevailed and triumphed over all; and *all the world* in submitting thus to the religion of the beast, did in effect submit again to the religion of the dragon, it being the old idolatry with only new names. The worshipping of demons and idols is in effect the worshipping of devils.

Wonderful as the beast was, his words and actions (ver. 5—8.) are no less wonderful. He perfectly resembles *the little horn* in Daniel. As the little horn (Dan. vii. 8. 25.) hath "a mouth speaking great things," and "spake great words against the Most High;" so "there was given unto *the beast* a mouth speaking great things," "and he opened his mouth in blasphemy against God." As the little horn (Dan. vii. 21.) "made war with the saints, and prevailed against them;" so "it was given unto the beast to make war with his saints and to overcome them." As the little horn prospered (Dan. vii. 25.) "until a time, and times, and the dividing of time," that is, three prophetic years and a half; so "power was given unto the beast to continue to practise and prosper forty and two months," which is exactly the same portion of time as three years and a half. We see that not only the same images, but almost the same words are employed; and the portraits being so perfectly alike, it might fairly be presumed, if there was no other argument, that they were both drawn for the same person: and having before clearly discovered who sat for the one, we cannot now be at any loss to determine who sat for the other. It is the Roman beast in his last state, or under his seventh head: and he hath "a mouth speaking great things and blasphemies;" and what can be *greater things and blasphemies,* than the[4] claims of 'universal bishop,' 'infallible judge of all controversies,' 'sovereign of kings,' and 'disposer of kingdoms,' 'vicegerent of Christ,' and 'God upon earth!' He hath also "power to continue (ποιῆσαι, or rather *to practise, to prevail, and prosper,*) forty and two months." Some read ποιῆσαι πόλεμον *to make war,* not rightly understanding, I suppose, what was meant by ποιῆσαι alone; but it signifies,[5] *to practise,*

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[1] See the Introduction to Barrow's Treatise of the Pope's Supremacy.

[4] ועשתה והצליחה καὶ ἐποίησε, καὶ εὐωδώθη, *et faciet, et prosperabitur,* "and it practised, and prospered," Dan. viii. 12. ועשה והצליח καὶ κατευθυνεῖ, καὶ ποιήσει, *et prosperabitur, et faciet,* "and shall prosper, and practise," ver. 24. ועשה בהם

to prevail, and prosper, as the words עשה and *ποιῆσαι*, are used by Daniel and the Greek translators. It doth not therefore follow, that the beast is *to continue to exist* for no longer a term, but he is *to practise, to prosper, and prevail forty and two months ;* as "the holy city (xi. 2.) is to be trodden under foot of the Gentiles forty and two months," which are the 1260 days or years of the reign of Antichrist. But if by the beast be understood the heathen Roman empire, the heathen Roman empire instead of subsisting 1260, did not subsist 400 years after the date of this prophecy.

After this general account of the blasphemies and exploits of the beast, there follows a specification of the particulars. "He opened his mouth in blasphemy against God." Blasphemy against God may be said to be of two kinds, not only speaking dishonourably of the Supreme Being, but likewise attributing to the creature what belongs to the Creator, as in idolatry ; which is often the sense of the word in Scripture ; as in Isaiah (lxv. 7.) "They have burnt incense upon the mountains, and blasphemed me upon the hills ;" and in several other places. He *blasphemes the name of God* by assuming the divine titles and honours to himself, and as it is expressed in the Wisdom of Solomon, (xiv. 21.) by "ascribing unto stones and stocks the incommunicable name." He *blasphemes the tabernacle of God,* his temple and his church, by calling true Christians, who are the house of God, schismatics and heretics, and anathematizing them accordingly : or as you may understand it, by perverting the places dedicated to the worship of saints and angels. He *blasphemes them that dwell in heaven,* angels and glorified saints, by idolatrous worship and impious adoration ; and disgraces their acts, and vilifies their memories, by fabulous legends and lying miracles.

So much for his blasphemies ; nor are his exploits less extraordinary. "It was given unto him to make war with the saints and to overcome them :" and who can make any computation or even frame any conception of the numbers of pious Christians, who have fallen a sacrifice to the bigotry and cruelty of Rome? Mede upon the place[6] hath observed from good

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והחזיק *καὶ ποιήσει ἐν αὐτοῖς, καὶ κατίσχυσει. et faciet in eis, et confortabitur,* "and shall deal against them, and shall prevail," Dan. xi. 7. ועשה *καὶ ποιήσει, et faciet,* "and he shall do exploits," ver. 28. See also ver. 30.

[6] 'Prima ejus expeditio incubuit in Albigenses et Valdenses, et si quo alio nomine tunc appellati sint veri Christi cultores: quorum tanta strages edita fuit ut per Galliam solam, si P. Perionius in ejus belli historia rectè calculum inierit, occisa sint ad *decies centena hominum millia.*—Ab origine Jesuitarum, ad annum 1480, hoc est, paulo pluribus quam 30 annis, orthodoxorum *nongenta* fere *millia* fuisse trucidata, notat Balduinus de Antichristo. In Belgio solo, idque manu solum carnificis, sævus ille pugil Romanæ sedis dux Albanis, ad 36 animarum millia, sè authore, intra paucos annos sublata gloriatus est. Testatur Vergerius, qui optime novit, Inquisitionem, ut vocant, hæreticæ pravitatis vix triginti annorum spatio, *centum quinquaginta* Christianorum *millia* diversis afflic-

authorities, that in the war with the Albigenses and Waldenses there perished of these poor creatures in France alone *a million.* From the first institution of the Jesuits to the year 1480, that is in little more than thirty years, *nine hundred thousand* orthodox Christians were slain. In the Netherlands alone, the Duke of Alva boasted, that within a few years he had dispatched to the amount of *thirty-six thousand* souls, and those all by the hand of the common executioner. In the space of scarce thirty years, the Inquisition destroyed by various kind of tortures *a hundred and fifty thousand* Christians. Sanders himself confesses that an innumerable multitude of Lollards and Sacramentarians were burnt throughout all Europe, who yet he says were not put to death by the Pope and bishops, but by the civil magistrates; which perfectly agrees with this prophecy, for of *the secular beast* it is said, that he should "make war with the saints, and overcome them." No wonder that by these means he should obtain an universal authority "over all kindreds, and tongues, and nations," and establish his dominion in all the countries of the western Roman empire: and that they should not only submit to his decrees, but even adore his person, except the faithful few, whose names, as citizens of heaven, were enrolled in the registers of life. Let the Romanists boast therefore that theirs is the *catholic church* and *universal empire;* this is so far from being any evidence of the truth, that it is the very brand infixed by the Spirit of prophecy.

It was customary with our Saviour, when he would have his auditors pay a particular attention to what he had been saying, to add, "He who hath ears to hear, let him hear." St. John repeats the same admonition at the end of each of the seven epistles to the seven churches of Asia, and here in the conclusion of the description of the beast, (ver. 9.) "If any man have an ear, let him hear:" and certainly the description of the beast is deserving of the highest attention upon many accounts, and particularly because the right interpretation of the Apocalypse turneth upon it, as one of its main hinges. It is added by way of consolation to the church, that these enemies of God and of Christ, represented under the character of the beast, shall suffer the law of retaliation, and be as remarkably punished and tormented themselves, as they punished and tormented others, (ver. 10.) "He that leadeth into captivity, shall go into captivity; He that killeth with the sword, must be killed with the sword." Such a promise might administer some comfort; and

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tionum generibus consumpsisse. Fatetur Sanderus infinitos Lolhardos et Sacramentarios in tota Europa ignibus traditos fuisse; quos tamen ait ille non a papa et episcopis, sed a politicis magistratibus neci datos fuisse. Nimirum sic juxta prophetiam rem geri oportuit: nam de *sæculari bestia* dicitur, quod sanctis bellum faceret, eosque vinceret.' Mede, p 503, 504.

indeed it would be wanted; for the patience and the faith of the saints would be tried to the utmost during the reign of the beast. "Here is the patience and the faith of the saints." Of all the trials and persecutions of the church this would be the most severe, and exceed those of the primitive times both in degree and duration.

(11) "And I beheld another beast coming up out of the earth, and he had two horns like a lamb, and he spake as a dragon. (12) And he exerciseth all the power of the first beast before him, and causeth the earth, and them that dwell therein, to worship the first beast, whose deadly wound was healed. (13) And he doeth great wonders, so that he maketh fire come down from heaven on the earth in the sight of men, (14) And deceiveth them that dwell on the earth by *the means* of those miracles which he had power to do in the sight of the beast, saying to them that dwell on the earth, that they should make an image to the beast which had the wound by a sword, and did live. (15) And he had power to give life unto the image of the beast, that the image of the beast should both speak, and cause that as many as would not worship the image of the beast, should be killed. (16) And he causeth all, both small and great, rich and poor, free and bond, to receive a mark in their right hand, or in their foreheads: (17) And that no man might buy or sell, save he that had the mark, or the name of the beast, or the number of his name. (18) Here is wisdom. Let him that hath understanding count the number of the beast: for it is the number of a man; and his number is six hundred three score *and* six."

From the description of *the ten-horned beast,* or Roman state in general, the prophet passeth to that of *the two-horned beast* or Roman church in particular. *The beast with ten crowned horns* is the Roman empire as divided into ten kingdoms; *the beast with two horns like a lamb* is the Roman hierarchy, or body o. the clergy regular and secular. This beast is otherwise called *the false prophet,* as we shall see in several instances; than which there cannot be a stronger or plainer argument to prove, that false doctors or teachers were particularly designed. For *the false prophet* no more than *the beast* is a single man, but a body or succession of men propagating false doctrines, and teaching lies for sacred truths. As the first beast *rose up out of the sea,* that is, out of the wars and tumults of the world; so this beast (ver. 11.) *groweth up out of the earth* like plants silently and without noise; and the greatest prelates have often been raised from monks and men of the lowest birth, and parentage. "He had two horns like a lamb;" he had, both regular and secular, the appearance of a lamb; he derived his powers from the lamb, and pretended to be like the lamb all meekness and mildness. "But he spake as a dragon," he had a voice of terror like the dragon or Roman emperors, in usurping divine titles and honours, in commanding idolatry, and in persecuting and slaying the true worshippers of God and faithful servants of Jesus Christ. He is an ecclesiastical person, but intermixeth himself much in civil affairs. He is the prime minister, adviser, and mover of *the first beast,* or the beast before mentioned, (ver. 12.) "He exerciseth all the power of the first beast before him." He holdeth 'imperium in imperio,' *an empire within an empire;* claimeth a temporal authority as well as a spiritual; hath not only the principal direction of the temporal powers, but often engageth them in his service, and enforceth his canons and decrees with the sword of the civil magistrate. As the first beast concurs to maintain his authority, so he in return confirms and maintains the sovereignty and dominion of the first beast over his subjects; "and causeth the earth, and them who dwell therein, to worship the first beast, whose deadly wound was healed." He supports tyranny, as he is by tyranny supported. He enslaves the consciences, as the first beast subjugates the bodies of men. As Mr. Whiston well[7] observes, 'He is the common centre and cement which unites all the distinct kingdoms of the Roman empire; and by joining with them procures them a blind obedience from their subjects: and so he is the occasion of the preservation of the old Roman empire in some kind of unity, and name, and strength; which otherwise had been quite dissolved by the inundations and wars succeeding the settlement of the barbarous nations in that empire.'

Such is the power and authority of the beast, and now we shall see what courses he pursues to confirm and establish it. He pretends, like other false prophets, (ver. 13.) to shew *great signs and wonders,* and even to call for *fire from heaven,* as Elias did. His impostures too are so successful, that (ver. 14.) "he deceiveth them that dwell on the earth, by the means of those miracles which he hath power to do." In this respect he perfectly resembles St. Paul's *man of sin,* (2 Thess. ii. 9.) "whose coming is after the working of Satan, with all power, and signs, and lying wonders, and with all deceivableness of unrighteousness:" or rather they are one and the same character represented in different lights, and under different names. It is farther observable, that he is said to perform his miracles, "in the sight of men" in order to deceive them, and "in the sight of the beast" in order to serve him: but not *in the sight of God* to serve his cause, or promote his religion. Now miracles, visions, and revelations are the mighty boast of the church of Rome; the contrivances of an artful cunning clergy to impose upon an ignorant credulous laity. Even *fire* is pretended to *come down from heaven,* as in the case of St. Anthony's fire, and other instances cited by Brightman[8] and other writers on the Revelation; and in solemn excommunications, which are called the *thunders* of the church, and are performed with the ceremony of casting down burning torches from on high, as symbols and emblems of *fire from heaven.* Miracles are thought so necessary and essential, that they are reckoned among the notes of the catholic church: and they are alleged principally in support of purgatory, prayers for the dead, the worship of saints, images, and relics, and the like (as they are called) catholic doctrines. But if these miracles were all real, we learn from hence what opinion we ought to frame of them; and what then shall she say, if they are all fictions and counterfeits? They are indeed so far from being any proofs of the true church, that they are rather a proof of a false one; they are, as we see, the distinguishing mark of Antichrist.

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[7] Whiston's Essay on the Rev. Part 3. Vision 5.

The influence of the two-horned beast or corrupted clergy is farther seen in persuading and inducing mankind (ver. 14.) to "make an image to the beast, which had the wound by a sword and did live;" that is, an image and representative of the Roman empire, which was wounded by the sword of the barbarous nations, and revived in the revival of a new emperor of the west. "He had *also* power (ver. 15.) to give life *and activity* unto the image of the beast." It should not be a dumb and lifeless idol, but should *speak* and deliver oracles, as the statues of the heathen gods were feigned to do, and should *cause to be killed as many as would not worship* and obey it. Some by this *image of the beast*[9] understand 'the rise of the new empire of Charlemagne, which was an image of the old Roman empire, and is now become the empire of Germany:' but this is *the beast* himself, who "had the wound by a sword and did live," and not *the image of the beast;* the rise of this new empire was the healing of his deadly wound, by which he lived again. Others more probably [1] conceive, that this *image of the beast* is 'the office of inquisition, which was introduced among the blind vulgar, as a popular scheme, and warmly recommended by the Dominican and Franciscan monks, at first without any *voice* of command, or *power* of execution; till courts were erected independant of bishops; and judges, officers, familiars, prisons, and tormentors were appointed, who should put to exquisite punishments, and deliver over to a cruel death all that would not submit with an implicit obedience:' but the office of inquisition is established only in some particular popish countries, and this belongs and extends to all in general. "As many as would not worship the image of the beast, the image of the beast should cause to be killed:" but there are many Papists who do not receive and own the authority of the inquisition, and yet the inquisition doth not attempt to destroy and extirpate all such Papists. What appears most probable is, that this *image* and representative *of the beast* is the pope. He is properly *the idol* of the church. He represents in himself the whole power of the beast, and is the head of all authority temporal as well as spiritual. He is nothing more than a private person, without power and without authority, till the two-horned beast or the corrupted clergy by choosing him pope *give life* unto him, and enable him to *speak* and utter his decrees, and to *persecute even to death as many as refuse* to submit to him and *to worship him*. As soon as he is chosen pope, he is clothed with the pontifical robes, and crowned and placed upon the altar, and the cardinals come and kiss his feet, which ceremony is called *adoration*. They first elect, and then they worship him; as in the medals of Martin V.,[2] where two are represented crowning the pope, and two kneeling before him with this inscription 'Quem creant adorant.' *Whom they create they adore.* He is the principle of unity to the ten kingdoms of the beast, and causeth, as far as he is able, all who will not acknowledge his supremacy, to be put to death. In short he is the most perfect likeness and resemblance of the ancient Roman emperors, is as great a tyrant in the Christian world as they were in the heathen world, presides in the same city, usurps the same powers, affects the same titles, and requires the same universal homage and adoration. So that the prophecy descends more and more into particulars, from the Roman state or ten kingdoms in general, to the Roman church or clergy in particular, and still more particularly to the person of the pope, the head of the state as well as of the church, the king of kings as well as bishop of bishops.

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[8] Vide Brightman, et Poli Synops. in loc.

[9] Limborch. Theol. Christ. l. 7. c. 11. § 16. Lord Napier in loc. Whiston's Essay on the Rev. Part 3. Vision 6.

[1] Vitring. in loc. Mann's Critical Notes on some Passages of Scripture, p. 121.

Other offices the false prophet performs to the beast in subjecting all sorts of people to his obedience, by imposing certain terms of communion, and excommunicating all who dare in the least article to dissent from them, (ver. 16, 17.) "He causeth all, both small and great, rich and poor, free and bond (of whatsoever rank and condition they be) to receive a mark in their right hand, or in their foreheads:" And he will not permit any man to "buy or sell," or partake of the common intercourses of life, who hath not "the mark, or the name of the beast, or the number of his name." We must understand, that it was [3] customary among the ancients, for servants to receive the mark of their master, and soldiers of their general, and those who were devoted to any particular deity, of the particular deity to whom they were devoted. These marks were usually impressed *on their right hand* or *on their foreheads:* and consisted of some hieroglyphic characters, or of the name expressed in vulgar letters, or of the name disguised in numerical letters, according to the fancy of the imposer. It is in allusion to this ancient practice and custom, that the symbol and profession of faith in the church of Rome, as subserving to superstition, idolatry, and tyranny, is called *the mark* or *character of the beast;* which character is said to be received *in their forehead*, when they make open and public declaration of their faith, and *in their right hand*, when they live and act in conformity to it. If any dissent from the stated and authorized forms, they are condemned and excommunicated as heretics; and in consequence of that they are no longer suffered to *buy or sell;* they are interdicted from traffic and commerce, and all the benefits of civil society. So Roger Hoveden [4] relates of William the Conqueror, that he was so dutiful to the pope, that, 'he would not permit any man in his power to *buy or sell* any thing, whom he found disobedient to the apostolic see.' So the canon of the council of Lateran under Pope Alexander the Third, made against the Waldenses and Albigenses, [5] enjoins upon pain of anathema, that 'no man presume to entertain or cherish them in his house or land, or *exercise traffic* with them.' The synod of Tours in France, under the same pope,[6] orders under the like intermination, that 'no man should presume to receive or assist them, no not so much as to hold any communion with them in *selling or buying*, that, being deprived of the comfort of humanity, they may be compelled to repent of the error of their way.' Pope Martin V., in his bull set out after the council of Constance, [7] commands in like manner, that 'they permit not the heretics to have houses in their districts, or enter into contracts, or carry on commerce, or enjoy the comforts of humanity with Christians.' In this respect, as Mede observes, the false prophet *spake as the dragon.* For the dragon Diocletian published a like edict,[8] that no one should sell or administer any thing to the Christians, unless they had first burnt incense to the gods, as Bede also rehearseth in the hymn of Justin Martyr; 'They had not the power of buying or selling any thing, nor were they allowed the liberty of drawing water itself, before they had offered incense to detestable idols.' Popish excommunications are therefore like heathen persecutions: and how large a share the corrupted clergy, and especially the monks of former, and the Jesuits of later times, have had in framing and enforcing such cruel interdicts, and in reducing all orders and degrees to so servile a state of subjection, no man of the least reading can want to be informed.

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[2] Bonanni Numismat. Pontific. Romanor. Daubuz, p. 582.

[3] Vide Grot. in loc. Cleric. in Levit. xix. 28. et supra omnes Spencerum de Legibus Hebræorum Ritualibus, l. 2. c. 20. § 1, 3, 4.

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[4] 'Ut neminem in sua potestate aliquid *emere aut vendere* permiserit, quem apostolicæ sedi deprehenderit inobedientem.' Ex Usserio de success. Eccles. c. 7. § 7. apud Vitring. p. 624. et apud Daubuz, p. 599.

[5] 'Ne quis eos in domo vel in terra sua tenere, vel fovere, vel *negotiationem* cum iis *exercere* præsumat.' Ex tom. 4. Concil. edit. Rom. A. 1612. p. 37. apud Medum, p. 509. apud Vitring. p. 624. et apud Daubuz, p. 508.

[6] 'Ne ubi cogniti fuerint illius hæreseos sectatores, receptaculum iis quisquam in terra sua præbere, aut præsidium impertiri præsumat; sed nec in *venditione aut emptione* aliqua cum iis communio habeatur, ut solatio saltem humanitatis amisso, ab errore viæ suæ resipiscere cogantur.' Ex Usserio de success. Eccles. c. 8. § 26. apud Medum et Vitring. et Daubuz, ibid.

[7] 'Ne hereticos in suis districtibus domicilia tenere, contractus inire, negotiationes exercere, aut humanitatis solatia cum Christianis habere permittant.' Ex Pareo apud Daubuz, p. 598.

Mention having been made of *the number of the beast* or *the number of his name* (for they are both the same), the prophet proceeds to inform us what that number is, leaving us from the number to collect the name. (ver. 18.) "Here is wisdom. Let him that hath understanding count the number of the beast." It is not therefore a vain and ridiculous attempt to search into this mystery, but on the contrary is recommended to us upon the authority of an apostle. "For it is the number of a man," it is a method of numbering practised among men; as "the measure of a man" (xxi. 17.), is such a measure as men commonly make use of in measuring. It was a method practised among the ancients, to denote names by numbers; as the name of *Thouth*, or the Egyptian Mercury, was signified by the number 1218;[9] the name of Jupiter, as Ἡ Ἀρχὴ or *The beginning of things*, by the number 737; and the name of the sun, as ἠῢς *good*, or ὗης *the author of rain*, by the number 608. St. Barnabas, the companion of St. Paul, in his[1] epistle discovers in like manner the name of Jesus crucified in the number 318: and other instances might be produced, if there was occasion. It hath been the usual method in all God's dispensations, for the Holy Spirit to accommodate his expressions to the customs, fashions, und manners of the several ages. Since then this art and mystery of numbers was so much used among the ancients, it is less wonderful that the beast also should have his number, "and his number is six hundred and sixty-six." Here only the number is specified; and from the number we must, as well as we can, collect the name. Several names possibly might be cited, which contain this number; but it is evident, that it must be some Greek or Hebrew name; and with the name also the other qualities and properties of the beast must all agree. The name alone will not constitute an agreement; all other particulars must be perfectly applicable, and the name also must comprehend the precise number of 666. No name appears more proper and suitable than that famous one mentioned by Irenæus, who lived not long after St. John's time, and was the disciple of Polycarp, the disciple of John. He saith,[2] that 'the name *Lateinos* contains the number of 666; and it is very likely, because the last kingdom is so called, for they are Latins who now reign: but in this we will not glory:' that is, as it becomes a modest and pious man in a point of such difficulty, he will not be too confident of his explication. Lateinos with ei is the true orthography, as the Greeks wrote the long i of the Latins, and as the Latins themselves wrote in former times.[3] No objection therefore can be drawn from the spelling of the name, and the thing agrees to admiration. For after the division of the empire, the Greeks and other orientalists called the people of the western church or church of Rome, *Latins:* and as Dr. Henry Moore expresseth it,[4] they *latinize* in every thing. Mass, prayers, hymns, litanies, canons, decretals, bulls, are conceived in Latin. The papal councils speak Latin. Women themselves pray in Latin. Nor is the Scripture read in any other language under popery, than Latin. Wherefore the council of Trent commanded the vulgar Latin to be the only authentic version. Nor do their doctors doubt to prefer it to the Hebrew and Greek text itself, which was written by the prophets and apostles. In short all things are Latin; the pope having communicated his language to the people under his dominion, as the mark and character of his empire. They themselves indeed choose rather to be called *Romans*, and more absurdly still *Roman Catholics*: and probably the apostle, as he hath made use of some Hebrew names in this book, as *Abaddon* (ix. 11.), and *Armageddon* (xvi. 16.), so might in this place likewise allude to the name in the Hebrew language. Now *Romiith* is the[5] Hebrew name for the *Roman beast* or *Roman kingdom*: and this word, as well as the former word *Lateinos*, contains the just and exact number of 666. It is really surprising that there should be such a fatal coincidence in both names in both languages. Mr. Pyle asserts,[6] and I believe he may assert very truly, that ‘ no other word, in any language whatever, can be found to express both the same *number*, and the same *thing*.’

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[8] 'Et quid? nonne hic quoque loquitur pseudo-propheta *ut draco?* Draco enim Diocletianus simile edictum edidit, ne quis quidquam Christianis venderet aut subministraret, nisi prius thura diis adolevissent: de quo in hymno Justini Martyris ita canit Beda:

Non illis emendi quidquam
Aut vendendi copia:
Nec ipsam haurire aquam
Dabatur licentia,
Antequam thurificarent
Detestandis idolis.'

Mede, p. 509.

[9] Vide Martiani Capellæ de Nuptiis Philologiæ et Mercurii. l. 2 et 7, in init. Daubuz, p. 605. Selden's Works, vol. 3. part 2. col. 1402. Of the number 666

Θ —— 9
ω —— 800
υ —— 400
θ —— 9
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1218

Η —— 8
Α —— 1
ϱ —— 120
χ —— 600
η —— 8
——
737

η —— 8
υ —— 400
ϛ —— 200
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608

[1] Vide S. Barnabæ Epist. c. 9. The name of Jesus was wrote thus abbreviated ΙΗΤ, ΙΗ the two first letters of the name, and Τ as the mark of his cross.

Ι —— 10
Η —— 8
Τ —— 300
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318

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[2] 'Sed et LATEINOS nomen habet sexcentorum sexaginta sex numerum: et valde verisimile est, quoniam novissimum regnum hoc habet vocabulum. Latini enim sunt qui nunc regnant; sed non in hoc nos gloriabimur.' Iren. l. 5. c. 30.

[3] So Ennius, l. vi. 26.

'Quorum virtutei bellei fortuna pepercit,
Horundem me leibertatei parcere certum est:'

and there are infinite examples besides.

[4] Moore's Mystery of Iniquity, part 2. b. 1. c. 15. § 8. et Petri Molinæi Vates, p. 500, &c. 'Missa, preces, hymni, litaniæ, canones, decreta, bullæ, Latine conceptæ sunt. Concilia papalia Latine loquuntur. Ipsæ Mulierculæ precantur Latine. Nec alio sermone scriptura legitur sub papismo quam Latino. Quapropter Concilium Tridentinum jussit solam versionem vulgatam Latinam esse authenticam. Nec dubitant doctores eam præferre ipsi textui Hebraico et Græco, ab ipsis apostolis et prophetis exarato. Denique sunt omnia Latina; nempe Papa populis a se subactis dedit suam linguam, ut sui imperii notam et characterem.'

Chap. XIV. (1) “ And I looked, and lo, a Lamb stood on the mount Sion, and with him an hundred forty and four thousand, having his Father’s name written in their foreheads. (2) And I heard a voice from heaven, as the voice of many waters, and as the voice of a great thunder: and I heard the voice of harpers harping with their harps: (3) And they sung as it were a new song before the throne, and before the four beasts, and the elders; and no man could learn that song, but the hundred and forty *and* four thousand, which were redeemed from the earth. (4) These are they which were not defiled with women; for they are virgins: these are they which follow the Lamb whithersoever he goeth: these were redeemed from among men, *being* the first-fruits unto God, and to the Lamb. (5) And in their mouth was found no guile; for they are without fault before the throne of God.”

After this melancholy account of the rise and reign of the beast, the Spirit of prophecy delineates, by way of opposition, the state of the true church during the same period, its struggles and contests with the beast, and the judgments of God upon its enemies. Our Saviour is seen (ver. 1.) as the true *Lamb* of God, not only with horns like a lamb, "*standing* on the mount Sion," the place of God's true worship; "and with him an hundred forty and four thousand," the same select number that was mentioned before (vii. 4.), the genuine offspring of the twelve apostles apostolically multiplied, and therefore the number of the church, as 666 is the number of the beast; and as the followers of the beast have the name of the beast, so these have *the name of God,* and as some copies add *of Christ,* "written in their foreheads," being his professed servants, and the same as *the witnesses,* only represented under different figures. The angels and heavenly choir (ver. 2, 3.) with loud voices and instruments of music sing the same *new song* or Christian song that they sung before (chap. v.): "and no man could learn that song, but the hundred and forty and four thousand;" they alone are the worshippers of the one true God through the one true mediator Jesus Christ; all the rest of mankind offer up their devotions to other objects, and through other mediators. "These are they which were not defiled with women, for they are virgins" (ver. 4.), they are pure from all the stains and pollutions of spiritual whoredom or idolatry, with which the other parts of the world are miserably debauched and corrupted. "These are they which follow the Lamb whithersoever he goeth," they adhere constantly to the religion of Christ in all conditions and in all places, whether in adversity or prosperity, whether in conventicles or deserts, or in churches or cities. "These were redeemed from among men," rescued from the corruptions of the world, and are consecrated as "the first fruits unto God and the Lamb," an earnest and assurance of a more plentiful harvest in succeeding times. "And in their mouth was found no guile" (ver. 5.); they "handle not the word of God deceitfully," they preach the sincere doctrine of Christ, they are as free from hypocrisy as from idolatry; "for they are without fault before the throne of God," they resemble their blessed Redeemer, "who (1 Pet. ii. 22.) did no sin, neither was guile found in his mouth;" and are, as the apostle requires Christians to be, (Philip. ii. 15.) "blameless and harmless, the sons of God without rebuke, in the midst of a crooked and perverse nation." But possibly it may be asked, Where did such a church ever exist, especially before the Reformation: and it may be replied that it hath not existed only in idea; history demonstrates, as it hath been before evinced, that there have in every age been some true worshippers of God, and faithful servants of Jesus Christ; and as Elijah did not know the seven thousand men who had never bowed the knee to Baal, so there may have been more true Christians than were always visible.

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[5] רומי *Romi* masc. רומיית Romiith fem. to agree with חיה *beast* or מלכות *kingdom*.

Λ—— 30
Α—— 1
Τ——300
Ε—— 5
Ι—— 10
Ν—— 50
Ο—— 70
Σ——200
———
666

ר——200
ו—— 6
מ—— 40
י—— 10
י—— 10
ת——400
———
666

[6] See Pyle’s Paraphrase, p. 104.

(6) "And I saw another angel fly in the midst of heaven, having the everlasting gospel to preach unto them that dwell on the earth, and to every nation, and kindred, and tongue, and people, (7) Saying with a loud voice, Fear God, and give glory to him, for the hour of his judgment is come: and worship him that made heaven and earth, and the sea, and the fountains of waters."

Such is the nature and character of the true Christian church, in opposition to the wicked antichristian kingdom; and three principal efforts have been made towards a reformation at three different times, represented by three angels appearing one after another. *Another angel* (ver. 9.), besides those who were employed in singing (ver. 3.), is seen "*flying* in the midst of heaven, *and* having the everlasting gospel to preach unto every nation and people;" so that during this period the gospel should still be preached, which is styled *the everlasting gospel*, being like its divine author (Heb. xiii. 8.) "the same yesterday, and to-day, and for ever," in opposition to the novel doctrines of the beast and the false prophet, which (Matt. xv. 13.) "shall be rooted up as plants not of the heavenly Father's planting." This angel is farther represented (ver. 7.) "saying with a loud voice, Fear God, and give glory to him, for the hour of his judgment is come." Prophecy mentions things as *come*, which will certainly come: and so our Saviour said (John xii. 31.) "Now is the judgment of this world;" it is denounced with certainty now, and in due time will be fully executed. But what this angel more particularly recommends, is the worship of the great Creator of the universe, "Worship him that made heaven and earth, and the sea, and the fountains of waters." It is a solemn and emphatic exhortation to forsake the reigning idolatry and superstition, and such exhortations were made even in the first and earliest times of the beast. Besides several of the Greek emperors who strenuously opposed the worship of images, Charlemagne himself[7] held a council at Francfort, in the year 794, consisting of about 300 French, and German, and Italian, and Spanish, and British bishops, who condemned all sort of adoration or worship of images, and rejected the second council of Nice, which had authorised and established it. At the same time *the Carolin books*, as they are called, four books written by Charles himself or by his authority, proving the worship of images to be contrary to the Scripture and to the doctrine and practice of antiquity, were approved by the council, and transmitted to the pope. Lewis the Pious, the son and successor of Charles, held a council at Paris in the year 824, which ratified the acts of the council of Francfort and the Carolin books, and affirmed that according to the Scripture and the fathers, adoration was due to God alone.[8] Several private persons also taught and asserted the same scriptural doctrines. Claude, bishop of Turin,[9] declares that 'we are not commanded to go to the creature, that we may be made happy, but to the Creator himself: and therefore we should not worship dead men; they are to be imitated, not to be adored: let us together with the angels worship one God.' Agobard, archbishop of Lyons,[1] wrote a whole book against images, and says that 'angels or saints may be loved and honoured, but not be served and worshipped: let us not put our trust in man, but in God, lest that prophetic denunciation should redound on us, "Cursed is the man, who trusteth in man."' Many other[2] bishops and writers of Britain, Spain, Italy, Germany, and France, professed the same sentiments; and this public opposition of emperors and bishops to the worship of saints and images in the eighth and ninth centuries appears to be meant particularly by the *loud voice of* this first *angel flying aloft*, and calling upon the world *to worship God*. In another respect too these emperors and bishops resemble this *angel* "having the everlasting gospel to preach unto every nation;" for in their time, and greatly by their means,[3] the Christian religion was propagated and established among the Saxons, Danes, Swedes, and many other northern nations.

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[7] Fred. Spanhemii Hist. Christian Sæc. 8. c. 7 et 9. Dupin. Bib. Ecclesiast. tom. 6. passim. Voltaire's Annals of the Empire, Ann. 794.

(8) "And there followed another angel, saying, Babylon is fallen, is fallen, that great city, because she made all nations drink of the wine of the wrath of her fornication."

As the admonitions of the first angel had not the proper effect upon the kingdom of the beast, the second angel is commissioned to proclaim the fall of the capital city, (ver. 8.) "And there followed another angel, saying, Babylon is fallen, is fallen, that great city." By *Babylon* was meant *Rome*, as all authors of all ages and countries agree: but it was not prudent to denounce the destruction of Rome in open and direct terms: it was for many wise reasons done covertly under the name of

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[8] Spanh ib. Sæc. 9. c. 12. § 2. et Hist. Imag. Rest. § 9. Dupin. ibid. tom. 7. c. 1.

[9] 'Non jubemur ad creaturam tendere, ut efficiamur beati, sed ad ipsum creatorem. Et ideo non sit nobis religio cultus hominum mortuorum; honorandi sunt propter imitationem, non adorandi propter religionem: unum cum angelis colamus Deum.' Apud Spanhem. ib. Sæc. 9. c. 9. § 7. Vide etiam Dupin. ibid. et Cave Hist. Litt. ad Ann. 820.

[1] 'Angeli, vel homines sancti, amentur, honorentur, charitate, non servitute: non ponamus spem nostram in homine, sed in Deo, ne forte redundet in nos illud propheticum, Maledictus homo qui confidit in homine. Lib. de Imag. c. 30. apud Spanhem. ibid. Vide etiam Dupin. ibid. Cave, ibid. an Ann. 813.

[2] Spanhem. ibid. § 3. Usserius de Eccles. Christian. successione et statu, c. 2. Allix's Remarks upon the ancient churches of the Albigenses, chap. 8 et 9.

[3] Spanhem. ibid. c. 2.

Babylon, which was the great idolatress of the earth, and enemy of the people of God in former, as Rome hath been in latter times. By the same figure of speech, that the first angel cried that "the hour of his judgment is come," this second angel proclaims that "Babylon is fallen;" the sentence is as certain, as if it was already executed. For greater certainty too it is repeated twice, "Babylon is fallen, is fallen;" as Joseph said (Gen. xli. 32.) "that the dream was doubled unto Pharaoh twice, because the thing is established by God, and God will shortly bring it to pass." The reason then is added of this sentence against Babylon, "because she made all nations drink of the wine of the wrath (or rather *of the inflaming wine*) of her fornication." Hers was a kind of Circéan cup with poisoned liquor, to intoxicate and inflame mankind to spiritual fornication. St. John in these figures copies the ancient prophets. In the same manner, and in the same words, did Isaiah foretel the fate of ancient Babylon, (xxi. 9.) "Babylon is fallen, is fallen:" and Jeremiah hath assigned much the same reason for her destruction, (li. 7.) "Babylon hath been a golden cup in the Lord's hand, that made all the earth drunken: the nations have drunken of her wine: therefore the nations are mad." As by the first angel calling upon men to worship God, we understand the opposers of the worship of images in the eighth and ninth centuries, so by this second angel proclaiming the fall of mystic Babylon or Rome, we understand particularly Peter Valdo,[4] and those who concurred with him, the Waldenses and Albigenses; who were the first heralds, as I may say, of this proclamation, as they first of all in the twelfth century pronounced the church of Rome to be the apocalyptic *Babylon, the mother of harlots and abominations of the earth;* and for this cause not only departed from her communion themselves, but engaged great numbers also to follow their example, and laid the first foundation of the Reformation. Rome then began to fall; and as the ruin of Babylon was completed by degrees, so likewise will that of Rome; and these holy confessors and martyrs first paved the way to it.

(9) "And the third angel followed them, saying with a loud voice, If any man worship the beast and his image, and receive *his* mark in his forehead, or in his hand, (10) The same shall drink of the wine of the wrath of God, which is poured out without mixture into the cup of his indignation; and he shall be tormented with fire and brimstone, in the presence of the

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[4] Mede, p. 517. 722, &c. Fred. Spanhem. Hist. Christian. Sæc. 12. c. 6.—'recessisse a doctrina et praxi recepta Romanæ ecclesiæ, nuncupasse eam *Babylonem*, ac confusionis omnis matrem, &c.' § 4. Thuani Hist. l. 6. c. 16. 'Eorum hæc dogmata ferebantur; Ecclesiam Romanam, quoniam veræ Christi fidei renunciaverit, *Babylonicam meretricem esse*, &c.'

holy angels, and in the presence of the Lamb: (11) And the smoke of their torment ascendeth up for ever and ever, and they have no rest day nor night, who worship the beast and his image, and whosoever receiveth the mark of his name. (12) Here is the patience of the saints: here *are* they that keep the commandments of God, and the faith of Jesus. (13) And I heard a voice from heaven, saying unto me, Write, Blessed *are* the dead which die in the Lord, from henceforth, Yea, saith the Spirit, that they may rest from their labours, and their works do follow them.'

But not only the capital city, not only the principal agents and promoters of idolatry; the commission of the third angel reached farther, and extends to all the subjects of the beast, whom he consigns over to everlasting punishment, (ver. 9, 10, 11.) "And the third angel followed them, saying with a loud voice, If any man worship the beast and his image, and receive his mark in his forehead or in his hand," if any man embrace and profess the religion of the beast, or what is the same, the religion of the Pope; "the same shall drink of the wine of the wrath of God," or rather *of the poisonous wine of God.* His punishment shall correspond with his crime. As he drank of the *poisonous wine* of Babylon, so he shall be made to drink of *the poisonous wine* of God, *τοῦ κεκερασμένου ἀκράτου,* "which is poured out without mixture," or rather *which is mixed unmixed,* the poisonous ingredients being stronger when mixed with mere or unmixed wine, "in the cup of his indignation; and he shall be tormented day and night for ever and ever." By this *third angel following the others with a loud voice* we understand principally Martin Luther and his fellow-reformers, who *with a loud voice* protested against all the corruptions of the church of Rome, and declared them to be destructive of salvation to all who still obstinately continue in the practice and profession of them. This would be a time of great trial, (ver. 12.) "Here is the patience of the saints; here are they that keep the commandments of God, and the faith of Jesus." And it is very well known, that this was a time of great trial and persecution; the Reformation was not introduced and established without much bloodshed; there were many martyrs in every country. But they are comforted with a solemn declaration from heaven, (ver. 13.) "And I heard a voice from heaven saying unto me, Write, Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord, from henceforth," if they die in the faith and obedience of Christ, and more especially if they die martyrs for his sake: "Yea, saith the Spirit, that they may rest from their labours," for immediately upon their deaths they enter into rest; "and their works do follow them," they enjoy now some recompense, and in due time, at the day of judgment, they shall receive the full reward of their good works. It is most probable that St. John alluded is a passage in Isaiah, where the Spirit hath made the like declaration; (lvii. 1, 2.) "The righteous perisheth, and no man layeth it to heart; and merciful men are taken away, none considering that the righteous is taken away from the evil to come: He shall enter into peace: they shall rest in their beds, each one walking in his uprightness." But the greatest difficulty of all is to account for the words *from henceforth;* for why should *the blessedness of the dead who die in the Lord* be restrained to this time, and commence from this period rather than from any other, when they are at all times and in all periods equally blessed, and not more since this time than before? Commentators are here very much at loss, and offer little or nothing that is satisfactory: but the difficulty in great measure ceases, if we apply this prophecy, as I think it should be applied, to the Reformation. For from that time, though *the blessedness of the dead who die in the Lord* hath not been enlarged, yet it hath been much better understood, more clearly *written* and promulgated than it was before, and the contrary doctrine of purgatory hath been exploded and banished from the belief of all reasonable men. This truth was moreover one of the leading principles of the Reformation. What first provoked Luther's spirit was the scandalous sale of indulgences; and the doctrine of indulgences having a close connexion with the doctrine of purgatory, the refutation of the one naturally led him to the refutation of the other; and his[5] first work of reformation was his ninety-five theses or positions against indulgences, purgatory, and the dependent doctrines. So that he may be said literally to have fulfilled the command from heaven, of *writing*, "Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord, from henceforth:" and from that time to this this truth hath been so clearly asserted, and so solidly established, that it is likely to prevail for ever.

A learned and ingenious friend refers these three proclamations of the three angels to later times, and supposes that they are an immediate prelude to the fall of Antichrist and the millennium. But the clue that has principally conducted me through both parts of the Revelation is following the series of history and the successive order of events. After the description of the two beasts, secular and ecclesiastical, whose power was established according to my hypothesis in the eighth century, but according to most commentators much sooner, there would be a very large chasm without the prediction of any memorable events, if these prophecies relate to the time immediately preceding the fall of Antichrist and the millennium. What a long interval would that be without any prophecy? and how thick would the events follow afterward? for all the particulars not only of this 14th, but likewise of the 16th, 18th, and 19th chapters, must be fulfilled before the commencement of the millennium. I can hardly frame, even in imagination, any events which can answer more exactly to these proclamations of the three angels than the three principal efforts towards a reformation. Charlemagne, Valdo, Luther, and their followers, certainly deserve as exalted characters as are here given them: and it would be very strange that there should be so many prophecies relating to the downfall of popery, and yet none concerning the Reformation. He conceives that the church cannot be represented in such an attitude of triumph and jubilation, as it is in the former part of this chapter, while it is afflicted and persecuted during the reign of the beast. But the church of this period is not drawn in such an attitude of triumph and jubilation as he imagines; there are some intimations of its suffering persecution in this very chapter: and if it was as he imagines, yet why may not the true church be represented like the apostles and primitive Christians as "sorrowful yet always rejoicing," as "rejoicing in tribulation," as "exceeding joyful in tribulation," &c.? He farther conceives, that the dead are *blessed from henceforth*, because they will remain a shorter time in the separate state, and be sooner raised again. But why then is not that reason assigned but quite different ones, "that they may rest from their labours, and their works do follow them?" These are reasons which hold equally good at all times, and cannot be restrained and limited to any particular time: and therefore I conceive that the words *from henceforth* relate not so much to *the blessedness of the dead*, which is always the same, as to the *writing* and promulgating of this doctrine by Luther and the Protestant reformers.

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[5] Sleidan's Hist. of the Reformation, b. 1. Ann. 1517. Father Paul's Hist. of the Council of Trent, b. 1. § 18. Spanhem. Hist. Christian. Sæc. 16. c. 6. § 1.

(14) "And I looked, and behold, a white cloud, and upon the cloud *one* sat, like unto the Son of man, having on his head a golden crown, and in his hand a sharp sickle. (15) And another angel came out of the temple, crying with a loud voice to him that sat on the cloud, Thrust in thy sickle, and reap: for the time is come for thee to reap; for the harvest of the earth is ripe. (16) And he that sat on the cloud, thrust in his sickle on the earth; and the earth was reaped. (17) And another angel came out of the temple which is in heaven, he also having a sharp sickle. (18) And another angel came out from the altar, which had power over fire; and cried with a loud cry to him that had the sharp sickle, saying, Thrust in thy sharp sickle, and gather the clusters of the vine of the earth; for her

grapes are fully ripe. (19) And the angel thrust in his sickle into the earth, and gathered the vine of the earth, and cast *it* into the great wine-press of the wrath of God. (20) And the wine-press was trodden without the city, and blood came out of the wine-press, even unto the horse-bridles, by the space of a thousand *and* six hundred furlongs."

But still the voices of these three warning angels not having their due influence and effect, the judgments of God will overtake the followers and adherents of the beast, which judgments are represented under the figures of *harvest* and *vintage* (ver. 14—20.); figures not unusual in the prophets, and copied particularly from the prophet Joel, who denounced God's judgments against the enemies of his people in the like terms, (iii. 13.) "Put ye in the sickle, for the harvest is ripe; come, get you down, for the press is full, the fats overflow, for their wickedness is great." What particular events are signified by this *harvest* and *vintage*, it appears impossible for any man to determine, time alone can with certainty discover, for these things are yet in futurity. Only it may be observed, that these two signal judgments will as certainly come, as harvest and vintage succeed in their season; and in the course of providence the one will precede the other, as in the course of nature the harvest is before the vintage; and the latter will greatly surpass the former, and be attended with a more terrible destruction of God's enemies. It is said (ver. 20.) that "the blood came even unto the horse-bridles," which is a strong hyberbolical way of speaking to express vast slaughter and effusion of blood; a way of speaking not unknown to the Jews, for[6] the Jerusalem Talmud describing the woeful slaughter, which the Roman emperor Adrian made of the Jews at the destruction of the city of Bitter, saith that 'the horses waded in blood up to the nostrils.' Nor are similar examples wanting even in the classic authors: for[7] Silius Italicus, speaking of Annibal's descent into Italy, useth a like expression of 'the bridles flowing with much blood.' The stage where this bloody tragedy is acted, is "without the city, by the space of a thousand and six hundred furlongs," which, as Mr. Mede[8] ingeniously observes, is the measure of stato della chiesa, or the state of the Roman church, or St. Peter's patrimony, which reaching from the walls of Rome unto the river Po and the marshes of Verona, contains the space of 200 Italian miles, which make exactly 1600 furlongs.

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[6] In Taanith fol. 69. col. 1. Lightfoot's Harmony of the N. T. in locum. Vide etiam Echa R. ii. 2. 'Tribus annis cum dimidio obsedit Adrianus Bitterem,—nec cessarunt in ea interficientes, donec mergeretur equus in sanguine usque ad os, &c.' apud Westein in loc.

[7] Sil. Ital. iii. 705.
—'multoque fluentia sanguine lora.'

[8] —'In vicino item locus est cui dictus stadiorum numerus perinde convenit: puta *stato della chiesa*, seu ecclesiæ Romanæ latifundium, quod ab urbe Roma usque ad ultimum Padi ostium et Paludes Veronenses porrigitur spatio milliarium Italicorum ducentorum, id est, stadiorum 1600.' Mede, p. 522.

CHAP. XV.—(1) "And I saw another sign in heaven, great and marvellous, seven angels having the seven last plagues, for in them is filled up the wrath of God. (2) And I saw as it were a sea of glass, mingled with fire; and them that had gotten the victory over the beast, and over his image, and over his mark, *and* over the number of his name, stand on the sea of glass, having the harps of God. (3) And they sing the song of Moses the servant of God, and the song of the Lamb, saying, Great and marvellous are thy works, Lord God Almighty; just and true *are* thy ways, thou king of saints. (4) Who shall not fear thee, O Lord, and glorify thy name? for *thou* only *art* holy: for all nations shall come and worship before thee; for thy judgments are made manifest. (5) And after that I looked, and behold, the temple of the tabernacle of the testimony in heaven was opened: (6) And the seven angels came out of the temple, having the seven plagues, clothed in pure and white linen, and having their breasts girded with golden girdles. (7) And one of the four beasts gave unto the seven angels, seven golden vials full of the wrath of God, who liveth for ever and ever. (8) And the temple was filled with smoke from the glory of God, and from his power, and no man was able to enter into the temple, till the seven plagues of the seven angels were fulfilled."

God's judgments upon the kingdom of the beast, or antichristian empire, are hitherto denounced, and described in general terms, under the figures of *harvest* and *vintage*. A more particular account of them follows under the emblem of *seven vials*, which are called (ver. 1.) "the seven last plagues, for in them is filled up the wrath of God." These seven last plagues must necessarily fall under the seventh and last trumpet, or the third and last woe-trumpet; so that as the seventh seal contained the seven trumpets, the seventh trumpet comprehends the seven vials. Not only the concinnity of the prophecy requires this order; for otherwise there would be great confusion, and the vials would interfere with the trumpets, some falling under one trumpet, and some under another: but moreover, if these seven last plagues and the consequent destruction of Babylon be not the subject of the third woe, the third woe is no where described particularly as are the two former woes. When four of the seven trumpets had sounded, it was declared (viii. 13.) "Woe, woe, woe to the inhabitants of the earth, by reason of the other voices of the trumpet of the three angels which are yet to sound." Accordingly at the sounding of the *fifth* trumpet (ix. 1.) commences the woe of the Saracen or Arabian locusts;

and in the conclusion is added (ver. 12.) "One woe is past, and behold, there come two woes more hereafter." At the sounding of the *sixth* trumpet (ix. 13.) begins the plague of the Euphratean horsemen or Turks; and in the conclusion is added (xi. 14.) "The second woe is past, and behold, the third woe cometh quickly." At the sounding of the *seventh* trumpet therefore (xi. 15, &c.) one would naturally expect the description of the *third woe* to succeed: but as it was before observed, there follows only a short and summary account of the seventh trumpet, and of the joyful rather than of the woeful part of it. A general intimation indeed is given of God's *taking unto him his great power*, and *destroying them who destroy the earth:* but the particulars are reserved for this place; and if these last plagues coincide not with the last woe, there are other plagues and other woes after the last; and how can it be said that "the wrath of God is filled up in them," if there are others besides them? If then these seven last plagues synchronize with the seventh and last trumpet, they are all yet to come; for the sixth trumpet is not yet past, nor the woe of the Turkish or Othman empire yet ended: and consequently there is no possibility of explaining them in such a manner as when the prophecies may be paralleled with histories, or evinced by ocular demonstration. The many fruitless attempts which have hitherto been made to explain them, are a farther proof that they cannot well be explained, the best interpreters having failed and floundered in this part more than any other. But before the vials are poured out, the scene opens with a preparatory vision, which is the subject of this chapter.

As seven angels sounded the seven trumpets, so seven angels are appointed to pour out the seven vials, angels being always the ministers of providence; and in order to shew that these judgments are to fall upon the kingdom of the beast, the true worshippers of God and faithful servants of Jesus, who had escaped *victors from the beast*, νικῶντες ἐκ τοῦ ϑηρίου, and had never submitted to his tyranny or religion, are described (ver. 2, 3, 4.) like unto the children of Israel after their deliverance and escape out of Egypt. For as the children of Israel, (Exod. xv.) having passed through the Red Sea, stood on the shore, and seeing their enemies overwhelmed with the waters, sung the triumphant song of Moses: so these having passed through the fiery trials of this world, "stand on the sea of glass mingled with fire," which was mentioned before (iv. 6.), and seeing the vials ready to be poured out upon their enemies, sing a song of triumph for the manifestation of the divine judgments; which is called "the song of Moses and the song of the Lamb," the words in great measure being taken from the song of Moses and other parts of the Old Testament, and applied in a christian sense. After this "*the most holy place of the temple is* opened" (ver. 5.), "and the seven angels come out of the temple (ver. 6.), to denote that their commission is immediately from God, "clothed" like the high priest, but in a more august manner, "in pure and white linen," to signify the righteousness of these judgments, "and having their breasts girded," to shew their readiness to execute the divine commands, "with golden girdles," as emblems of their power and majesty. A vial then is given unto each of the seven angels (ver. 7.) by *one of the four living creatures,* the representatives of the church; by which it is intimated, that it is in vindication of the church and true religion that these plagues are inflicted. Moreover "the temple *is* filled with smoke from the glory of God and from his power, *so that* no man *is* able to enter into it" (ver. 8.); in the same manner as the tabernacle, when it was consecrated by Moses, and the temple when it was dedicated by Solomon (Exod. xl. 34, 35. 1 Kings viii. 10, 11.), were both filled with a cloud and the glory of the Lord, so that neither Moses nor the priests could enter therein; a farther proof of the majestic presence and extraordinary interposition of God in the execution of these judgments.

Chap. XVI.—(1) "And I heard a great voice out of the temple, saying to the seven angels, Go your ways and pour out the vials of the wrath of God upon the earth."

In obedience to the divine command the seven angels come forth to "pour out the vials of the wrath of God upon the earth:" and as the *trnmpets* were so many steps and degrees of the ruin of the Roman empire, so the *vials* are of the ruin of the Roman church. The one in polity and government is the image of the other; the one is compared to the system of the world, and hath her *earth,* and *sea,* and *rivers,* and *sun,* as well as the other; and this is the reason of the similitude and resemblance of the judgments in both cases. Some resemblance too there is between these plagues, and those of Egypt. Rome papal hath already been distinguished by the title of *spiritual Egypt,* and resembles Egypt in her punishments as well as in her crimes, tyranny, idolatry, and wickedness.

(2) "And the first went, and poured out his vial upon the earth; and there fell a noisome and grievous sore upon the men which had the mark of the beast, and *upon* them which worshipped his image."

Vial the first is "poured out upon the earth;" and so the hail and fire of the first trumpet (viii. 7.) "were cast upon the earth." It produceth "a noisome and grievous sore;" and in this respect resembleth the sixth plague of Egypt, (Exod. ix. 10.) which was "boils breaking forth with blains." This plague is inflicted "upon the men who had the mark of the beast, and upon them who worshipped his image;" which is to be understood of the others also, where it is not expressed Whether these *sores* and *ulcers* are natural or moral, the event must shew.

(3) "And the second angel poured out his vial upon the sea; and it became as the blood of a dead man: and every living soul died in the sea. (4) And the third angel poured out his vial upon the rivers and fountains of waters; and they became blood. (5) And I heard the angel of the waters say, Thou art righteous, O Lord, which art, and wast, and shalt be, because thou hast judged thus: (6) For they have shed the blood of saints and prophets, and thou hast given them blood to drink; for they are worthy. (7) And I heard another out of the altar say, Even so, Lord God Almighty, true and righteous *are* thy judgments."

Vial the second (ver. 3.) is "poured out upon the sea," and the sea becomes "as the blood of a dead man," or *as congealed blood:* and in like manner under the second trumpet (viii. 8.) the burning mountain "was cast into the sea, and the sea became blood." Vial the third (ver. 4.) is "poured out upon the rivers and fountains of waters, and they became blood:" and in like manner under the third trumpet (viii. 10.) the burning star "fell upon the rivers and fountains of waters." There is a close connexion between these two vials; and the effects are similar to the first plague of Egypt, (Exod. vii. 19.) when "the waters of Egypt, *and* their streams, *and* their rivers, *and* their ponds, *and* their pools of water *became* blood." *Seas* and *rivers of blood* manifestly denote great slaughter and devastation: and hereupon (ver. 5, 6.) "the angel of the waters," for it was a prevailing opinion in the east,[9] that a particular angel presided over the waters, as others did over other elements and parts of nature, and mention was made before (xiv. 18.) of *the angel* "who had power over fire;" this angel of the water celebrates the righteous judgments of God in adapting and proportioning the punishment of the followers of the beast to their crime; for no law is more just and equitable, than that they who have been guilty of "*shedding* the blood of saints and prophets," should be punished in the effusion of their own blood. *Another angel out of the altar* (ver. 7.), for (vi. 9.) "under the altar were the souls of them who were slain for the word of God and for the testimony which they held," declares his assent in the most solemn manner, "Even so, Lord God Almighty, true and righteous are thy judgments.

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[9] 'Imò Persæ existimant peculiari angelo demandatum esse tueri aquas, &c.' Hyde de Relig. Vet. Persarum, c. 6. Vide etiam, c. 19.

(8) "And the fourth angel poured out his vial upon the sun; and power was given unto him to scorch men with fire. (9) And men were scorched with great heat, and blasphemed the name of God, which hath power over these plagues: and they repented not to give him glory."

As the fourth trumpet affected *the sun* (viii. 12.); so likewise the fourth vial (ver. 8, 9.) is "poured out upon the sun." An intense heat ensues; "and men *blaspheme* the name of God, and *repent* not to give him glory." Whether by this intense heat of the sun, be meant literally, uncommon sultry seasons, scorching and withering the fruits of the earth, and producing pestilential fever and inflammations; or figuratively, a most tyrannical and exorbitant exercise of arbitrary power by those who may be called *the sun* in the firmament of the beast, the pope or emperor; time must discover. Men shall be tormented, and complain grievously; they shall, like the rebellious Jews (Is. viii. 21.), "fret themselves, and curse their king, and their God, and look upward," look upward not to pray but only to blaspheme; they shall not have the sense or courage to repent, and forsake their idolatry and wickedness. When the events shall take place, and these things shall all be fulfilled, not only these prophecies of the vials shall be better understood, but also those of the trumpets, to which they bear some analogy and resemblance.

(10) "And the fifth angel poured out his vial upon the seat of the beast; and his kingdom was full of darkness, and they gnawed their tongues for pain, (11) And blasphemed the God of heaven, because of their pains and their sores, and repented not of their deeds."

Vial the fifth (ver. 10, 11.) is "poured out upon the seat (or *throne*) of the beast, and his kingdom *becomes* full of darkness," as Egypt did (Exod. x. 21.) under her ninth plague. This is some great calamity which shall fall upon Rome itself, and shall *darken* and confound the whole antichristian empire. But still the consequences of this plague are much the same as those of the foregoing one: for the sufferers, instead of *repenting of their deeds*, are hardened like Pharaoh, and still persist in their blasphemy and idolatry, and obstinately withstand all attempts of reformation.

(12) "And the sixth angel poured out his vial upon the great river Euphrates; and the water thereof was dried up, that the way of the kings of the east might be prepared. (13) And I saw three unclean spirits like frogs *come* out of the

mouth of the dragon, and out of the mouth of the beast, and out of the mouth of the false prophet. (14) For they are the spirits of devils, working miracles, which go forth unto the kings of the earth, and of the whole world, to gather them to the battle of that great day of God Almighty. (15) Behold, I come as a thief. Blessed *is* he that watcheth, and keepeth his garments, lest he walk naked, and they see his shame. (16) And he gathered them together into a place called in the Hebrew tongue Armageddon."

Vial the sixth (ver. 12.) is "poured out upon the great river Euphrates, and the water thereof is dried up, *to prepare a passage* for the kings of the east." Whether by *Euphrates* be meant the river so called, or only a mystic Euphrates, as Rome is mystic *Babylon;* and whether by *the kings of the east* be meant the Jews in particular, or any eastern potentates in general; can be matters only of conjecture, and not of certainty and assurance till the event shall make the determination. Whoever they be, they appear to threaten the ruin and destruction of the kingdom of the beast: and therefore [1] the agents and emissaries of popery, (ver. 13, 14.) *of the dragon,* the representative of the devil, *and of the beast,* the representative of the antichristian empire, *and of the false prophet,* the representative of the antichristian church, as disagreeable, as loquacious, as sordid, as impudent[2] as *frogs,* are employed to oppose them, and stir up the princes and potentates of their communion to make their united and last effort in a religious war. Of necessity these must be times of great trouble and affliction; so that an exhortation is inserted (ver. 15.) by way of parenthesis, of the *suddenness* of these judgments, and of the *blessedness* of *watching,* and of being *clothed* and prepared for all events. Beza conceives that this verse was transferred hither from the 3d chapter, where it should be subjoined to the 18th verse: but the 3d chapter and the 16th chapter are at too great a distance for such a transposition to be made. However, it is certain that this insertion hath in some measure disturbed the sense, and broken the connexion of the discourse; for our translators as well as several others render the following words (ver. 16.) "And he gathered them together," when the true construction is, *And they gathered them together,* the evil spirits and agents before mentioned gather all the forces of the popish princes together, "into a place called in the Hebrew tongue Armageddon," that is, *the mountain of destruction.*

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[1] The *three unclean spirits like frogs,* Mr. Mann conceives to be the Dominicans, Franciscans, and Jesuits. 'Dominicani, Franciscani, et Loyalitæ *tres impuros spiritus ranis similes* non male referunt. M. S.

[2] Vide Bocharti Hieroz. Part. Post. l. 5. c. 4.

(17) "And the seventh angel poured out his vial into the air; and there came a great voice out of the temple of heaven, from the throne, saying, It is done. (18) And there were voices, and thunders, and lightnings; and there was a great earthquake, such as was not since men were upon the earth, so mighty an earthquake *and* so great. (19) And the great city was divided into three parts; and the cities of the nations fell: and great Babylon came into remembrance before God, to give unto her the cup of the wine of the fierceness of his wrath. (20) And every island fled away, and the mountains were not found. (21) And there fell upon men a great hail out of heaven, *every stone* about the weight of a talent: and men blasphemed God because of the plague of the hail; for the plague thereof was exceeding great."

Vial the seventh (ver. 17.) is "poured out into the air," the seat of Satan's residence, who is emphatically styled (Eph. ii. 2.) "the prince of the power of the air," and is represented (ver. 13.) as a principal actor in these latter scenes; so that this last period will not only complete the ruin of the kingdom of the beast, but will also shake the kingdom of Satan every where. Upon the pouring out of this vial a solemn proclamation is made "from the throne" of God himself, "It is done;" in the same sense as the angel before affirmed (x. 7.) that "in the days of the seventh trumpet the mystery of God should be finished." Of this vial, as indeed of all the former, the completion is gradual; and the immediate effects and consequences are (ver. 18—21.) "voices, and thunders, and lightnings, and an earthquake, and great hail." These portend great calamities. *Voices, and thunders, and lightnings,* are the usual attendants of the Deity, especially in his judgments. *Great earthquakes,* in prophetic language, signify great changes and revolutions; and this is such an one as men never felt and experienced before, "such as was not since men were upon the earth." Not only "the great city *is* divided into three parts (or *factions*), but the cities of the nations fall" from their obedience to her. Her sins are *remembered before God,* and like another *Babylon* she will soon be made to drink of the bitter cup of his anger. Nay, not only the works of men, *the cities fall;* but even the works of nature, "the *islands fly* away, and the mountains *are* not found;" which is more than was said before (vi. 14.) that they "were moved out of their places," and can import no less than an utter extirpation of idolatry. *Great hail,* too, often signifies the judgments of God, and these are uncommon judgments. Diodorus,[3] a grave historian, speaketh of hailstones, which weighed a pound and more; Philostorgius mentions hail that weighed eight pounds; but these are *about the weight of a talent*, or about a hundred pounds, a strong figure to denote the greatness and severity of these judgments. But still the men continue obstinate, and "*blaspheme* God because of the plague of the hail;" they remain incorrigible under the divine judgments, and shall be destroyed before they will be reformed.

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[3] *καὶ χαλάζης ἀπίστου τὸ μέγεθος· μνααῖαι γὰρ ἔπιπτον, ἔστι δ᾽ ὅτε καὶ μείζους. Et magnitudinis incredibilis grando effunderetur: minæ enim pondo, et quandoque majores, deciderant.* Diodorus Sic. l. 19. c. 45. Philost. Hist. Eccles. l. 11. c. 7.

As the *seventh seal*, and the *seventh trumpet*, contained many more particulars, than any of the former seals, and former trumpets: so the *seventh vial* contains more than any of the former vials: and the more you consider, the more admirable you will find the structure of this book in all its parts. The destruction of the antichristian empire is a subject of such importance and consequence that the Holy Spirit hath thought fit to represent it under variety of images. Rome hath already been characterized by the names of *spiritual Egypt* and *Babylon:* and having seen how her plagues resemble those of *Egypt*, we shall now see her fall compared to that of *Babylon*. It was declared before in general (xiv. 8.) "Babylon is fallen, is fallen;" but this is a catastrophe deserving of a more particular description, both for a warning to some, and for a consolation to others. But before the description of her fall and destruction, there is premised an account of her state and condition, that there may be no mistake in the application. Rome was meant, as all both [4] Papists and Protestants agree; and I think it appears almost to demonstration, that not Pagan but Christian, not imperial but papal Rome was here intended; and the arguments urged to the contrary by the Bishop of Meux himself, the best and ablest advocate for popery, prove nothing so much as the weakness and badness of the cause, which they are brought to defend.

Chap. XVII. (1.) "And there came one of the seven angels which had the seven vials, and talked with me, saying unto me, Come hither, I will shew unto thee the judgment of the great whore, that sitteth upon many waters: (2) With whom the kings of the earth have committed fornication, and the inhabiters of the earth have been made drunk with the wine of her fornication. (3) So he carried me away in the spirit into the wilderness: and I saw a woman sit upon a scarlet coloured beast, full of names of blasphemy, having seven heads, and ten horns. (4) And the woman was arrayed in purple, and scarlet colour, and decked with gold and precious stones and pearls, having a golden cup in her hand, full of abominations and filthiness of her fornication. (5) And upon her forehead *was* a name, written, MYSTERY, BABYLON THE GREAT, THE MOTHER OF HARLOTS, AND ABOMINATIONS OF THE EARTH. (6) And I saw the woman drunken with the blood of the saints, and with the blood of the martyrs of Jesus: and when I saw her, I wondered with great admiration."

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[4] 'Certissimum est nomine Babylonis Romam urbem significari. Baronius ad Ann. 45. Johannes in Apocalypsi passim Romam vocat Babylonem.—Et aperte colligitur ex c. 17. Apocalypseως.' Bellarmin. de Rom. Pontif. l. 3. c. 13, &c.

"One of the seven angels, who had the seven vials" (ver. 1.), calleth to St. John. Most probably this was *the seventh angel;* for under the seventh vial "great Babylon came in remembrance before God," and now St. John is called upon to see her condemnation and execution. "Come hither, I will shew unto thee the judgment of the great whore, that sitteth upon many waters." So ancient Babylon, which was seated on the great river Euphrates, is described by Jeremiah (li. 13.) as "dwelling upon many waters:" and from thence the phrase is borrowed, and signifies, according to the angel's own explanation (ver. 15.), ruling over many *peoples* and *nations*. Neither was this an ordinary prostitute; she was *the great whore*, (ver. 2.) "with whom the kings of the earth have committed fornication:" as Tyre (Is. xxiii. 17.) "committed fornication with all the kingdoms of the world upon the face of the earth." Nay not only *the kings*, but inferior persons, "the inhabiters of the earth have been made drunk with the wine of her fornication;" as it was said of ancient Babylon, (Jer. li. 7.) "the nations have drunken of her wine, therefore the nations are mad." *Fornication* in the usual style of Scripture is idolatry; but if it be taken even literally, it is true that modern Rome openly allows the one, as well as practises the other. Ancient Rome doth in no respect so well answer the character; for she ruled more with a rod of iron, than with *the wine of her fornication*. What, and where were the kings, whom she courted and debauched to her communion? What, and where were the people, whom she inveigled and intoxicated with her idolatry? Her ambition was for extending her empire, and not her religion. She permitted even the conquered nations to continue in the religion of their ancestors, and to worship their own gods after their own rituals. She may be said rather to have been corrupted by the importation of foreign vices and superstitions, than to have established her own in other countries.

As Ezekiel, while he was a captive in Chaldæa, was conveyed by the Spirit to Jerusalem (Ezek. viii. 3.), so St. John (ver. 3.) is "carried away in the spirit into the wilderness;" for there the scene is laid, being a scene of desolation. When the woman, the true church, was persecuted and afflicted, she was said (xii. 14.) to "fly into the wilderness:" and in like manner, when the woman, the false church, is to be destroyed, the vision is presented *in the wilderness.* For they are by no means, as some have imagined, the same woman under various representations. They are totally distinct and different characters, and drawn in contrast to each other, as appears from their whole attire and behaviour, and particularly from these two circumstances; that during the 1260 years while the woman is *fed in the wilderness,* the beast and the scarlet whore are reigning and triumphant, and at the latter end, the whore is *burnt with fire,* when the woman as *his wife* (xix. 7.) "hath made herself ready for the marriage of the Lamb." *A woman sitting upon a beast* is a lively and significative emblem of a church or city directing and governing an empire. In painting and sculpture, as well as in prophetic language, cities are often represented in the form of women: and Rome herself is exhibited [5] in ancient coins as a woman sitting upon a lion. Here the beast is "a scarlet-coloured beast," for the same reason that the dragon was (xii. 3.) "a red dragon;" to denote his cruelty, and in allusion to the distinguishing colour of the Roman emperors and magistrates. The beast is also "full of names of blasphemy, having seven heads and ten horns;" so that this is the very same beast which was described in the former part of the 13th chapter: and the woman in some measure answers to the two-horned beast or false prophet: and consequently the woman is Christian, and not Pagan Rome; because Rome was become Christian, before the beast had completely *seven heads and ten horns,* that is, before the Roman empire experienced its last form of government, and was divided into ten kingdoms. The woman is arrayed too (ver. 4.) "in purple and scarlet colour," this being the colour of the popes and cardinals, as well as of the emperors and senators of Rome. Nay the mules and horses, which carry the popes and cardinals, are covered with scarlet cloth, so that they may properly be said to ride *upon a scarlet-coloured beast.* The woman is also "decked with gold and precious stone, and pearls:" and who can sufficiently describe the pride, and grandeur, and magnificence of the church of Rome in her vestments and ornaments of all kinds? Alexander Donatus [6] hath drawn a comparison between ancient and modern Rome, and asserts the superiority of his own church in the pomp and splendour of religion. You have a remarkable instance in Paul II., of whom [7] Platina relates, that 'in his pontifical vestments he outwent all his predecessors, especially in his 'regno' or *mitre,* upon which he had laid out a great deal of money in purchasing at vast rates, diamonds, sapphires, emeralds, chry-

[5] Vitring. p. 757. Emmeness. ad Virg. Æn. VI. 854.

[6] Vitring. p. 759. Donat. de Urbe Roma, l. 1. c. 29.

[7] Platina's Lives of the Popes, translated by Sir Paul Rycaut, p. 414.

solithes, jaspers, unions, and all manner of precious stones, wherewith adorned like another Aaron he would appear abroad somewhat more august than a man, delighting to be seen and admired by every one. But lest he alone should seem to differ from the rest, he made a decree, that none but cardinals should under a penalty wear red caps; to whom he had in the first year of his popedom given cloth of that colour, to make horse-cloths or mule-cloths of when they rode.' You have another conspicuous instance in the Lady of Loretto; the [8] riches of whose holy image, and house, and treasury; the golden angels, the gold and silver lamps; the vast number, variety, and richness of the jewels, of the vestments of the holy image, and for the priests; with the prodigious treasures of all sorts; are far beyond the reach of description; and as Mr. Addison says, 'as much surpassed my expectation, as other sights have generally fallen short of it. Silver can scarce find an admission, and gold itself looks but poorly amongst such an incredible number of precious stones.' Morever the woman, like other harlots who give philters and love-potions to inflame their lovers, hath "a golden cup in her hand, full of abominations and filthiness of her fornication;" to signify the specious and alluring arts, wherewith she bewitcheth and inciteth men to idolatry, which is *abomination and spiritual fornication.* It is an image copied from Jeremiah, (li. 7.) "Babylon hath been a golden cup in the Lord's hand, that made all the earth drunken:" and in that excellent little moral treatise, [9] intitled the Table of Cebes, there is a like picture of Deceit or Imposture; 'a fair, beautiful, and false woman, and having a cup in her hand; she is called Deceit, and seduceth all mankind.' And is not this a much more proper emblem of pontifical than of imperial Rome?

Yet farther to distinguish the woman, she has her *name* inscribed *upon her forehead* (ver. 5.), in allusion to the practice of some notorious prostitutes, who had their names written in a label upon their foreheads, as we may [1] collect from ancient authors. The inscription is so very particular, that we cannot easily mistake the person; "Mystery, Babylon the great, the mother of harlots (or rather *of fornications)*, and abominations of the earth." Her name *Mystery*, can imply no less than that she dealeth in *mysteries;* her religion is *a mystery, a mystery of iniquity;* and she herself is *mystically and spiritually Babylon*

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[8] See Wright's Travels, p. 123. Addison's Travels, p. 93.

[9] *γυνὴ ϖεϖλασμένη τῷ εἴδει, καὶ πιθανὴ φαινομένη, καὶ ἐν τῇ χειρὶ ἔχουσα ϖοτήριον τί —Ἀϖάτη καλεῖται, ἡ πάντας τοὺς ἀνθρώπους πλανῶσα. Mulier ficto vultu, argutaque specie, et manu poculum quoddam tenens. Impostura vocatur, quæ omnes homines seducit.* Tab. Cebetis, § 5.

[1] 'Nomen tuum pependit in fronte: pretia stupri accepisti, &c.' Seneca, l. 1. Controvers. 2. Juvenal. Sat. vi. 122.

— 'tunc nuda papillis
Constitit auratis, titulum mentita Lyciscæ.'

the great. But the title of *mystery* is in no respect proper to ancient Rome, more than any other city: and neither is there any mystery in substituting one heathen, idolatrous, and persecuting city for another; but it is indeed a mystery, that a Christian city, professing and boasting herself to be the city of God, should prove another Babylon in idolatry and cruelty to the people of God. She glories in the name of *Roman Catholic,* and well therefore may she be called *Babylon the great.* She affects the style and title of *our holy mother the church,* but she is in truth *the mother of fornications and abominations of the earth.* Neither can this character with any propriety be applied to ancient Rome; for she was rather a learner of foreign superstitions, than the mistress of idolatry to other nations; as appears in various instances, and particularly from[2] that solemn form of adjuration, which the Romans used when they laid siege to a city, calling forth the tutelary deities of the place, and promising them temples, and sacrifices, and other solemnities at Rome. It may be concluded therefore that this part of the prophecy is sufficiently fulfilled, though there should be reason to question the truth of what is asserted by some writers, that the word *mystery* was formerly written in letters of gold upon the forepart of the pope's mitre. Scaliger[3] affirms it upon the authority of the Duke de Montmorency, who received his information from a man of good credit at Rome. Francis le Moyne and Brocardus[4] confirm it, appealing to ocular inspection; and when king James objected this, Lessius could not deny it. If the thing be true, it is a wonderful coincidence of the event with the letter of the prophecy; but it hath been much controverted, and you may see the authors on both sides, in [5]Wolfius. It is much more certain, and none of that communion can deny it, that the ancient mitres were usually adorned with inscriptions. One particularly[6] there is 'preserved at Rome as a precious relic of Pope Sylvester I., richly but not artfully embroidered with the figure of the Virgin Mary crowned, and holding a little Christ, and these words in large capitals underneath, AVE REGINA CELI, *Hail, queen of heaven,* in the front; of which father Angelo Rocca, keeper of the pope's sacristy, and an eminent antiquary, has given a copper-plate in the third vol. p. 490, of the works of Pope Gregory I. and it seems more probably to have belonged to Gregory; because he is said to have first instituted at Rome the litanies to the Virgin Mary.' An inscription this directly contrary to that on the forefront of the high priest's mitre, (Exod. xxviii. 36.) HOLINESS TO THE LORD.

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[2] Macrobii Saturnal. l. 3. c. 9.

[3] 'Feu Monsieur de Montmorency estant à Rome du temps qu' on parloit librement et du S. Pere et du S. Siege, apprit d'homme digne de foy, qu' à la verité le tiare pontifical avoit escript au frontal en lettres d'or *Mysterium.*' Scal. in locum apud Critic. Sacr.

[4] 'Idem quoque confirmant Franc le Moyne et Jacobus Brocardus in h. l. ad αὐτοψίαν provocantes, non dissimulante Leonardo Lessio. Wolfius in locum. In tiara, in mitra papæ habes hoc verbum *Mysterium* scriptum: ut non sit tibi opus longius interpretationem quærere.' Brocard. in locum apud Vitring. p. 763. 'Romanus Pontifex, in sua tiara, hoc ipsum nomen inscriptum habuit *Mysterium,* quod αὐτόπται ipsi testati sunt: et cum id Jacobus Rex objiceret, Lessius negare non potuit.' Downam. apud Poli Synops. in locum.

[5] Jo. Christophori Wolfii Curæ Philolog. et Criticæ. tom. 5.

[6] See Mann's Critical Notes on some Passages of Scripture, p. 112.

Infamous as the woman is for her idolatry, she is no less detestable for her cruelty, which are the two principal characteristics of the antichristian empire. She is (ver. 6.) "drunken with the blood of the saints, and with the blood of the martyrs of Jesus:" which may indeed be applied both to Pagan and to Christian Rome, for both have in their turns cruelly persecuted *the saints and martyrs of Jesus;* but the latter is more deserving of the character, as she hath far exceeded the former both in the degree and duration of her persecutions. It is very true, as it was hinted before, that if Rome Pagan hath slain her thousands of innocent Christians, Rome Christian hath slain her ten thousands. For not to mention other outrageous slaughters and barbarities; the croisades against the Waldenses and Albigenses, the murders committed by the Duke of Alva in the Netherlands, the massacres in France and Ireland, will probably amount to above ten times the number of all the Christians slain in all the ten persecutions of the Roman emperors put together. St. John's *admiration* also plainly evinces, that Christian Rome was intended: for it could be no matter of surprise to him, that a Heathen city should persecute the Christians, when he himself had seen and suffered the persecutions under Nero; but that a city, professedly Christian, should wanton and riot in the blood of Christians, was a subject of astonishment indeed; and well might he, as it is emphatically expressed, *wonder with great wonder.*

(7) "And the angel said unto me, Wherefore didst thou marvel? I will tell thee the mystery of the woman, and of the beast that carrieth her, which hath the seven heads and ten horns. (8) The beast that thou sawest was, and is not; and shall ascend out of the bottomless pit, and go into perdition: and they that dwell on the earth shall wonder, (whose names were not written in the book of life from the foundation of the world) when they behold the beast that was, and is not, and yet is. (9) And here *is* the mind which hath wisdom. The seven heads are seven mountains on which the woman sitteth. (10) And there are seven kings: five are fallen, and one is, *and* the other is not yet come; and when he cometh, he must continue a short space. (11) And the beast that was, and is not,

even he is the eighth, and is of the seven, and goeth into perdition. (12) And the ten horns which thou sawest, are ten kings, which have received no kingdom as yet; but receive power as kings one hour with the beast. (13) These have one mind, and shall give their power and strength unto the beast. (14) These shall make war with the Lamb, and the Lamb shall overcome them: for he is Lord of lords, and King of kings; and they that are with him, *are* called, and chosen, and faithful. (15) And he saith unto me, The waters which thou sawest, where the whore sitteth, are peoples, and multitudes, and nations, and tongues. (16) And the ten horns which thou sawest upon the beast, these shall hate the whore, and shall make her desolate, and naked, and shall eat her flesh, and burn her with fire. (17) For God hath put in their hearts to fulfil his will, and to agree, and give their kingdom unto the beast, until the words of God shall be fulfilled. (18) And the woman which thou sawest, is that great city, which reigneth over the kings of the earth."

It was not thought sufficient to represent these things only in vision; and therefore the angel, like the ἄγγελος, 'nuncius,' or *messenger* in the ancient drama, undertakes to explain (ver. 7.) "*the mystery* (*the mystic scene* or *secret meaning*) of the woman, and of the beast that carrieth her:" and the angel's interpretation is indeed the best key to the Revelation, the best clue to direct and conduct us through this intricate labyrinth.

The mystery of the beast is first explained; and *the beast* is considered first in general (ver. 8.) under a threefold state or succession, as existing, and then ceasing to be, and then reviving again, so as to become another and the same. He "was, and is not, (καίπερ ἐστὶν) and yet is," or according to other copies καὶ παρέσται *and shall come, shall ascend out of the bottomless pit*. A *beast*, in the prophetic style, as we before observed, is a tyrannical idolatrous empire: and the Roman empire was idolatrous under the Heathen emperors, and then ceased to be so for some time under the Christian emperors, and then became idolatrous again under the Roman Pontiffs, and so hath continued ever since. It is the same idolatrous power revived again, but only in another form; and all the corrupt part of mankind, whose names are not enrolled as good citizens in the registers of heaven, are pleased at the revival of it: but in this last form it shall "go into perdition;" it shall not, as it did before, cease for a time, and revive again, but shall be destroyed for ever.

After this general account of the beast, there follows an explanation of the particular emblems, with a short preface, intimating that they are deserving of the deepest attention, and are a proper exercise and trial of the understanding. "Here is the mind which hath wisdom" (ver. 9.), as it was said upon a former occasion (xiii. 18.) "Here is wisdom; let him that hath understanding count, &c." The *seven heads* have a double signification. They are primarily "seven mountains on which the woman sitteth," on which the capital city is seated; which all who have the least tincture of letters know to be the situation of Rome. Historians, geographers, and poets, all speak of *the city with seven hills:* and passages might be quoted to this purpose without number and without end. It is observed too, that new Rome or Constantinople is situated on seven mountains: but these are very rarely mentioned, and mentioned only by obscure authors, in comparison of the others; and besides the seven mountains, other particulars also must coincide, which cannot be found in Constantinople. It is evident therefore, that the city *seated on seven mountains* must be Rome; and a plainer description could not be given of it, without expressing the name, which there might be several wise reasons for concealing.

As the *seven heads* signify *seven mountains,* so they also signify *seven kings,* reigning over the seven mountains, (ver. 10, 11.) Καὶ βασιλεῖς ἑπτά εἰσιν, "And they are seven kings," or *kingdoms,* or *forms of government,* as the word imports, and hath been shewn to import in former instances. "Five are fallen," five of these forms of government are already past; "and one is," the sixth is now subsisting. The *five fallen* are *kings,* and *consuls,* and *dictators,* and *decemvirs,* and *military tribunes with conuslar authority;* as they are enumerated and distinguished by those who should best know, the two greatest Roman historians,[7] Livy and Tacitus. The *sixth* is the power of the *Cæsars* or *emperors,* which was subsisting at the time of the vision. An end was put to the imperial name[8] in the year 476 by Odoacer king of the Heruli, who having taken Rome, deposed Momyllus Augustulus, the last emperor of the west. He and his successors the Ostrogoths assumed the title of kings of Italy: but though the name was changed, the power still continued much the same. This therefore cannot well be called a new form of government; it may rather be considered as a continuation of the imperial power, or as a renovation of the kingly authority. *Consuls* are reckoned but one form of government, though their office was frequently suspended, and after a time restored again: and in the same manner *kings* may be counted but one form of government, though the name was resumed after an interval of so many years. A new form of government was not erected, till Rome fell under the obedience of the eastern emperor, and the emperor's lieutenant, the exarch of Ravenna, dissolved all the former magistracies, and constituted a Duke of Rome, to govern the people, and to pay tribute to the exarchate of Ravenna. Rome had never experienced this form of government before: and this I conceive to be *the other,* which in the apostle's days "was not yet come, and when he cometh, he must continue a short space." For Rome was reduced to a dukedom, tributary to the exarch of Ravenna, by Longinus, who was sent exarch[9] in the year 566 according to some accounts, or in the year 568 according to others; and the city revolted from the eastern emperor to the pope in the year 727:[1] which is *a short space* in comparison of the imperial power, which preceded, and lasted above 500 years; and in comparison of the papal power, which followed, and hath now continued about a thousand years. But still possibly you may hesitate, whether this is properly a new form of government, Rome being still subject to the imperial power, by being subject to the Greek emperor's deputy, the exarch of Ravenna: and according as you determine this point, "the beast that was and is not," *was* while idolatrous, and *was not* while not idolatrous, will appear to be *the seventh* or *eighth.* If you reckon this a new form of government,[2] the beast that now is is *the eighth;* if you do not reckon this a new form of government, the beast is *of the seven;* but whether he be *the seventh* or *eighth,* he is the last form of government, "and goeth into perdition." It appears evidently, that the sixth form of government, which was subsisting in St. John's time, is the imperial; and what form of government hath succeeded to that in Rome, and hath continued for *a long space* of time, but the papal? The beast therefore, upon which the woman rideth, is the Roman government in its last form: and this, all must acknowledge, is the papal, and not the imperial.

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[7] 'Quæ ab condita urbe Roma ad captam eandem urbem Romani sub *regibus* primum, *consulibus* deinde ac *dictatoribus, decemvirisque* ac *tribunis consularibus* gessere.' Livii l. 6. c. 1. 'Urbem Romam a principio *reges* habuere. Libertatem et *consulatum* L. Brutus instituit. *Dictaturæ* ad tempus sumebantur: neque *Decemviralis potestas* ultra biennium, neque *tribunorum militum consulare jus* diu valuit. Non Cinnæ, non Sullæ longa dominatio: et Pompeii Crassique potentia, cito in Cæsarem; Lepidi atque Antonii arma, in Augustum cessere: qui cuncta discordiis civilibus fessa, nomine *principis* sub *imperium* accepit.' Tacit. Annal. l. 1. in initio.

[8] Sigonius de Occid. Imper. l. 14, &c. Petavii Rat. Temp. Partis 1. l. 6. c. 18.

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[9] Sigonius de Regno Ital. l. 1. Ann. 566. Petav. Rat. Temp. Par. 1. l. 7. c. 10.

[1] Sigon. ibid. l. 3. Ann. 727.

[2] Mr. Mann explains the *seventh* and *eighth* otherwise. 'Quis igitur rex septimus erit? Nimirum ipse papa. Nam ex quo A. D. 534 eum ecclesiarum omnium caput declaravit Justinianus, alii omnium judicem, ipsum a nullo judicandum, tanta reverentia et obsequio ab Impp. ipsis cultus est, tanta authoritate ipsos subinde reprehendit, interdum etiam anathemate perculit, ut non minus dicendus sit regnasse in spiritualibus, quamvis se subditum semper servumque servorum diceret, quam in temporalibus imperatores. Tunc igitur papa e *septem illis,* id est ex genere atque ordine illorum principum qui præcesserant, esse dicendus erat, donec A. D. 727 Leonis imp. jugum, quem anno superiore excommunicarat, prorsus excussit Gregorius II., Romamque et regiones vicinas sibi subjecit. Ex illo enim tempore papa rex octavus merito haberi potest, cum gladio spirituali temporalem quoque dehinc adeptus. Scio esse, qui pulso Leone imp. negent Romam papæ subjectam fuisse, sed a Pipino A. D. 752. Exarchatum Ravennæ, &c. papæ datum tantum cum aliis urbibus, non ipsam Romam; sed mihi videntur non de re, sed umbra tantum certare.' MS.

Having explained the mystery of *the seven heads,* the angel proceeds to the explanation of *the ten horns.* (ver. 12—14.) "The ten horns are ten kings, who have received no kingdom as yet:" and consequently they were not in being at the time of the vision; and indeed the Roman empire was not divided into ten kingdoms, till some time after it was become Christian. "But *they* receive power as kings one hour ([3] *μίαν ὥραν, at the same time,* or *for the same length of time*) with the beast." It is true in both senses, they rise and fall together with the beast: and consequently they are not to be reckoned before the rise and establishment of the beast; and accordingly, when a catalogue was produced of these ten kings or kingdoms in a dissertation upon Daniel, they were exhibited as they stood in the eighth century, which is the time of the rise and establishment of the beast. Kingdoms they might be before, but they were not before kingdoms or *horns* of the beast, till they embraced his religion, and submitted to his authority; and the beast strengthened them, as they again strengthened the beast. It is upon the seventh or last head of the beast that the horns are seen growing together, that is upon the Roman empire in its seventh or last form of government; and they are not, like the *heads,* successive, but contemporary kingdoms. "These have one mind, and shall give their power and strength unto the beast," which is easily understood and applied to the princes and states in communion with the church of Rome. However they may differ in other respects, yet they agree in submitting implicitly to the authority of the Roman church, and in defending its rights and prerogatives against all opposers. But where were ever ten kings or kingdoms, who were all unanimous in their submission to the Roman empire, and voluntarily and of their own accord contributed *their power and strength,* their forces and riches to support and maintain it? "These shall make war with the Lamb, and the Lamb shall overcome them;" they persecute the true church of Christ, but the true church shall in the end prevail and triumph over them; which particulars have been fulfilled in part already, and will be more fully accomplished hereafter.

In the former part of this description (ver. 1.) *the whore* is represented like ancient Babylon, *sitting upon many waters:* and *these waters* are here (ver. 15.) said expressly to signify "peoples, and multitudes, and nations, and tongues."[4] So many words in the plural number fitly denote the great extensiveness of her power and jurisdiction: and it is a remarkable peculiarity of Rome, different from all other governments in the world, that her authority is not limited to her own immediate subjects, and confined within the bounds of her own dominions, but extends over all kingdoms and countries professing the same religion. She herself glories in the title of the *Catholic* church, and exults in the number of her votaries as a certain proof of the true religion. Cardinal Bellarmin's[5] first note of the true church is *the very name of the Catholic church:* and his fourth note is *amplitude, or multitude and variety of believers;* for the truly catholic church, says he, ought not only to comprehend all ages, but likewise all places, all nations, all kinds of men. But notwithstanding the general current in her favour, the tide shall turn against her; and the hands which helped to raise her, shall also pull her down, (ver. 16.) "The ten horns shall hate the whore;" that is, by a common figure of the whole for a part, *some* of the ten kings, for others (xviii. 9.) "shall bewail her and lament for her," and (xix. 19.) shall fight and perish in the cause of the beast. Some of the kings who formerly loved her, grown sensible of her exorbitant exactions and oppressions, shall *hate her;* shall strip, and expose, and plunder her, and utterly consume her with fire. Rome therefore will finally be destroyed by some of the princes, who are reformed, or shall be reformed from popery: and as the kings of France have contributed greatly to her advancement, it is not impossible, nor improbable, that some time or other they may also be the principal authors of her destruction. France hath already shewn some tendency towards a reformation, and therefore may appear more likely to accomplish it. Nay even the kings of Spain and Portugal, their most catholic and faithful majesties, as they are styled, have restrained the power of the pope, and the inquisition, and have not only banished the Jesuits from their respective kingdoms, but have likewise insisted upon the suppression of that order, which may be considered as leading steps to some farther revolution. Such a revolution may more reasonably be expected, because (ver. 17.) this infatuation of popish princes is permitted by Divine providence only for a certain period, "until the words of God shall be fulfilled," and particularly the words of the prophet Daniel, (vii. 25, 26.) "They shall be given into his hand, until a time, and times, and the dividing of time: But *then* (as it immediately follows) the judgment shall sit, and they shall take away his dominion, to consume, and to destroy it unto the end."

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[3] '*Uno eodemque tempore.*' Vitring. 'Malim *ad unum idemque tempus,* ut cum identitate temporis durationem complectatur.' Mr. Mann's M. S.

[4] 'Idque hoc loco tanto magis apposite, quod ex populi reverentia et favore primò excrevit potestas illa papalis, et per decem aut plura sæcula populi Romani suffragiis creati sunt papæ.' Mr. Mann's M. S.

Little doubt can remain after this, what idolatrous church was meant by *the whore of Babylon:* but for the greater assuredness it is added by the angel, (ver. 18.) "The woman which thou sawest is that great city." The angel had undertaken to "tell the mystery of the woman, and of the beast." He hath explained the mystery of the beast, and of his seven heads and ten horns; and his explanation of the mystery of the woman is 'that great city, which reigneth over the kings of the earth." And what city at the time of the vision *reigned over the kings of the earth,* but Rome? She hath too ever since *reigned over the kings of the earth,* if not with temporal, yet at least with spiritual authority. In the arts of government she hath far exceeded all the cities both of ancient and of modern times: as if she had constantly remembered and put in practice the advice of the poet, (Virg. Æn. 6. 852.)

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[5] 'Prima Nota, est ipsum Catholicæ Ecclesiæ et Christianorum nomen. Bellar. de Notis Ecclesiæ, l. 4. c. 4. Quarta Nota, est amplitudo, sive multitudo et varietas credentium. Ecclesia enim vere catholica, non solum debet amplecti omnia tempora, sed etiam omnia loca, omnes nationes, omnium hominum genera.' ibid. c. 7.

> 'Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento;
> Hæ tibi erunt artes.'

Rome therefore is evidently and undeniably *this great city;* and that Christian and not Heathen, papal and not imperial Rome was meant, hath appeared in several instances, and will appear in several more.

Chap. XVIII. (1) "And after these things I saw another angel come down from heaven, having great power; and the earth was lightened with his glory. (2) And he cried mightily with a strong voice, saying, Babylon the great is fallen, is fallen, and is become the habitation of devils, and the hold of every foul spirit, and a cage of every unclean and hateful bird (3) For all nations have drunk of the wine of the wrath of her fornication, and the kings of the earth have committed fornication with her, and the merchants of the earth are waxed rich through the abundance of her delicacies. (4) And I heard another voice from heaven, saying, Come out of her, my people, that ye be not partakers of her sins, and that ye receive not of her plagues: (5) For her sins have reached unto heaven, and God hath remembered her iniquities. (6) Reward her even as she rewarded you, and double unto her double, according to her works: in the cup which she hath filled, fill to her double. (7) How much she hath glorified herself, and lived deliciously, so much torment and sorrow give her: for she saith in her heart, I sit a queen, and am no widow, and shall see no sorrow. (8) Therefore shall her plagues come in one day, death, and mourning, and famine; and she shall be utterly burnt with fire: for strong *is* the Lord God who judgeth her."

After this account of the state and condition of spiritual Babylon, there follows a description of her fall and destruction, in the same sublime and figurative style, as Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel have foretold the fall of ancient Babylon and Tyre, the types and emblems of this spiritual Babylon. A mighty and glorious angel descends from heaven, (ver. 1, 2, 3.) and proclaims, as before, (xiv. 8.) the fall of Babylon, and together with her punishment the crimes which deserved it, her idolatry and wickedness. It is farther added, that after her fall she shall be made a scene of desolation, and become the habitation of hateful birds and beasts of prey; as Isaiah also predicted concerning ancient Babylon, (xiii. 21.) "Wild beasts of the deserts shall lie there, and their houses shall be full of doleful creatures, and owls shall dwell there, and satyrs shall dance there:" where the word that we translate *satyrs*, the Seventy translate *δαιμόνια demons* or *devils*,[6] who were supposed sometimes to take the shape of goats or satyrs, and to haunt forlorn and desolate places: and it is from the translation of the Seventy that the apostle hath borrowed his images and expressions. But if this fall of Babylon was effected by Totilas king of the Ostrogoths, as Grotius affirms, or Alaric king of the Visigoths, as the Bishop of Meaux contends, how can Rome be said ever since to have been "the habitation of devils, and the hold of every foul spirit, and a cage of every unclean and hateful bird," unless they will allow the popes and cardinals to merit these appellations?

"Another voice is also heard from heaven" (ver. 4—8.), exhorting all Christians to forsake the communion of so corrupt a church, lest they should be "partakers of her sins and of her plagues," and at the same time denouncing that her punishment shall be great and extraordinary in proportion to her crimes. But was there any such necessity of forsaking the church of Rome in the days of Alaric or Totilas, before she had yet degenerated again into idolatry? or what were then her notorious crimes deserving of such exemplary punishment, unless Rome Christian was to suffer for the sins of Rome Pagan? "She saith in her heart (like ancient Babylon, Isa. xlvii. 7, 8.), I sit a queen, and am no widow, and shall see no sorrow;" She glories like ancient Rome, in the name of *the eternal city*:[7] but notwithstanding, "she shall be utterly burnt with fire; for strong is the Lord God who judgeth her." These expressions can imply no less than a total destruction by fire; but Rome hath never yet been totally destroyed by fire. The most that Alaric[8] and Totilas did, was burning some parts of the city:[9] but if only some parts of the city were burnt, it was not an event important enough to be ascribed to *the Lord God* particularly, and to be considered as a *strong* exertion of his judgment.

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[6] Vide Bocharti Hieroz. part. prior. l. 2. c. 55. col. 643.

[7] It is to be found in the very title of Kircher's Obeliscus Pamphilius: 'In *urbis æternæ* ornamentum erexit Innocentius X. Pont. Max.' apud Daubuz. p. 812.

[8] 'Tertia die barbari, quam ingressi fuerant urbem, sponte discedunt, facto quidem *aliquantarum ædium incendio*, &c.' Oros. Hist. l. 7. c. 39. 'Alaricus trepidam urbem Romam invasit, *partemque ejus cremavit incendio*, &c.' Marcellini Chron. Indict. 8. p. 38. 'Quinetiam *ædificia quædam incensa*, aliáque opera temerè furore barbarico deturbata sunt.' Sigonii Hist. de Occid. Imper. l. 10. in fin.

(9) "And the kings of the earth, who have committed fornication, and lived deliciously with her, shall bewail her, and lament for her, when they shall see the smoke of her burning. (10) Standing afar off for the fear of her torment, saying, Alas, alas, that great city Babylon, that mighty city! for in one hour is thy judgment come. (11) And the merchants of the earth shall weep and mourn over her, for no man buyeth her merchandise any more: (12) The merchandise of gold and silver, and precious stones, and of pearls, and fine linen, and purple, and silk, and scarlet, and all thyine wood, and all manner vessels of ivory, and all manner vessels of most precious wood, and of brass, and iron, and marble, (13) And cinnamon, and odours, and ointments, and frankincense, and wine, and oil, and fine flour, and wheat, and beasts, and sheep, and horses, and chariots, and slaves, and souls of men. (14) And the fruits that thy soul lusted after, are departed from thee, and all things which were dainty and goodly, are departed from thee, and thou shalt find them no more at all. (15) The merchants of these things which were made rich by her, shall stand afar off, for the fear of her torment, weeping and wailing, (16) And saying, Alas, alas, that great city, that was clothed in fine linen, and purple, and scarlet, and decked with gold, and precious stones, and pearls! for in one hour so great riches is come to nought. (17) And every ship-master, and all the company in ships, and sailors, and as many as trade by sea, stood afar off, (18) And cried when they saw the smoke of her burning, saying, What *city* is like unto this great city? (19) And they cast dust on their heads, and cried weeping and wailing, saying, Alas, alas, that great city wherein were made rich all that had ships in the sea, by reason of her costliness! for in one hour is she made desolate. (20) Rejoice over her, thou heaven, and ye holy apostles, and prophets, for God hath avenged you on her."

In this solemn manner, by an angel and by a voice from heaven, is declared the fall of Rome, and her destruction by fire: and then are set forth the consequences of her fall, the lamentations of some, and the rejoicings of others. "The kings *of her communion,* who have committed fornication, and lived deliciously with her, bewail and lament for her (ver. 9, 10.), but what kings were they who *lived deliciously* with old Rome, and had reason to lament her fall? "The merchants of the earth weep and mourn over her" (ver. 11—17.); for there is an end of all traffic and commerce with her, whether spiritual or temporal; for it is intimated (ver. 13.) that they make merchandise of the *souls* as well as of the *bodies* of men. "The ship-masters, and sailors, and as many as trade by sea, weep and wail" (ver. 17—19.); for they can now no longer import or export commodities for her, or convey strangers to and fro; for there is an end of all her *costliness*. These lamentations are copied from the like lamentations over Tyre in the 26th and 27th chapters of Ezekiel; and are equal to the most mournful strains of the Greek tragedians over Thebes or Troy. In all they "stand afar off" (ver. 10. 15. 17.), as if they were unable or afraid to help and assist her. In all they cry *οὐαὶ, οὐαὶ,* "alas, alas" (ver. 10. 16. 19.), which is the *third woe, οὐαὶ,* before mentioned (viii. 13. xi. 14.); for as the fall of the Othman empire is the end of *the second woe,* so the fall of Rome is the completion of *the third woe.* In all they lament the suddenness of her fall; (ver. 10. 17. 19.) "for in one hour is her destruction come." At the same time her destruction is matter of joy and triumph (ver. 20.) to "the holy apostles and prophets, for God hath avenged *them* on her:" but what reason had the Christians to rejoice over the calamities brought on Rome by Alaric or Totilas, in which they themselves were the principal sufferers? and how were these calamities any vindication of their cause, or of the cause of true religion?

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[9] Procop. de Bell. Goth. l. 3. c. 22. ‘Ῥώμην δὲ οὔτε καθελεῖν οὔτε ἀπολιπεῖν τολοιπὸν Τωτιλας ἤθελεν. *Porro Totilas Romam nec delere, nec relinquere amplius voluit.* Ibid. c. 36. Ibid. l. 4. c. 22. ‘Totilas dolo Isaurorum ingreditur Romam die XVI. Kal. Jan. ac evertit muros, *domos aliquantas igni comburens,* &c.’ Marcellini Chron. ibid. p. 54. Sigonius ibid. l. 19.

(21) "And a mighty angel took up a stone like a great milstone, and cast it into the sea, saying, Thus with violence shall that great city Babylon be thrown down, and shall be found no more at all. (22) And the voice of harpers, and musicians, and of pipers, and trumpeters, shall be heard no more at all in thee: and no craftsman, of whatsoever craft *he be,* shall be found any more in thee; and the sound of a milstone shall be heard no more at all in thee; (23) And the light of a candle shall shine no more at all in thee; and the voice of the bridegroom and of the bride shall be heard no more at all in thee: for thy merchants were the great men of the earth; for by thy sorceries were all nations deceived: (24) And in her was found the blood of prophets, and of saints, and of all that were slain upon the earth."

Yet farther to confirm the sudden fall and irrecoverable destruction of Rome, an emblem is copied and improved from Jeremiah (li. 63, 64.), "a mighty angel (ver. 21.) *casteth a milstone* into the sea," declaring that "with *the same* violence *this* great city *shall* be thrown down," and shall never rise again. Her utter desolation is farther described (ver. 22, 23.) in phrases and expressions borrowed from the ancient prophets (Isa. xxiv. 8. Jer. vii. 34. xvi. 9. xxv. 10. Ezek. xxvi. 13.). There shall be no more *musicians* for the entertainment of the rich and great; no more *tradesmen* or *artificers* to furnish the conveniences of life; no more *servants* or *slaves* to grind at the mill, and supply the necessaries of life. Nay, there shall be no more *lights,* no more *bridal songs;* the city shall never be peopled again by new marriages, but shall remain depopulated for ever. For which utter desolation there are assigned these reasons, (ver. 23, 24.) her *pride* and *luxury,* her *superstition* and *idolatry,* her *tyranny* and *cruelty.* Her punishment shall be as severe and exemplary, as if she had been guilty of all the persecutions that ever were upon account of religion; for by her conduct she hath approved, and imitated, and surpassed them all. But Rome hath never yet been depopulated and desolated in this manner. She hath been taken indeed and plundered [1] by Alaric king of the Visigoths, in the year 410, by Genseric king of the Vandals, in the year 455, by Totilas king of the Ostrogoths in the year 546, and by others since that time: but yet she is still standing and flourishing, and is honoured by many nations as the metropolis of the Christian world; she still resounds with *singers* and *musicians;* she still excels in *arts* which serve to pomp and luxury; she still abounds with *candles,* and *lamps,* and *torches,* burning even by day as well as by night: and consequently this prophecy hath not yet been, but remains yet to be fulfilled.

CHAP. XIX.—(1) "AND after these things I heard a great voice of much people in heaven, saying, Alleluia; Salvation, and glory, and honour, and power unto the Lord our God: (2) For true and righteous *are* his judgments; for he hath judged the great whore, which did corrupt the earth with her fornication, and hath avenged the blood of his servants at her hand. (3) And again they said, Alleluia. And her smoke rose up for ever and ever. (4) And the four and twenty elders, and the four beasts fell down and worshipped God that sat on the throne, saying, Amen; Alleluia. (5) And a voice came out of the throne, saying, Praise our God, all ye his servants, and ye that fear him, both small and great. (6) And I heard as it were the voice of a great multitude, and as the voice of many waters, and as the voice of mighty thunderings, saying, Alleluia: for the Lord God omnipotent reigneth. (7) Let us be glad and rejoice, and give honour to him: for the marriage of the Lamb is come, and his wife hath made herself ready. (8) And to her was granted, that she should be arrayed in fine linen, clean and white: for the fine linen is the righteousness of saints. (9) And he saith unto me, Write, Blessed *are* they which are called unto the marriage-supper of the Lamb. And he saith unto me, These are the true sayings of God. (10) And I fell at his feet to worship him: And he said unto me, See *thou do it* not: I am thy fellow-servant, and of thy brethren that have the testimony of Jesus: worship God: for the testimony of Jesus is the spirit of prophecy."

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[1] See Petav. Rat. Temp. and Blair's Chron. Tables.

Hereupon the whole church (ver. 1—4.), agreeably to the exhortation of the angel (xviii. 20.), join praises and thanksgivings to Almighty God for his *truth* and *righteousness* in judging this idolatrous city, his *truth* in fulfilling his promise and threatenings, and his *righteousness* in proportioning her punishment to her crimes. "And her smoke rose up for ever and ever;" which intimates that she should be made as signal a monument of divine vengeance as Sodom and Gomorrah. It is taken from Isaiah, who hath said much the same thing of Edom, and by Edom[2] the Jews understand Rome. (Is. xxxiv. 9, 10.) "And the streams thereof shall be turned into pitch (in the genuine[3] editions of the Chaldee paraphrase it is, *And the rivers* of Rome *shall be turned into pitch*), and the dust thereof into brimstone, and the land thereof shall become burning pitch. It shall not be quenched night nor day; the smoke thereof shall go up for ever." This tradition of the rabbins may receive some confirmation from these words of the apostle: and such an event may appear the more probable, because the adjacent countries are known to be of a sulphureous and bituminous soil; there have even at Rome been[4] eruptions of subterraneous fire, which have consumed several buildings; so that the fuel seemeth to be prepared, and waiteth only for the breath of the Lord to kindle it. But God is praised not only for the destruction of the great seat of idolatry, but also (ver. 5—8.) for the manifestation of his kingdom, as before, (xi. 17.) and for the happy and glorious state of the reformed Christian church. She is no *harlot* tainted with idolatry, but a *spouse* prepared for her Lord Christ: she is not arrayed like an harlot *in purple and scarlet colour*, but like a decent bride, "in fine linen, clean, and white," as the properest emblem of her purity and sanctity. Christ hath now, as St. Paul expresseth it, (Eph. v. 26, 27.)

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[2] 'R. David in principio Obadiæ, "Quod autem dicunt prophetæ devastatione Edom in extremitate dierum, de Roma dixerunt."' Buxtorf. Chald. Lex. in voce רומא.

[3] '"Et convertentur flumina Romæ in picem, &c." Posteriores editiones vocem *Romæ* omiserunt.' Buxtorf. ibid.

[4] Vide Dionis Hist. l. 66. § 24. πῦρ δὲ δὴ ἕτερον ἐπίγειον τῷ ἑξῆς ἔτει ϖολλὰ πάνυ τῆς Ῥώμης ἐϖενείματο κ. τ. λ. *Ignis autem alius supra terram exortus anno insequenti magnam admodum Romæ partem absumsit, &c.*

"sanctified and cleansed his church with the washing of water, by the word, that he might present it to himself a glorious church, not having spot or wrinkle or any such thing, but that it should be holy, and without blemish." So great is the felicity of this period, that the angel orders it (ver. 9.) to be particularly noted: and blessed and happy are they who shall be living at this time, and be worthy to partake of this marriage feast. It is a matter of consolation to all good Christians, and they may assuredly depend upon it, as the never-failing word of God. St. John was in such rapture and ecstasy at these discoveries, that (ver. 10.) not knowing or not considering what he did, he "fell down at *the angel's* feet to worship him:" but the angel prohibits all manner of worship, for he was no more than *a fellow-servant* of the apostle's, and of all true prophets, of all "who have the testimony of Jesus," and "the testimony of Jesus is the spirit of prophecy." Worship not me then, says the angel, but *God*, whose servants we both are, and who inspires us both with the same spirit of prophecy.

(11) "And I saw heaven opened, and behold a white horse; and he that sat upon him *was* called Faithful and True, and in righteousness he doth judge and make war. (12) His eyes *were* as a flame of fire, and on his head were many crowns; and he had a name written that no man knew but he himself: (13) And he *was* clothed with a vesture dipt in blood: and his name is called, The Word of God. (14) And the armies which were in heaven followed him upon white horses, clothed in fine linen, white and clean. (15) And out of his mouth goeth a sharp sword, that with it he should smite the nations: and he shall rule them with a rod of iron: and he treadeth the wine-press of the fierceness and wrath of Almighty God. (16) And he hath on his vesture and on his thigh a name written, KING OF KINGS, AND LORD OF LORDS. (17) And I saw an angel standing in the sun; and he cried with a loud voice, saying to all the fowls that fly in the midst of heaven, Come and gather yourselves together unto the supper of the great God; (18) That ye may eat the flesh of kings, and the flesh of captains, and the flesh of mighty men, and the flesh of horses, and of them that sit on them, and the flesh of all men, both free and bond, both small and great. (19) And I saw the beast and the kings of the earth, and their armies gathered together to make war against him that sat on the horse, and against his army. (20) And the beast was taken, and with him the false prophet that wrought miracles before him, with which he deceived them that had received the mark of the beast, and them that worshipped his image. These both were cast alive into a lake of fire burning with brimstone. (21) And the remnant

were slain with the sword of him that sat upon the horse, which *sword* proceeded out of his mouth: and all the fowls were filled with their flesh."

It was said by the angel, speaking of the kings subject to the beast, (xvii. 14.) "These shall make war with the Lamb, and the Lamb shall overcome them: for he is Lord of lords, and King of kings; and they that are with him, are called, and chosen, and faithful:" And this vision (ver. 11—21.) is added by way of enlargement and explanation of that great event. "Heaven *is* opened," and our Saviour cometh forth riding *upon a white horse*, as a token of his victory and triumph over his enemies. He is described in such characters as are appropriated to him in this book, and in the ancient prophets. "On his head *also* were many crowns," to denote his numerous conquests and kingdoms, which were now (xi. 15.) "become the kingdoms of our Lord and of his Christ, and he shall reign for ever and ever." As the Jewish high-priest wore the ineffable name of Jehovah on his forehead, so he had "a name written," which none could perfectly comprehend but himself; "his name is called The Word of God." He had likewise another "name written" on that part of his vesture which covered his thigh, "King of kings, and Lord of lords;" a title much affected by the [5] eastern monarchs, and by Antichrist himself. The pope is [6] styled *King of kings, and Lord of lords;* but what he is only in pretence, Christ is in reality. His armies are mounted "upon white horses" as well as himself, and are "clothed in fine linen, white and clean," as emblems of their victory and sanctity. "An angel standing in the sun," and so conspicuous to all, in lofty strains copied from the ancient prophets, and particularly from Ezekiel (xxxix. 17, 18.), calleth the fowls to the great slaughter of Christ's enemies. These enemies are *the beast* and *the false prophet*, the antichristian powers civil and ecclesiastical, with "their armies gathered together," their adherents and followers combined and determined to support idolatry, and oppose all reformation. But the principals, as deserving of the greatest punishment, are "taken, and cast alive into a lake of fire burning with brimstone:" and their followers are "slain" with the word of Christ, "*the* sword *which* proceeded out of his mouth; and all the fowls are filled with their flesh;" their substance is seized for other persons, and for other uses. In a word, the design of this sublime and figurative description is to shew the downfal of popery, and the triumph of Christianity:

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[5] "Artaxerxes king of kings." Ezra vii. 12. 'Rex regum Sapor.' Amm. Marcell. l. 17. c. 5. *βασιλεὺς βασιλέων καὶ δεσπότης δεσποτῶν Σεσόωσις. Rex regum et dominus dominorum Sesoosis*, vel *Sesostris.* Diod. Sic. l. 1. c. 55.

[6] See Jewel's Defence of his Apology, Part 5. and Barrow's Introduction to his Treatise of the Pope's Supremacy.

the true word of God will prevail over superstition and idolatry; all the powers of Antichrist shall be completely subdued; and the religion of Rome, as well as Rome herself, be totally destroyed.

CHAP. XX.—(1) "AND I saw an angel come down from heaven, having the key of the bottomless pit, and a great chain in his hand. (2) And he laid hold on the dragon, that old serpent, which is the Devil, and Satan, and bound him a thousand years, (3) And cast him into the bottomless pit, and shut him up, and set a seal upon him, that he should deceive the nations no more, till the thousand years should be fulfilled: and after that, he must be loosed a little season. (4) And I saw thrones, and they sat upon them, and judgment was given unto them: and *I saw* the souls of them that were beheaded for the witness of Jesus, and for the word of God, and which had not worshipped the beast, neither his image, neither had received his mark upon their foreheads, or in their hands; and they lived and reigned with Christ a thousand years. (5) But the rest of the dead lived not again until the thousand years were finished. This *is* the first resurrection. (6) Blessed and holy *is* he that hath part in the first resurrection: on such the second death hath no power, but they shall be priests of God and of Christ, and shall reign with him a thousand years."

After the destruction of the beast and of the false prophet, there still remains *the dragon,* who had delegated his power to them, "that old serpent, which is the Devil, and Satan:" but he is bound by *an angel,* an especial minister of providence; and the famous millennium commences, or the reign of the saints upon earth for a thousand years, (ver. 1—6.) '*Binding him with a great chain,*' '*casting him into the bottomless pit,*' '*shutting him up,*' and '*setting a seal upon him,*' are strong figures to shew the strict and severe restraint which he should be laid under, "that he might deceive the nations no more" during this whole period. Wickedness being restrained, the reign of righteousness succeeds, and the administration of justice and judgment is given to the saints of the Most High: and the martyrs and confessors of Jesus, not only those who *were beheaded* or suffered any kind of death under the heathen emperors, but also those who refused to comply with the idolatrous worship *of the beast and of his image,* are raised from the dead, and have the principal share in the felicities of Christ's kingdom upon earth. "But the rest of the dead lived not again until the thousand years were finished;" so that it was a peculiar prerogative of the martyrs and confessors above the rest of mankind. "This is the first resurrection," a particular resurrection preceding the general one at least a thousand years. "Blessed and holy *too* is he who hath part in the first resurrection;" he is *holy* in all the senses of the word, *holy* as separated from the common lot of mankind, *holy* as endowed with all virtuous qualifications, and none but such are admitted to partake of this blessed state. "On such the second death hath no power." *The second death* is a Jewish phrase for the punishment of the wicked after death. So the [7] Chaldee paraphrase of Onkelos upon that text in Deuteronomy (xxxiii. 6.), "Let Reuben live, and not die," hath 'Let him not die the second death;' and the other paraphrases of Jonathan Ben Uzziel and of Jerusalem have 'Let him not die the second death by which the wicked die in the world to come.' It is a familiar phrase in the Chaldee paraphrases and Jewish writings, and in this very book (xx. 14. xxi. 8.) it is declared to be the same as "the lake which burneth with fire and brimstone." The sons of the resurrection therefore shall not die again, but shall live in eternal bliss, as well as enjoy all the glories of the millennium, "be priests of God and of Christ, and reign with him a thousand years."

Nothing is more evident than that this prophecy of the millennium, and of the first resurrection, hath not yet been fulfilled, even though the resurrection be taken in a figurative sense. For reckon the thousand years with Usher from the time of Christ, or reckon them with Grotius from the time of Constantine, yet neither of these periods, nor indeed any other, will answer the description and character of the millennium, the purity and peace, the holiness and happiness of that blessed state. Before Constantine indeed the church was in greater purity, but was groaning under the persecutions of the heathen emperors. After Constantine the church was in greater prosperity, but was soon shaken and disturbed by heresies and schisms, by the incursions and devastations of the northern nations, by the conquering arms and prevailing imposture of the Saracens and afterwards of the Turks, by the corruption, idolatry, and wickedness, the usurpation, tyranny, and cruelty of the church of Rome. If Satan was then *bound*, when can he be said to be *loosed?* Or how could *the saints* and *the beast*, Christ and Antichrist, reign at the same period? This prophecy therefore remains yet to be fulfilled, even though the resurrection be taken only for an allegory, which yet the text cannot admit without the greatest torture and violence. For with what propriety can it be said, that some of the dead who were beheaded "lived and reigned with Christ a thousand years; but the rest of the dead lived not again until the thousand years were finished;" unless *the dying* and *living again* be the same in both places, a proper death and resurrection? Indeed the *death* and *resurrection* of the witnesses before mentioned (chap. xi.) appears from the concurrent circumstances of the vision to be figurative, but the *death* and *resurrection* here mentioned must, for the very same reasons, be concluded to be real. If the martyrs rise only in a spiritual sense, then *the rest of the dead* rise only in a spiritual sense; but if *the rest of the dead* really rise, the martyrs rise in the same manner. There is no difference between them; and we should be cautious and tender of making the first resurrection an allegory, lest others should reduce the second into an allegory too, like those whom St. Paul mentions (2 Tim. ii. 17, 18.) "Hymeneus and Philetus, who concerning the truth have erred, saying, that the resurrection is past already, and overthrow the faith of some." It is to this first resurrection that St. Paul alludes, when he affirms (1 Thess. iv. 16.) that "the dead in Christ shall rise first," and (1 Cor. xv. 23.) that "every man shall be made alive in his own order, Christ the first-fruits, afterwards they that are Christ's at his coming, and then cometh the end," after the general resurrection.

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[7] 'Non moriatur morte secunda.' Onk. 'Nec moriatur morte qua morientur improbi in futuro seculo.' Jonath. 'Neque moriatur morte secunda qua moriuntur improbi in futuro seculo.' Hieros. in loc.

In the general, that there shall be such a happy period as the millennium, that "the kingdom and dominion, and the greatness of the kingdom under the whole heaven, shall be given to the people of the saints of the Most High" (Dan. vii. 27.), that Christ shall have "the heathen for his inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for his possession" (Psal. ii. 8.), that "the earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea" (Is. xi. 9.), "that the fulness of the Gentiles shall come in, and all Israel shall be saved" (Rom. xi. 25, 26.), in a word that the kingdom of heaven shall be established upon earth, is the plain and express doctrine of Daniel and all the prophets, as well as of St. John: and we daily pray for the accomplishment of it, in praying *Thy kingdom come.* But of all the prophets St. John is the only one who hath declared particularly and in express terms, that the martyrs shall rise to partake of the felicities of this kingdom, and that it shall continue upon earth a thousand years: and the Jewish church before him, and the Christian church after him, have farther believed and taught, that these thousand years will be the seventh millennary of the world. A pompous heap of quotations might be produced to this purpose both from Jewish and Christian writers: but I choose to select only a few of the most material of each sort; you may find a great number in Dr. Burnet,[8] and other authors who have treated of this subject.

Of the Jewish writers Rabbi Ketina,[9] as cited in the Gemara or gloss of their Talmud, said that 'the world endures six thousand years, and one thousand it shall be laid waste, (that is the enemies of God shall be destroyed) whereof it is said, (Isa. ii. 11.) "The Lord alone shall be exalted in that day." Tradition assents to Rabbi Ketina: As out of seven years every seventh is the year of remission, so out of the seven thousand years of the world the seventh millennary shall be the millennary of remission, that *God alone may be exalted in that day.*' It was the tradition of the house of Elias,[1] who lived two hundred years or thereabouts before Christ, and the tradition might perhaps be derived from Elias the Tishbite, that 'the world endures six thousand years, two thousand before the law, two thousand under the law, and two thousand under the Messiah.' It was also the tradition of the house of Elias,[2] that 'the just whom God shall raise up (meaning in the first resurrection) shall not be turned again into dust. Now if you inquire, how it shall be with the just in those thousand years wherein the holy blessed God shall renew his world, whereof it is said "And the Lord alone shall be exalted in that day;" you must know that the holy blessed God will give them the wings as it were of eagles, that they may fly upon the face of the waters; whence it is said (Psal. xlvi. 2.) "Therefore will we not fear, when the earth shall be changed." But perhaps you will say, it shall be a pain and affliction to them. Not at all, for it is said (Isa. xl. 31.) "They that wait upon the Lord shall renew their strength, they shall mount up with wings as eagles."'

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[8] Burnet's Theory, b. 3. ch. 5. b. 4. ch. 6. Mede Placita Doctorum Hebræorum de Magno die Judicii, p. 535. b. 5. ch. 3. p. 892, &c. &c.

[9] 'Dixit Rabbi Ketina, Sex annorum millibus stat mundus, et uno (millenario)

Of the Christian writers St. Barnabas in the first century[3]

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vastabitur; de quo dicitur, "Et exaltabitur Dominus solus die illo." Traditio adstipulatur R. Ketinæ: Sicut ex septenis annis septimus quisque annus remissionis est, ita ex septem millibus annorum mundi septimus millenarius millenarius remissionis erit, ut "Dominus solus exaltetur in die illo."' In Gemara Sanhedrim, apud Mede. p. 535, et p. 893.

[1] 'Traditio domûs Eliæ: Sex mille annos durat mundus: bis mille annis inanitas; bis mille annis Lex; denique bis mille annis dies Christi.' apud Mede, p. 536, et p. 894. Burnet's Theory, b. 3. c. 5.

[2] 'Traditio domûs Eliæ: Justi quos resuscitabit Deus non redigentur iterum in pulverem. Si quæras autem, Mille annis istis quibus Deus sanctus benedictus renovaturus est mundum suum, de quibus dicitur "Et exaltabitur Dominus solus in die illo," quid justis futurum sit; sciendum, quod Deus sanctus benedictus dabit illis alas quasi aquilarum, ut volent super facie aquarum; unde dicitur (Psal. xlvi. 2.) "Propterea non timebimus, cum mutabitur terra." At forte (inquies) erit ipsis dolori seu afflictioni. Sed occurrit illud (Isa. xl. 31.) "Exspectantibus Dominum innovabuntur vires, efferentur altâ instar aquilarum." apud Mede, p. 776.

[3] Καὶ ἐποίησεν ὁ Θεὸς ἐν ἓξ ἡμέραις τὰ ἔργα τῶν χειρῶν αὐτοῦ, καὶ συνετέλεσεν ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ ἑβδόμῃ, καὶ κατέπαυσεν ἐν αὐτῇ, καὶ ἡγίασεν αὐτήν. Προσέχετε, τέκνα, τί λέγει, τὸ συνετέλεσεν ἐν ἓξ ἡμέραις· τοῦτο λέγει, ὅτι συντελεῖ ὁ Θεὸς κύριος ἐν ἑξακισχιλιόις ἔτεσι τὰ πάντα. Ἡ γὰρ ἡμέρα παρ' ἀυτῷ χίλια ἔτη, αὐτὸς δε μαρτυρεῖ, λέγων, ἰδοὺ σήμερον ἡμέρα ἔσται ὡς χίλια ἔτη. Οὐκοῦν, τέκνα, ἐν ἓξ ἡμέραις, ἐν τοῖς ἑξακισχιλίοις ἔτεσι, συντελεσθήσεται τὰ πάντα. Καὶ κατέπαυσε τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ ἑβδόμῃ· τοῦτο λέγει, ὅταν ἐλθὼν ὁ ὑιὸς αὐτοῦ, καὶ καταργήσει τὸν καιρὸν ἀνόμου, καὶ κρινεῖ τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς, καὶ ἀλλάξει τὸν ἥλιον, καὶ τὴν σεληνὴν, καὶ τοὺς ἀστέρας, τότε καλῶς καταπαύσεται ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ ἑβδόμῃ. "*Fecitque*

thus comments upon those words of Moses, '"And God made in six days the works of his hands, and he finished them on the seventh day, and he rested in it, and sanctified it." Consider, children, what that signifies, *he finished them in six days.* This it signifies, that the Lord God will finish all things in six thousand years. For a day with him is a thousand years; as he himself testifieth saying, "Behold this day shall be as a thousand years." Therefore, children, in six days, that is in six thousand years, shall all things be consummated. *And he rested the seventh day:* this signifies, that when his Son shall come, and shall abolish the season of the wicked one, and shall judge the ungodly, and shall change the sun, and the moon, and the stars, then he shall rest gloriously in that seventh day.' Justin Martyr, in the second century,[4] declares the millennium to be the catholic doctrine of his time. 'I, and as many as are orthodox Christians in all respects, do acknowledge that there shall be a resurrection of the flesh, (meaning the first resurrection) and a thousand years in Jerusalem rebuilt, and adorned, and enlarged, (that is in the new Jerusalem) as the prophets Ezekiel, and Isaiah, and others unanimously attest.' Afterwards he subjoins, 'A certain man among us, whose name was John, one of the apostles of Christ, in a revelation made to him, did prophesy that the faithful believers in Christ should live a thousand years in the new Jerusalem, and after these should be the general resurrection and judgment:' which is an early attestation to the genuineness and authenticity of the book of the Revelation; for Justin was converted to Christianity about thirty years after the death of St. John, at which time probably many were alive, who had known and remembered the apostle. Dr. Middleton in his Inquiry into the miraculous powers, &c.

Deus in sex diebus opera manuum suarum, et consummavit in die septima, et in ea requievit, et sanctificavit eam." Advertite, filii, quid dicat: "consummavit in sex diebus:" id ait, omnia consummabit Dominus Deus in sex millibus annorum. Nam apud illum dies æquiparatur mille annis, ut ipsemet testatur dicens. "Ecce hodiernus dies erit tanquam mille anni." Itaque, filii in sex diebus hoc est, in sex annorum millibus, consummabuntur universa. "Et requievit die septima:" hoc ait quando veniens ejus filius tempus Iniqui abolebit, ac judicabit impios, et mutabit solem ac lunam, stellasque, tunc pulcre requiescet in die septima. S. Barnabæ Epist. c. 15.

[4] Ἐγὼ δὲ, καὶ εἴ τινές εἰσιν ὀρθογνώμονες κατὰ πάντα Χριστιανοὶ, καὶ σαρκὸς ἀνάστασιν γενήσεσθαι ἐπιστάμεθα, καὶ χίλια ἔτη ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ, οἰκοδομηθείσῃ, καὶ κοσμηθείσῃ, καὶ πλατυνθείσῃ, [ὡς] οἱ προφῆται Ἰεζεκιὴλ, καὶ Ἡσαΐας, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ὁμολογοῦσιν. *Ego autem, et si qui rectæ per omnia sententiæ Christiani sunt, et carnis resurrectionem futuram novimus, et mille annos in Hierusalem instaurata, et exornata et dilatata, sicut prophetæ, Ezechiel, et Esaias, et alii promulgant.* Καὶ ἐπειδὴ καὶ παρ᾽ ἡμῖν ἀνήρ τις, ᾧ ὄνομα Ἰωάννης, εἷς τῶν ἀποστόλων τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἐν ἀποκαλύψει γενομένῃ αὐτῷ χίλια ἔτη ποιήσειν ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ τοὺς τῷ ἡμετέρῳ Χριστῷ πιστεύσαντας προεφήτευσε, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα τὴν καθολικὴν καὶ, συνελόντι φάναι, αἰωνίαν ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἅμα πάντων ἀνάστασιν γενήσεσθαι καὶ κρίσιν. *Et vir apud nos quidam, cui nomen erat Joannes, e duodecim apostolis Christi unus, in ea quæ illi exhibita est revelatione Christi fideles nostri annos mille Hierosolymis peracturos esse prælocutus est, et postea universalem et (ut semel dicam) sempiternam omnium unanimiter simul resurrectionem et judicium futurum.* Just. Mart. Dial. cum Tryph. p. 313, 315.

has done great injustice to Justin Martyr, as well as to several of the fathers. In treating of the millennium (p. 26.) he represents Justin as saying, ‘that all the saints should be raised in the flesh, and reign with Christ in Jerusalem, enlarged and beautified in a wonderful manner for their reception, in the enjoyment of all sensual pleasures, for a thousand years before the general resurrection.’ But in the original there is no such clause as that, *in the enjoyment of all sensual pleasures;* it is an addition and interpolation of the Doctor's own, in order to depreciate the venerable father: and he could not possibly have made it by mistake, he must have done it designedly, for he has cited the original as far as to that clause, and there stopping short has concealed the rest with an &c. If he had fairly cited the whole sentence (as I have done above) he was sensible that every scholar must have detected the imposition. It is seriously to be lamented, that so learned and ingenious a man and so very fine a writer as Dr. Middleton was, should in support of any argument have been guilty of so many false quotations as he has been, more than any author I know. Forgery should be deemed a capital offence in literary as well as in civil affairs. It has been the fate of Justin to have his sense misrepresented by others as well as by Dr. Middleton. For he has been made to say that the doctrine of the millennium had not, even in his time, obtained universal reception, but that ‘many Christians of pure and pious principles rejected it,’ it should have been said, *did not acknowledge it,* τοῦτο μὴ γνωρίζειν. But Justin could not so palpably contradict himself. The whole context evidently demonstrates, that we should read, with Mede and Tillotson, the passage with a negative, οὐ τῆς καθαρᾶς καὶ εὐσεβοῦς, that *many* not *of pure and pious principles did not acknowledge it. For some* (says he) *are called Christians, but are atheistical and ungodly heretics,* τοὺς γὰρ λεγομένους μὲν χριστιανοὺς, ὄντας δὲ ἀθέους καὶ ἀσεβεῖς αἱρεσιώτας. A manifest proof, that they were men ‘not of pure and godly principles.’ A little after he subjoins, that *some are called Christians, and do not confess this, and deny the resurrection of the dead,* τισὶ λεγομένοις χριστιανοῖς, καὶ τοῦτο μὴ ὁμολογοῦσιν, καὶ λέγουσι μὴ εἶναι νεκρῶν ἀνάστασιν. And then after all follows what was cited before, ‘But I, and as many as are orthodox Christians in all respects, do acknowledge that there shall be a resurrection of the flesh and a thousand years in Jerusalem, &c.’ He thought the doctrine of the millennium of such consequence that he has joined it all along with that of the resurrection of the dead. It is evident therefore that he never meant to say, that they who rejected this doctrine were Christians ‘of pure and pious principles,’ but the contrary. Tertullian, at the beginning of the third century, professeth his belief of the kingdom promised to the saints upon earth, of their resurrection for a thousand years, of their living in the new Jerusalem, and therein enjoying all spiritual delights, and of the destruction of the world and the general judgment after the thousand years:[5] and his Books *of Paradise* and *of the Hope of the Faithful,* if they had not been lost or suppressed, might have afforded ampler proofs of all these particulars. Lactantius, at the beginning of the fourth century,[6] is very copious upon this subject in the seventh book of his Divine Institutions. He saith, 'Because all the works of God were finished in six days, it is necessary that the world should remain in this state six ages, that is six thousand years.' And again, 'because, having finished the works, he rested on the seventh day, and blessed it; it is necessary that at the end of the six thousandth year all wickedness should be abolished out of the earth, and justice should reign for a thousand years.' He saith, 'When the Son of God shall have destroyed injustice, and shall have restored the just to life, he shall be conversant among men a thousand years, and shall rule them with most just government. At the same time the prince of devils shall be bound with chains, and shall be in custody the thousand years of the heavenly kingdom, while justice shall reign in the world, lest he should attempt any evil against the people of God.' He saith, 'When the thousand years of the kingdom, that is seven thousand years, shall draw towards a conclusion, Satan shall be loosed again: and when the thousand years shall be completed, then shall be that second and public resurrection of all, wherein the unjust shall be raised to everlasting torments.' And having enlarged upon these topics he concludes, 'This is the doctrine of the holy prophets which we Christians follow; this is our wisdom.' In short the doctrine of the millennium was generally believed in the three first and purest ages; and this belief, as the [7] learned Dodwell hath justly observed, was one principal cause of the fortitude of the primitive Christians; they even coveted martyrdom, in hopes of being partakers of the privileges and glories of the martyrs in the first resurrection.

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[5] 'Nam et confitemur in terra nobis regnum repromissum, &c.' Tertull. advers. Marcion. l. 3. c. 24.

[6] 'Quoniam sex diebus cuncta Dei opera perfecta sunt; per sæcula sex, id est annorum sex millia, manere hoc statu mundum necesse est.—Et rursus, quoniam perfectis operibus requievit die septimo, eumque benedixit; necesse est, ut in sine sexti millesimi anni malitia omnis oboleatur è terra, et regnet per annos mille justitia.' c. 14. 'Verum ille, cum deleverit injustitiam,—ac justos, qui a principio fuerunt, ad vitam restauraverit, mille annis inter homines versabitur, eosque justissimo imperio reget.—Sub idem tempus etiam princeps dæmonum—catenis vincietur, et erit in custodia mille annis cælestis imperii, quo justitia in orbe regnabit, ne quod malum adversus populum Dei moliatur.' c. 24. 'Sed idem, cum mille anni regni, hoc est septem millia cœperint terminari: solvetur denuo, &c. Cum vero completi fuerint mille anni,—fiet, secunda illa, et publica omnium resurrectio, in qua excitabuntur injusti ad cruciatus sempiternos.—Hæc est doctrina sanctorum prophetarum, quam Christiani sequimur; hæc nostra sapientia.' c. 26.

[7] 'Jam in millennii regno primam fore resurrectionem corporum crediderunt primævi Christiani. Et ut justorum propriam eam crediderunt resurrectionem, ita martyrum in ea portionem longe esse præcipuam.—Hæc cum ita crederentur, dici nequit quantum martyres illius ætatis martyrii studio inflammarint.' Dodwelli Dissert. Cyprian. XII. De Martyrum fortitudine, § 20, 21.

Afterwards the doctrine grew into disrepute for various reasons. Some, both Jewish and Christian writers, have debased it with a mixture of fables; they have described the kingdom more like a sensual than a spiritual kingdom, and thereby they have not only exposed themselves, but (what is infinitely worse) the doctrine itself to contempt and ridicule. It hath suffered by the misrepresentations of its enemies, as well as by the indiscretions of its friends; many, like [8]Jerome, have charged the millennarians with absurd and impious opinions which they never held; and rather than they would admit the truth of the doctrine, they have not scrupled to call in question the genuineness of the book of Revelation. It hath been abused even to worse purposes; it hath been made an engine of faction; and turbulent fanatics, under the pretence of saints, have aspired to dominion and disturbed the peace of civil society. Besides, wherever the influence and authority of the church of Rome have extended, she hath endeavoured by all means to discredit this doctrine; and indeed not without sufficient reason, this kingdom of Christ being founded on the ruins of the kingdom of Antichrist. No wonder therefore that this doctrine lay depressed for many ages, but it sprung up again at the Reformation, and will flourish together with the study of the Revelation. All the danger is, on one side, of pruning and lopping it too short, and on the other, of suffering it to grow too wild and luxuriant. Great caution, soberness, and judgment are required, to keep the middle course. We should neither with some interpret it into an allegory, nor depart from the literal sense of Scripture without absolute necessity for so doing. Neither should we with others indulge an extravagant fancy, nor explain too curiously the manner and circumstances of this future state. It is safest and best faithfully to adhere to the words of Scripture, or to fair deductions from Scripture; and to rest contented with the general account, till time shall accomplish and eclaircise all the particulars.

(7) "And when the thousand years are expired, Satan shall be loosed out of his prison. (8) And shall go out to deceive the nations which are in the four quarters of the earth, Gog and Magog, to gather them together to battle; the number of whom *is* as the sand of the sea. (9) And they went up on the breadth of the earth, and compassed the camp of the saints

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[8] See Mede's Works, b. 5. c. 5. D. Hieronymi Pronunciata de Dogmate millennariorum, p. 897.

about, and the beloved city; and fire came down from God out of heaven and devoured them. (10) And the devil that deceived them, was cast into the lake of fire and brimstone, where the beast and the false prophet *are,* and shall be tormented day and night for ever and ever."

At the expiration of the thousand years (ver. 7—10.) the restraint shall be taken off from wickedness, and for *a little season,* as it was said before (ver. 3.), "Satan shall be loosed out of his prison," and make one effort more to re-establish his kingdom. As he deceived our first parents in the paradisaical state, so he shall have the artifice "to deceive the nations" in this millennial kingdom, to shew that no state or condition upon earth is exempted and secured from sinning. The nations, whom he shall deceive, are described as living in the remotest parts of the world; "in the four quarters of the earth," *ἐν ταῖς τέσσαρσι γωνίαις τῆς γῆς, in the four angles* or *corners of the earth;* and they are distinguished by the name of "Gog and Magog," and are said to be as numerous "as the sand of the sea." *Gog and Magog* seem to have been formerly the general name of the northern nations of Europe and Asia, as *the Scythians* have been since, and *the Tartars* are at present. In Ezekiel there is a famous prophecy concerning *Gog and Magog,* and this prophecy alludes to that in many particulars. Both that of Ezekiel and this of St. John remain yet to be fulfilled; and therefore we cannot be absolutely certain that they may not both relate to the same event, but it appears more probable that they relate to different events. The one is expected to take effect before, but the other will not take effect till after, the millennium. *Gog and Magog* in Ezekiel are said expressly (xxxviii. 6. 15. xxxix. 2.) to come from *the north-quarters* and *the north parts,* but in St. John they come from *the four quarters* or *corners of the earth. Gog and Magog* in Ezekiel bend their forces against the Jews resettled in their own land, but in St. John they march up against *the saints* and church of God in general. *Gog and Magog* in Ezekiel are with very good reason supposed to be the Turks, but the Turks are the authors of *the second woe,* and *the second woe* (xi. 14.) *is past* before *the third woe,* and *the third woe* long precedes the time here treated of. Ezekiel's prophecy apparently coincides with the latter part of the eleventh chapter of Daniel, and pre-signifies the destruction of the Othman empire, which includes *Gomer* and many European, as well as *Ethiopia, Libya,* and other nations. If *Gog and Magog* in St. John are the same with those in Ezekiel, then we must suppose the Othman empire to subsist throughout the millennium, which can hardly be believed, as it can hardly be reconciled with other prophecies. It may therefore be concluded that *Gog* *and Magog*, as well as *Sodom*, and *Egypt*, and *Babylon*, are mystic names in this book; and the last enemies of the Christian church are so denominated, because *Gog and Magog* appear to be the last enemies of the Jewish nation. Who they shall be, we cannot pretend to say with any the least degree of certainty. It is a strange whimsical absurd paradox of Dr. Burnet,[9] but his hypothesis betrayed him into it, that they shall be 'sons of the earth, generated from the slime of the ground and the heat of the sun, as brute creatures were at first.' Mr. Mede's[1] conjecture is much more rational, that they shall be the nations of America, the nations in America being in all probability colonies or descendants from the Scythians, that is from *Gog and Magog*. Whoever they shall be, they shall come up from "the four quarters (or *corners*) of the earth, on the breadth of the earth, and *shall compass* the camp of the saints about, and the beloved city," the new Jerusalem, with the saints encamped around it, as the Israelites encamped around the tabernacle in the wilderness. But they shall not succeed and prosper in their attempts; they shall not be able to hurt the church and city of God, but shall be destroyed in an extraordinary manner, *by fire from heaven*: and *the devil* himself, the promoter and leader of this new apostasy and rebellion against God and his Christ, shall not only be confined as before, but shall be "cast into the lake of fire and brimstone," where he shall be punished together wth "the beast and false prophet" who were cast in before him, "and shall be tormented day and night for ever and ever."

(11) "And I saw a great white throne, and him that sat on it, from whose face the earth and the heaven fled away, and there was found no place for them. (12) And I saw the dead, small and great, stand before God; and the books were opened: and another book was opened, which is *the book* of life: and the dead were judged out of those things which were written in the books, according to their works. (13) And the sea gave up the dead which were in it; and death and hell delivered up the dead which were in them: and they were judged every man according to their works. (14) And death and hell were cast into the lake of fire: This is the second death. (15) And whosoever was not found written in the book of life, was cast into the lake of fire."

After this last conflict and the final defeat of Satan, there follows (ver. 11—15.) the general resurrection and judgment, represented in a vision of "a great white throne;" *great* to shew the largeness and extent, *white* to shew the justice and equity of the judgment, and *one sitting on it,* who can be none other than the Son of God, for (John v. 22.) "the Father hath committed all judgment unto the Son;" "from whose face the earth and the heaven fled away, and there was found no place for them," so that this is properly *the end of the world.* "The dead, both small and great," of all ranks and degrees, as well those who perished at sea and were buried in the waters, as those who died at land and were buried in graves, are all raised, and stand before the judgment seat of God, where "they are judged every man according to their works," as exactly as if all their actions had been recorded in books. They who are found not worthy to be enrolled in the registers of heaven are "cast into the lake of fire;" whither also were cast "death and hell," or *the grave,* who are here personified, as they are likewise in other places of Holy Scripture. It may seem strange that *death* should be *cast into the lake of fire, which is the second death;* but the meaning is, that *temporal death,* which hitherto had exercised dominion over the race of men, shall be totally abolished, and with respect to the wicked be converted into *eternal death.* "Then (as St. Paul saith, 1 Cor. xv. 54. 26.) shall be brought to pass the saying that is written, Death is swallowed up in victory;" for "the last enemy that shall be destroyed is death."

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[9] Burnet's Theory, b. 4. c. 10.

[1] De Gogo et Magogo in Apocalypsi Conjectura, in Mede's Works, b. 3. p. 574. Fulleri Miscell. Sacra, l. 2. c. 4. in fin.

CHAP. XXI.—(1) "AND I saw a new heaven and a new earth: for the first heaven and the first earth were passed away; and there was no more sea. (2) And I John saw the holy city, new Jerusalem, coming down from God out of heaven, prepared as a bride adorned for her husband. (3) And I heard a great voice out of heaven, saying, Behold the tabernacle of God *is* with men, and he will dwell with them, and they shall be his people, and God himself shall be with them, *and* be their God. (5) And God shall wipe away all tears from their eyes; and there shall be no more death, neither sorrow, nor crying, neither shall there be any more pain: for the former things are passed away. (5) And he that sat upon the throne, said, Behold I make all things new. And he said unto me, Write: for these words are true and faithful. (6) And he said unto me, It is done. I am Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the end: I will give unto him that is athirst, of the fountain of the water of life freely. (7) He that overcometh shall inherit all things, and I will be his God and he shall be my son. (8) But the fearful, and unbelieving, and the abominable, and murderers, and whoremongers, and sorcerers, and idolaters, and all liars, shall have their part in the lake which burneth with fire and brimstone: which is the second death."

"A new heaven and a new earth" (ver. 1.) succeeded in the room of "the first heaven and the first earth," which "passed away" (xx. 11.) at the general judgment. In the new earth there is this remarkable property, that "there *is* no more sea," which whether it shall be effected by the means which the theorists of the earth have prescribed,[2] or by any other, time must discover: but it is evident from hence, that this new heaven and earth are not designed to take place till after the general judgment, for at the general judgment (xx. 13.) "the sea gave up the dead which were in it." Many understand the expression figuratively, that there shall be *no troubles* or *commotions* in this new world. In this new world too the "new Jerusalem" appears (ver. 2.) in full glory and splendour. It is described as "coming down from God out of heaven:" it is a city, whose builder and maker is God; and is *adorned as the bride for the Lamb,* the true church of Christ: and the new Jerusalem, the true church of Christ, subsists as well during the millennial kingdom as after it. At the commencement of the millennium it was said (xix. 7.) "The marriage of the Lamb is come, and his wife hath made herself ready." At the conclusion of the millennium Gog and Magog went up (xx. 9.) against *the beloved city:* And here it is represented as the metropolis of the new heaven and the new earth. The new Jerusalem shall be the habitation of the saints of the first resurrection, and it shall also be the habitation of the saints of the general resurrection. The church of Christ shall endure through all times and changes in this world, and likewise in the world to come; it shall be glorious upon earth during the millennium, and shall be more glorious still in the new earth after the millennium to all eternity. Earth shall then become as heaven, or rather it shall be a heaven upon earth, (ver. 3.) God dwelling visibly among men: and (ver. 4.) "there shall be no more death," which cannot come to pass, till death shall be totally abolished (xx. 14.) by being "cast into the lake of fire," and till "the former things (the first heaven and the first earth) are passed away." He who "sat upon the throne" as judge of the world (xx. 11.) declares (ver. 5.) "Behold I make all things new:" He is the author of this second as well as of the first creation, and he commands these things to be *written* for the edification and consolation of his church, with a firm assurance of their truth and certainty. He pronounces this period (ver. 6, 7, 8.) to be *the consummation* of all things, when the promises of God, and the desires of his faithful servants shall all be fully accomplished; the righteous "shall inherit all things," but the profligate and immoral "shall have their portion in the lake of fire and brimstone;" which is a farther demonstration, that these things cannot take effect till after the general judgment.

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[2] Burnet's Theory, b. 4. c. 2. Whiston's Theory, b. 4. c. 5.

Many, I know, both ancients and moderns, make the millennium synchronize with the new heaven and the new earth; and some latitude of interpretation may be well allowed in these mysterious points of futurity: but this order of things, and this interpretation of the words, appear to me most natural, and most agreeable to the context. Gog and Magog, the nations in the four corners of the earth, are deceived by Satan after the expiration of the millennium; but Gog and Magog are not inhabiters of the new heaven and the new earth. It is not our business to frame theories and invent hypotheses, but faithfully to follow the word of God as our surest guide, without regarding much the authority of men. Not but various authorities might be cited to shew that this is no novel opinion. As St. Barnabas[3] says, 'When the Lord shall make all things new, then shall be the beginning of the eighth day, which is the beginning of another world;' allowing six thousand years to the duration of this world, the seventh thousand to the millennium, and the eighth thousand to the beginning of a blessed eternity: and you may find many more testimonies alleged to this purpose in the notes of Cotelerius and other critics upon this passage of St. Barnabas. Lactantius[4] affirms, that 'when the thousand years shall be completed, the world shall be renewed by God, and the heaven shall be folded up, and the earth shall be changed; and God shall transform men into the similitude of angels; and they shall be white as snow, and shall be always conversant in the sight of the Almighty, and shall sacrifice to their Lord, and serve him for ever.' St. Austin also[5] declares, that 'the judgment being finished, then this heaven and this earth shall cease to be, when the new heaven and the new earth shall begin to be. For by a mutation of things this world will pass away, not by an utter extinction. Whence also the apostle says (1 Cor. vii. 31.) "that the fashion of this world passeth away."' And indeed why should the new heaven and the new earth be destroyed, when there shall be no more sin, when "there shall be no more curse," when "there shall be no more death?" *The heaven and the earth of old* (2 Pet. iii. 5.) for the wickedness of man perished by water:

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[3] *γεγονότων δὲ καινῶν ἁπάντων ὑπὸ κυρίου— ἀρχὴν ἡμέρας ὀγδόης, ὅ ἐστιν ἄλλου κόσμου ἀρχήν.* *Novatis vero cunctis a Domino— octavi diei initium, hoc est initium alterius mundi.* Sancti Barnab. Epist. c. 15. Vide etiam Notas Cotelerii, &c.

[4] 'Cum vero completi fuerint mille anni, renovabitur mundus a Deo, et cœlum complicabitur, et terra mutabitur; et transformabit Deus homines in similitudinem angelorum; et erunt candidi, sicut nix; et versabuntur semper in conspectu omnipotentis, et domino suo sacrificabunt, et servient in æternum.' Lactant. l. 7. c. 26.

[5] 'Peracto quippe judicio tunc esse desinet hoc cælum et hæc terra, quando incipiet esse cælum novum et terra nova. Mutatione namque rerum, non omni modo interitu transibit hic mundus. Unde et Apostolus ait; "Præterit enim figura hujus mundi."' S. August. de Civitate Dei, l. 19. c. 24.

" The heaven and the earth which are now, are reserved unto fire against the day of judgment, and perdition of ungodly men;" but why should not *the new heaven and the new earth* be preserved, " wherein dwelleth righteousness?"

(9) " And there came unto me one of the seven angels, which had the seven vials full of the seven last plagues, and talked with me, saying, Come hither, I will shew thee the bride, the Lamb's wife. (10) And he carried me away in the spirit to a great and high mountain, and shewed me that great city, the holy Jerusalem, descending out of heaven from God, (11) Having the glory of God: and her light *was* like unto a stone most precious, even like a jasper stone, clear as crystal; (12) And had a wall great and high, *and* had twelve gates, and at the gates twelve angels, and names written thereon, which are *the names* of the twelve tribes of the children of Israel. (13) On the east three gates; on the north, three gates; on the south, three gates; and on the west, three gates. (14) And the wall of the city had twelve foundations, and in them the names of the twelve apostles of the Lamb. (15) And he that talked with me, had a golden reed to measure the city, and the gates thereof, and the wall thereof. (16) And the city lieth foursquare, and the length is as large as the breadth: and he measured the city with the reed, twelve thousand furlongs: the length, and the breadth, and the height of it are equal. (17) And he measured the wall thereof, an hundred *and* forty *and* four cubits, according to the measure of a man, that is, of the angel. (18) And the building of the wall of it was of jasper; and the city *was* pure gold, like unto clear glass. (19) And the foundations of the wall of the city *were* garnished with all manner of precious stones. The first foundation *was* jasper; the second sapphire; the third, a chalcedony; the fourth, an emerald; (20) The fifth, sardonyx; the sixth, sardius; the seventh, chrysolite; the eighth, beryl; the ninth, a topaz; the tenth, a chrysoprasus; the eleventh, a jacinth; the twelfth, an amethyst. (21) And the twelve gates *were* twelve pearls; every several gate was of one pearl: and the street of the city *was* pure gold, as it were transparent glass. (22) And I saw no temple therein: for the Lord God Almighty, and the Lamb are the temple of it. (23) And the city had no need of the sun, neither of the moon to shine in it; for the glory of God did lighten it, and the Lamb is the light thereof. (24) And the nations of them which are saved, shall walk in the light of it: and the kings of the earth do bring their glory and honour into it. (25) And the gates of it shall not be shut at all by day: for there shall be no night there. (26) And they shall bring the glory and honour of the nations into it. (27) And

there shall in no wise enter into it any thing that defileth, neither *whatsoever* worketh abomination, or *maketh* a lie: but they which are written in the Lamb's book of life."

A more particular description is afterwards gven of the new Jerusalem. "One of the seven angels who had the seven vials" (ver. 9.), and most probably the same angel, who before had shewed to St. John (xvii. 1, &c.) the mystic Babylon and her destruction, now sheweth by way of contrast the new Jerusalem and her glory. For this purpose (ver. 10.) "he carrieth him away in the spirit to a great and high mountain;" in the same manner as Ezekiel (xl. 2.) "was brought in the visions of God, and set upon a very high mountain," to see the frame of the city and temple: and this description of the new Jerusalem is an assemblage of the sublimest richest imagery of Ezekiel and other ancient prophets. "The glory of God," or the divine Shechinah, (ver. 11.) illuminates the city. It hath (ver. 12, 13, 14.) "a wall great and high (to shew its strength and security); and twelve gates *with* angels *for guards,* three on the east, three on the north, three on the south, and three on the west," to shew that people of all climates and nations may have access to it. "*On the twelve gates are* written the names of the twelve tribes of the children of Israel," as "*on the twelve foundations are inscribed* the names of the twelve apostles of the Lamb," to signify that the Jewish and the Christian church are now united, and (Eph. ii. 20.) "built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner-stone." The angel hath (ver. 15, 16, 17.) a measuring reed, as the angel had likewise in Ezekiel (xl. 3.); and the measures of the city and of the walls are formed by the multiplication of *twelve,* the number of the apostles. "The city lieth four-square, the length as large as the breadth," according to the pattern of Jerusalem in Ezekiel (xlviii. 16.); and "the length and breadth and height" of the walls and buildings are everywhere of the same beauty, strength, and proportion. It is "built and garnished with gold and all manner of precious stones" (ver. 18—21.), as the richest emblems of eastern wealth and magnificence; the stones resembling those on Aaron's breast-plate, to denote that the *Urim* and *Thummim,* the *light* and *perfection* of God's oracle are there. It hath one remarkable peculiarity (ver. 22.) that there is "no temple therein;" for the whole is the temple of God and of the Lamb. "The glory of God and the Lamb" (ver. 23.) shine in it with a lustre superior to the sun and moon. All they "who are saved (ver. 24—27.) walk *continually* in the light of it;" for "the gates *are never* shut, *and* no night *is* there." It is the centre of "glory and honour," all the wicked are excluded, and only good Christians are admitted, "they who are written in the Lamb's book of life."

Chap. XXII.—(1) "And he shewed me a pure river of water of life, clear as crystal, proceeding out of the throne of God, and of the Lamb. (2) In the midst of the street of it, and of either side of the river, *was there* the tree of life, which bare twelve *manner of* fruits, *and* yielded her fruit every month: and the leaves of the trees *were* for the healing of the nations. (3) And there shall be no more curse: but the throne of God and of the Lamb shall be in it; and his servants shall serve him. (4) And they shall see his face; and his name *shall be* in their foreheads. (5) And there shall be no night there, and they need no candle, neither light of the sun; for the Lord God giveth them light: and they shall reign for ever and ever."

The five first verses of this chapter are a continuation of the description of the new Jerusalem. It is further described with "the river of life" and "the tree of life," as if paradise was restored and improved. A river flowing through the midst of the streets, and trees growing on either side of the river are wonderfully pleasing and agreeable objects, especially in the hot eastern countries. Of the fruits there is such plenty and abundance, that all may freely partake of them at all seasons; and the very "leaves *are* for the healing of the nations;" by all which is signified the blessedness of immortality without any infirmities. Then too "there shall be no more curse," as there is in this present world ever since the fall of man: but the blessed inhabitants shall enjoy the so much talked of *beatific vision,* shall live in the light of God's countenance, and serve him, and "reign for ever and ever."

(6) "And he said unto me, These sayings *are* faithful and true. And the Lord God of the holy prophets sent his angel to shew unto his servants the things which must shortly be done. (7) Behold, I come quickly: blessed *is* he that keepeth the sayings of the prophecy of this book."

In the conclusion, the angel (ver. 6, 7.) ratifies and confirms all these particulars by a repetition of the same solemn assurance which he had before given, (xix. 9. xx. 5.) that "these sayings are faithful and true:" and he was commissioned by the same God, who had inspired the ancient prophets, "to shew the things which must shortly be done," which would very soon begin in part to be fulfilled, and in process of time would all be completed. "Behold, I come quickly," saith he; for we may observe that the angel speaketh sometimes in his own person, and sometimes in the person and character of Christ, whose ambassador and representative he was. Christ is said to *come* upon any notable and illustrious manifestation of his providence; and all these are but so many steps to prepare the way for his last coming to judgment. A blessing too is pronounced, as in the beginning, (i. 3.) upon those who "keep the sayings of the prophecy of this book:" and as good Vitringa[6] devoutly wisheth, May the Lord bestow this grace and favour on us, who have employed some time and pains in the study and explication of this *book*, that some part of this *blessing* also may descend to us!

(8) "And I John saw these things, and heard *them*. And when I had heard and seen, I fell down to worship before the feet of the angel, which shewed me these things. (9) Then saith he unto me, See *thou do it* not: for I am thy fellow-servant, and of thy brethren the prophets, and of them which keep the sayings of this book: worship God. (10) And he saith unto me, Seal not the sayings of the prophecy of this book: for the time is at hand. (11) He that is unjust, let him be unjust still: and he which is filthy, let him be filthy still: and he that is righteous, let him be righteous still: and he that is holy, let him be holy still. (12) And behold, I come quickly; and my reward *is* with me, to give every man according as his work shall be. (13) I am Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the end, the first and the last. (14) Blessed *are* they that do his commandments, that they may have right to the tree of life, and may enter in through the gates into the city. (15) For without *are* dogs, and sorcerers, and whoremongers, and murderers, and idolaters, and whosoever loveth and maketh a lie. (16) I Jesus have sent mine angel to testify unto you these things in the churches. I am the root and the offspring of David, *and* the bright and morning star. (17) And the Spirit and the bride say, Come. And let him that heareth say, Come. And let him that is athirst, come: And whosoever will, let him take the water of life freely. (18) For I testify unto every man that heareth the words of the prophecy of this book. If any man shall add unto these things, God shall add unto him the plagues that are written in this book: (19) And if any man shall take away from the words of the book of this prophecy, God shall take away his part out of the book of life, and out of the holy city, and *from* the things which are written in this book. (20) He which testifieth these things saith, Surely I come quickly. Amen. Even so, come, Lord Jesus. (21) The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ *be* with you all. Amen."

St. John (ver. 8, 9.) testifieth himself to be the person who "saw and heard these things:" and in his ecstasy falling into the same mistake that he had committed before (xix. 10.), he is gently corrected in the same manner by the angel: who ordereth him (ver. 10.) "not to seal up this prophecy," as Daniel's was (xii. 4. 9.), "for the time is at hand," some of the particulars would very soon be accomplished, as indeed all would in their due season and order: which he farther enforceth (ver. 11—15.) with promises and threatenings, of rewards to the righteous, and of vengeance on the wicked. It was not thought sufficient to represent the angel speaking in the person of Christ, but Christ himself also is introduced (ver. 16.) speaking in his own person, and confirming the divine authority of this book, and attesting it to be properly his revelation. "The Spirit and the bride" (ver. 17.), that is, *the spiritual bride*, the true church of Christ, therefore receives it, and ardently wisheth and prayeth for its completion. The book being of this importance and authority, a solemn adjuration is added by Christ himself, that no man presume to add any thing to it, or take away any thing from it, (ver. 18, 19.) "For I testify unto every man that heareth the words of the prophecy of this book, If any man shall add unto these things, God shall add unto him the plagues that are written in this book: and if any man shall take away from the words of the book of this prophecy, God shall take away his part out of the book of life, and out of the holy city, and from the things which are written in this book:" which ought to be seriously considered by all visionaries and enthusiasts on the one hand, who boast their own inventions as divine revelations; and by all sceptics and infidels on the other, who depreciate the value and authority of these predictions. "He who testifieth these things, saith, Surely I come quickly" (ver. 20.); he not only attesteth them to be true, but will also come speedily to accomplish them: to which St. John answers, and in him the whole church, "Amen: Even so, come, Lord Jesus." He closeth all with the usual apostolical benediction (ver. 21.) wishing "the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ" to the churches of Asia in particular, and to all Christians in general. The conclusion is truly excellent, as well as all other parts of this book: and nothing could be contrived to leave these things with a stronger impression upon the mind of the readers. In the whole, from first to last, appears the majesty of the divine revealer, "the Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the end," "the author and finisher" of every good work, and of this more especially.

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[6] 'Præstet nobis hanc gratiam Dominus, qui operam aliquam in illius meditatione collocavimus, et aliqua etiam nobis hujus *beatitatis* pars obtingat.' Vitring. p. 909.

This (as Sir Isaac Newton[7] hath hinted, and as Dr. Warburton hath fully proved in some discourses, which it is hoped will be printed one time or other for the benefit of the public) is that

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[7] Sir Isaac Newton's Observ. upon the Apoc. c. 1. p. 240. The Bishop hath since published a discourse upon this subject in the third vol. of his sermons; but his second lecturer (Dr. Hallifax) contradicts him herein, and maintains the Revelation to be written after the death of St. Peter in the reign of Domitian.

"sure word of prophecy, whereunto *Christians* as (St. Peter saith) do well to take heed" and attend. St. Peter (2 Pet. i. 16, &c.) is asserting and establishing the truth of Christ's second coming in power and great glory. "For we have not followed cunningly devised fables when we made known unto you the power and coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, but were eye-witnesses of his majesty." One illustrious proof of his coming in power and glory was his appearing in glory and majesty at his transfiguration, (ver. 17, 18.) "For he received from God the Father honour and glory, when there came such a voice to him from the excellent glory, This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased. And this voice which came from heaven we heard, when we were with him in the holy mount." His appearing once in power and great glory is a good argument, that he may appear again in like manner: and that he not only may, but will, we have the farther assurance of prophecy, (ver. 19.) "We have also a more sure word of prophecy; whereunto ye do well that ye take heed, as unto a light that shineth in a dark place, until the day dawn, and the day-star arise in your hearts." St. Peter might mean the prophecies in general which treat of the second coming of Christ, but it appears that the Revelation was principally in his thoughts and intentions. Christ's second coming in power and glory is one principal topic of the Revelation. With this it begins, (i. 7.) "Behold, he cometh with clouds: and every eye shall see him." With this it also concludes, (xxii. 20.) "He who testifieth these things, saith, Surely, I come quickly." Nothing can better answer the character of the Revelation, especially in St. Peter's time, when as yet scarce any part of it was fulfilled, than "a light *shining* in a dark place, until the day dawn, and the day-star arise in your hearts." It openeth more and more like the dawning of the day; and the more it is fulfilled, the better it is understood. Afterwards St. Peter proceeds, in the second chapter, to describe, out of this *sure word of prophecy,* the false prophets and false teachers, who should infest the church; and in the third chapter, the certainty of Christ's coming to judgment, the conflagration of the present heavens and earth, and the structure of the new heavens and earth; and all agreeably to the Revelation. Attention therefore to this book is recommended to us, upon the authority of St. Peter as well as of the writer St. John: and a double blessing, as we have seen in the book itself, is pronounced upon those who shall study and observe it; first in the beginning, (i. 3.) "Blessed is he that readeth, and they that hear the words of this prophecy, and keep those things, which are written therein;" and here again in the end, (xxii. 7.) "Blessed is he that keepeth the sayings of the prophecy of this book." Emboldened by which blessings I would humbly pray with Nehemiah, (Nehem. xiii. 22.) "Remember me, O my God, concerning this also, and spare me, according to the greatness of thy mercy."

XXVI.—RECAPITULATION OF THE PROPHECIES RELATING TO POPERY.

UPON the whole it appears that the prophecies relating to Popery are the greatest and most essential, and the most striking part of the Revelation. Whatever difficulty and perplexity there may be in other passages, yet here the application is obvious and easy. Popery being the great corruption of Christianity, there are indeed more prophecies relating to that than to almost any other distant event. It is a great object of Daniel's, and the principal object of St. Paul's, as well as of St. John's prophecies; and these, considered and compared together, will mutually receive and reflect light from and upon each other. It will appear to be clearly foretold, that such a power as that of the pope should be exercised in the Christian church, and should authorize and establish such doctrines and practices as are publicly taught and approved in the church of Rome. It is not only foretold that such a power should be exercised, but the place and the persons likewise are pointed out, where and by whom it should be exercised. Besides the place and the persons, the time also is signified when it should prevail, and how long it should prevail; and at last upon the expiration of this term it shall be destroyed for evermore. It is thought proper to represent the prophecies relating to popery in one view, that like the rays of the sun collected in a glass, they may appear with the greater lustre, and have the stronger effect.

I. I say, the Spirit of prophecy hath signified beforehand, that there should be such a power as that of the pope and church of Rome usurped in the Christian world: and these predictions are so plain and express, that, was not the contrary evident and undeniable, they might seem to be penned after the event, and to describe things past rather than to foretel things to come. For instance. Hath there now for many ages subsisted, and doth there still subsist a tyrannical, and idolatrous, and blasphemous power, in pretence Christian, but in reality Antichristian? It is the very same power that is portrayed in *the little horn* and *the blasphemous king* by Daniel, *in the man of sin, the son of perdition,* by St. Paul, and *in the ten-horned beast* and *the two-horned beast,* or *the false prophet,* by St. John.—Hath the church apostatized or departed greatly from the purity of Christian faith and worship? It is the very same thing that St. Paul hath foretold, (2 Thess. ii. 3.) "The day of the Lord shall not come, except there come a falling away (or *the apostasy*) first:" and he saith moreover in another place, (1 Tim. iv. 1.) that the Spirit of prophecy (meaning in Daniel) had in express words testified the same thing before, "Now the Spirit speaketh expressly, that in the latter times some shall depart from the faith," or rather *apostatize from the faith:* and St. John foresaw the church so far degenerated as to become (Rev. xvii. 5.) "the mother of harlots (or *whoredoms*) and abominations of the earth."—Doth this apostasy consist chiefly in the worshipping of *demons*, angels, and departed saints, and in honouring them with costly shrines and rich offerings, instead of the worship of "the one true God *through* the one true mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus?" Nothing can better agree with the prophecy of St. Paul, (1 Tim. iv. 1.) "Some shall apostatize from the faith, giving heed to seducing spirits and doctrines concerning demons;" and with the prophecy of Daniel, that the blasphemous king (xi. 38.) "in his estate shall honour *Mahuzzim* (gods protectors, or saints protectors), and a god whom his fathers knew not, shall he honour with gold, and silver, and with precious stones, and pleasant things."—Is the same church, that is guilty of this idolatry, notorious also for enjoining celibacy to her clergy, and engaging her nuns to enter into vows of leading a single life? doth she make a vain distinction of meats, and command and institute certain times and days of fasting, wherein to taste flesh is judged a mortal sin? Nothing can more fully accomplish the prediction of Daniel, (xi. 37.) that the blasphemous king, who shall worship Mahuzzim, shall also "not regard the desire of wives;" and the prediction of St. Paul, (1 Tim. iv. 3.) that those who shall apostatize from the faith by worshipping of demons, shall no less distinguish themselves by "forbidding to marry, and commanding to abstain from meats, which God hath created to be received with thanksgiving of them who believe and know the truth."—Doth the pope make himself equal and even superior to God, in affecting divine titles, attributes, and honours; in assuming a power of dispensing with the immutable laws of nature and the gospel; in substituting for the commandments of God the traditions of men; in treading upon the altar of God at his inauguration, and making the table of the Lord his footstool, and in that posture receiving the adoration of his cardinals? It is foretold by Daniel, (vii. 25.) that the little horn "shall speak great words against the Most High, and think to change times and laws;" and (xi. 36.) "the king shall do according to his will, and he shall exalt himself, and magnify himself above every god, and speak marvellous things against the God of gods:" and in like manner by St. Paul, (2 Thess. ii. 3, 4.) "The man of sin shall be revealed, the son of perdition; who opposeth and exalteth himself above all that is called God, or that is worshipped, so that he as God sitteth in the temple of God, shewing himself that he is God."—Have the bishops of Rome extended their authority and jurisdiction over several countries and nations? have they usurped a supremacy over all other bishops? have they partly by menaces, and partly by flatteries, obtained an entire ascendancy over Christian princes; so as to have them zealous members of their communion, blindly devoted to their interest, and ready upon all occasions to fight their battles? It is nothing more than what was foretold by the prophets; by Daniel when he said (vii. 20.) that the little horn "had a mouth speaking very great things, and a look more stout than his fellows;" and by St. John when he said (xiii. 7.) that "power was given unto the beast over all kindreds, and tongues, and nations," and (xvii. 2.) "the kings of the earth have committed fornication," or idolatry, with the whore of Babylon; and (xvii. 13.) "have one mind, and shall give their power and strength unto the beast."—Hath the church of Rome enlarged the powers of her clergy both regular and secular, giving them an almost absolute authority over the purses and consciences of men, enriched them with sumptuous buildings and noble endowments, and appropriated the choicest of the lands for church lands? This was plainly intimated by Daniel speaking of the blasphemous king, as the passage should be translated, (xi. 39.) "Thus shall he do; to the defenders of Mahuzzim, together with the strange god whom he shall acknowledge, he shall multiply honour, and he shall cause them to rule over many, and shall divide the land for gain."—Is the church of Rome distinguished above all churches by purple and scarlet colour, by the richness and splendour of her vestments, by the pomp and parade of her ceremonies, inciting and inveigling men with all artifices of ornament and ostentation to join in her communion? This was particularly specified by St. John, speaking of the mystic whore of Babylon, or the corrupted church, (xvii. 4.) "And the woman was arrayed in purple and scarlet colour, and decked with gold and precious stones and pearls, having a golden cup in her hand, full of abominations, and filthiness of her fornication."—Have the bishops and clergy of Rome in all ages been remarkable for their policy? have they not scrupled to promote their religion by all manner of lies and pious frauds? have they allowed of equivocation and mental reservation in oaths and promises, and with the appearance of *lambs,* in meekness and sanctity, acted like *ravening wolves,* with fury and violence? Daniel hath given the same character of the little horn, (vii. 8.) "Behold, in this horn were eyes like the eyes of a man, and a mouth speaking

great things;" and St. Paul of the apostates in the latter times, (1 Tim. iv. 2.) "speaking lies in hypocrisy, having their conscience seared with a hot iron;" and St. John of the two horned beast, (xiii. 11.) "And I beheld another beast coming up out of the earth, and he had two horns like a lamb, and he spake as a dragon."—Doth the church of Rome boast of visions and revelations, and make a show of miracles in attestation of her doctrines? do her legends contain as many spurious and pretended wonders, as the Scriptures do genuine and real? From St. Paul we learn, (2 Thess. ii. 9, 10.) that "the coming *of the man of sin* is after the working of Satan, with all power, and signs, and lying wonders, and with all deceivableness of unrighteousness;" and from St. John, (xiii. 13, 14.) that the false prophet "doeth great wonders in the sight of men, and deceiveth them who dwell on the earth by the means of those miracles which he hath power to do."—Doth the church of Rome require an implicit obedience, condemn all who will not readily conform as heretics, and excommunicate and exclude them from the civil intercourses of life? So the false prophet in St. John (xiii. 16, 17.) "causeth all, both small and great, rich and poor, free and bond, to receive a mark in their right hand, or in their foreheads; and that no man might buy or sell save he that had the mark of the beast."—Have the Roman pontiffs occasioned the shedding of as much or more Christian blood than the Roman emperors themselves? have they all along maintained their spiritual sovereignty by secret plots and inquisitions, by open dragoonings and massacres, and imprisoned, and tortured, and murdered the true worshippers of God, and the faithful servants of Jesus Christ? This particular, as well as all the rest, exactly answers the predictions of the prophets. For it is affirmed of the little horn in Daniel, (vii. 21. 25.) that he "shall make war with the saints, and shall prevail against them; shall speak great words against the Most High, and shall wear out the saints of the Most High:" and the woman in the Revelation, "Babylon the great, the mother of harlots," (xvii. 6.) is represented as "drunken with the blood of the saints, and with the blood of the martyrs of Jesus," and (xviii. 24.) "in her was found the blood of prophets, and of saints, and of all that were slain upon the earth."

Besides these plain and direct prophecies of the corruptions and innovations of the church of Rome, there are several secret glances at them, several oblique intendments and intimations of them.—"Known unto God are all his works from the beginning of the world" (Acts xv. 18.): and when the Holy Spirit dictated to the ancient prophets the prophecies concerning Babylon, Tyre, Egypt, and other tyrannical and corrupt governments, he dictated them in such a manner as plainly evinces that he had a farther view to this last and most tyrannical and corrupt government of all. Babylon, Tyre, Egypt, and the rest, are made the types and emblems of Rome; and many of the particulars predicted concerning the former, are more truly and properly applicable to the latter; and several of them have been applied accordingly by St. John. Jeremiah said concerning ancient Babylon, (li. 7. 45.) "Babylon hath been a golden cup in the Lord's hand, that made all the earth drunken; the nations have drunken of her wine, therefore the nations are mad: my people, go ye out of the midst of her, and deliver ye every man his soul from the fierce anger of the Lord:" but how much more applicable are these expressions, as St. John hath applied them, to mystic Babylon or Rome? (xvii. 4. xviii. 3, 4.) She hath "a golden cup in her hand, full of abominations: all nations have drunk of the poisonous wine of her fornication: Come out of her, my people, that ye be not partakers of her sins, and that ye receive not of her plagues!" The prophets themselves might not understand this mystical, and saw perhaps no farther than the literal meaning; but they "spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost" (2 Pet. i. 21.), who comprehends all events, the most remote as well as the most immediate.—But the intimations of popery, which I particularly meant, are more frequent and more obvious in the New Testament. Why was our blessed Saviour so very cautious in giving honour to the Virgin Mary, that he seemed to regard her less than the least of his disciples? (Matt. xii. 48.) "Who is my mother?" (John ii. 4.) "Woman, what have I to do with thee?" (Luke xi. 27, 28.) "Blessed is the womb that bare thee; yea, rather blessed are they who hear the word of God, and keep it." Why did he rebuke St. Peter more severely than any other of the apostles, (Matt. xvi. 23.) "Get thee behind me, Satan, thou art an offence unto me, for thou savourest not the things that be of God, but those that be of men;" and especially just after giving him that high encomium (ver. 18.) "Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church?" May we not reasonably presume that he spake and acted thus, as foreseeing that divine worship which would idolatrously be paid to the one, that supremacy which would be tyrannically arrogated to the other, and which that very encomium would impertinently be brought to countenance?——How came it to pass that our Saviour in instituting his holy supper (Matt. xxvi. 26, 27.) said of the bread, only "Take, eat," but of the cup more particularly, "Drink ye all of it?" May we not probably suppose that it was designed to prevent or obviate their sacrilege, who would have *all* indeed eat of the bread, but *priests only* drink of the cup?—Why were the vices of the Scribes and Pharisees left so particularly upon record, if not chiefly for the correction and reproof of their natural issue and descendants, the clergy of the church of Rome? Read the whole 23d chapter of St. Matthew, and you will find that there is not a single woe denounced against the former, but as properly belongs, and is as strictly applicable to the latter. "Binding heavy burdens, and grievous to be borne, and laying them on men's shoulders; doing all their works for to be seen of men; shutting up the kingdom of heaven against men, neither going in themselves, neither suffering them who are entering to go in; devouring widows' houses, and for a pretence making long prayers; compassing sea and land to make one proselyte, and when he is made, making him twofold more the child of hell than themselves;" making useless and frivolous distinctions of oaths; observing positive duties, and "omitting the weightier matters of the law, judgment, mercy, and faith; making clean the outside, but within being full of extortion and excess; outwardly appearing righteous unto men, but within being full of hypocrisy and iniquity; building the tombs of the prophets, and garnishing the sepulchres of the righteous," honouring the dead saints, and at the same time persecuting the living; are as strong marks and characters of the one sect as they were of the other.—Do not forbidding implicit faith and obedience to men, (Matt. xxiii. 9.) "Call no man your Father upon the earth, for one is your Father which is in heaven;" forbidding the worship of angels, (Col. ii. 18.) "Let no man beguile you of your reward, in a voluntary humility, and worshipping of angels;" forbidding all pretences to works of merit and supererogation, (Luke xvii. 10.) "When ye shall have done all those things which are commanded you, say, We are unprofitable servants, we have done that which was our duty to do;" forbidding the clergy to lord it over God's heritage, (1 Pet. iv. 3.) "Neither as being lords over God's heritage, but being ensamples to the flock;" forbidding the service of God in an unknown tongue, as St. Paul hath done at large in the 14th chap. of his first Epistle to the Corinthians: do not all these and such like prohibitions, I say, necessarily suppose and imply, that one time or other these particular errors and abuses would creep into the church? and in what church they are publicly taught and practised, no man can be insensible. Such texts of Scripture are as much *predictions* that these things *would be,* as they are *arguments* that they *should not be.* For laws divine and human are not levelled against chimerical and mere imaginary vices, such as never are, never will be brought into practice; but are enacted by reason of those enormities, which men either have committed or are likely to commit, and which the lawgivers wisely foreseeing are therefore willing to prevent. —Why doth St. Paul admonish the Romans particularly to beware of apostasy? (Rom. xi. 20. 22.) "Be not high-minded, but fear;—otherwise thou also shalt be cut off." Surely this is a strange way of addressing the Romans, if the church of Rome was designed to be the infallible judge of controversies, the centre of unity, and director of all religion.—View the picture that both St. Peter and St. Jude have drawn of false teachers, and consider whom it most resembles in all its features. (2 Pet. ii. 1, &c.) "But there were false prophets also among the people, even as there shall be false teachers among you, who privily shall bring in damnable heresies, even denying the Lord that bought them; and many shall follow their pernicious ways, by reason of whom the way of truth shall be evil spoken of; and through covetousness shall they with feigned words make merchandise of you, &c." (Jude iv, &c.) "Ungodly men, turning the grace of our God into lasciviousness, and denying the only Lord God and our Lord Jesus Christ; these filthy dreamers defile the flesh, despise dominion, and speak evil of dignities; these be they who separate themselves, sensual, having not the Spirit; &c."—What St. Paul hath predicted concerning the corruption of the last days, is too much the character of all sects of Christians, but the application more properly belongs to the members of the church of Rome. (2 Tim. iii. 1, &c.) "This know also, that in the last days perilous times shall come: for men shall be lovers of their own selves, covetous, boasters, proud, blasphemers, disobedient to parents, unthankful, unholy; without natural affection, trucebreakers, false accusers, incontinent, fierce, despisers of those that are good; traitors, heady, high-minded, lovers of pleasure more than lovers of God; having a form of godliness, but denying the power thereof."——Such are the direct prophecies, and such the general intimations of popery; and we have the better right to make this application of the general intimations, as the direct prophecies are so plain and particular.

II. It is not only foretold, that such a power as that of the pope and church of Rome should be exercised in the Christian world; but to prevent any mistake in the application of these prophecies, the place and the persons likewise are pointed out, where and by whom it should be exercised. The prophet Daniel (chap. vii.) hath described "four beasts" or *four kingdoms:* and out of the fourth beast or kingdom, he saith, shall arise "ten horns" or *ten kings* or *kingdoms;* and "among them (or *after them*) shall come up another little horn; and he shall be diverse from the rest;" and he shall have "eyes like the eyes of a man, and a mouth speaking great things, and a look more stout than his fellows; and he shall subdue and pluck up by the roots three of the first horns (or *kings*); and shall speak great words against the Most High, and shall wear out the saints of the Most High, and think to change times and laws." Daniel's first kingdom is the Babylonian, the second is the Persian, the third is the Macedonian or Grecian, and the fourth can be none other than the Roman; and the Roman empire, upon its dissolution, was divided into *ten kings* or *kingdoms.* It is in the western or Latin empire that these ten kings or kingdoms are to be sought and found: for this was properly the body of the fourth beast, the Greek or eastern empire belonged to the body of the third beast: and out of the western Roman empire, by the incursions of the northern nations, arose *ten kings* or *kingdoms;* of whom having mentioned the names before, we need not repeat them here. Now who is *the little horn* that was to spring up among these or after these; who as a politico-ecclesiastical power *differeth* from the other ten powers; who "hath eyes like the eyes of a man," that is[1] *a seer,* as Sir Isaac Newton says, ἐπίσκοπος or bishop, in the literal sense of the word; who "hath a mouth speaking great things," bulls and anathemas, interdicts and excommunications; who "hath a look more stout than his fellows," assuming a supremacy not only over other bishops, but even a superiority over kings and emperors themselves; who "hath plucked up by the roots three of the first horns," the exarchate of Ravenna, the kingdom of the Lombards, and the state of Rome, and is distinguished by *the triple crown;* who "speaketh great words against the Most High," setting up himself above all laws divine as well as human: who "weareth out the saints of the Most High," by wars and massacres, inquisitions and persecutions; who "changeth times and laws," instituting new religions, and teaching for doctrines the commandments of men; are questions which I think cannot admit of much dispute; there is only one person in the world who can fully answer all these characters.

The blasphemous king described in the 11th chapter of Daniel, (ver. 36. 39.) who "shall do according to his will, and shall exalt himself and magnify himself above every god, and shall speak marvellous things against the God of gods, and shall prosper till the indignation be accomplished," who "shall not regard the God of his fathers, nor the desire of wives, but in his estate shall honour Mahuzzim, and the defenders of Mahuzzim shall increase with glory, and shall cause them to rule over many, and shall divide the land for gain;" is indeed a more general character, comprehending the tyrannical and corrupt power of the eastern church as well as of the western. But when we consider, how much and how far the Latin hath prevailed above the Greek church; how the supremacy, which was first claimed by the patriarch of Constantinople, hath been fully established in the bishop of Rome; how much more absolute the *will* of the Roman pontiff hath been than that of the Byzantine emperor: how the pope hath *exalted himself and magnified himself* as a god upon earth; how much more the Latins have degenerated from the *religion* of their *fathers* than the Greeks; how *the desire of single life* and *the worship of the dead,* which first began in the eastern parts, have been carried to the greatest height in the western empire; how much the jurisdiction and authority, the lands and revenues of the Roman clergy have exceeded those of the Greeks; how while the Greek church hath lain oppressed for several centuries, the Roman hath still *prospered,* and in all probability still may *prosper till God's indignation* against the Jews *be accomplished;* in short, when we consider, how entirely this character agrees with that of *the little horn,* and how much better it agrees with the head of the Roman than with the head of the Greek church, the particular application of it to the bishop of Rome may well be justified, especially since St. Paul himself hath applied it in the same manner.

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[1] Sir Isaac Newton's Observ. on Daniel, c. 7. p. 75.

St. Paul hath drawn *the man of sin, the son of perdition,* (2 Thess. ii.) an exact copy and resemblance of *the little horn* and *the blasphemous king* in Daniel: and this *man of sin* must necessarily be a *Christian,* and not a *Heathen* or *infidel* power, because he is represented "as God sitting in the temple of God." He is described too as the head of *the apostasy* or *the falling away* from the faith; and this *apostasy* is afterwards (1 Tim. iv. 1.) defined by St. Paul to consist in "worshipping of demons;" angels and deceased saints: and no man surely can have any reason to doubt, who is the head and leader of this apostasy, the patron and authorizer of this worship. The apostle had communicated to the Thessalonians, what it was that hindered his appearing. (ver. 5, 6.) "Remember ye not that when I was yet with you, I told you these things? And now ye know what withholdeth that he might be revealed in his time." What this was the apostle hath no where expressly informed us; but if tradition may be depended upon in any case, it may certainly in this. For it is the constant and current tradition of the fathers, that *what withholdeth* is *the Roman empire:* and therefore the primitive Christians in the public offices of the church prayed for its peace and welfare, as knowing that when the Roman empire should be broken into pieces the empire of *the man of sin* would be raised on its ruins. They made no question, they were fully persuaded, that the successor to the Roman emperor in Rome would be *the man of sin:* and who hath succeeded to the Roman emperor in Rome, let the world judge and determine.

St. John too hath copied after Daniel, and (chap. xiii.) exhibits the Roman empire under the same emblem of *a beast with* *ten horns.* It is evident that he designed the same as Daniel's fourth or last beast, because he represents him as a composition of the three former, with *the body of a leopard, the feet of a bear,* and *the mouth of a lion.* He describes him too with the qualities and properties of *the little horn,* speaking the same blasphemies, acting the same cruelties: and having plainly seen what power was intended by the one, we have the less reason to hesitate about the other. But to distinguish him yet more, the number of his name is defined to be *six hundred and sixty-six.* It was an ancient practice to denote names by numbers; and this number must be resolvable into some Greek or Hebrew name, to which all the characters here given may agree. It is an early tradition derived from Irenæus,[2] who lived not long after St. John's time, and was a disciple of a disciple of this apostle, that the number 666 includes the Greek name *Latcinos* or the Latin empire. Or if you prefer a Hebrew name, as St. John hath sometimes made use of Hebrew names, it is no less remarkable that this number comprehends also the Hebrew name *Romiith* or the Roman empire. For more clearness and sureness still, a woman is shewn (chap. xvii.) riding upon this same beast, and her name is *Babylon the great;* but Babylon was destroyed long before, and by Babylon all agree, was meant Rome. The seven heads of the beast are likewise explained to be "seven mountains on which the woman sitteth," which all the world know to be the situation of Rome. The woman herself is also declared "to be that great city which reigneth over the kings of the earth;" and that can be none other than Rome. Indeed the Papists themselves allow (for they cannot but allow) all this to be said of Rome, but then they argue and maintain it to be said of Heathen Rome. But that cannot be; because it agrees not with several circumstances of the prophecy, and particularly with the woman's sitting upon the beast with "ten horns, and upon his horns ten crowns," which must needs typify the Roman empire, after it was divided into ten kingdoms, but the Roman empire was not divided into ten kingdoms till some years after it became Christian. St. John with the eyes of prophecy saw this beast "rise up out of the sea," and the angel in his exposition saith that he "shall ascend out of the bottomless pit;" but Heathen Rome had risen and flourished many years before this time. This beast cannot represent Heathen Rome because he is successor to Heathen Rome, to *the great red dragon* in "his power, and his seat, and great authority." This beast was to continue and prosper *forty-two* prophetic *months,* that is 1260 years; but Heathen Rome did not continue 400 years after this time. The woman is represented *as the mother of idolatry, with her golden cup intoxicating*

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[2] Iren. l. 5. c. 30.

the inhabiters of the earth; but Heathen Rome ruled more with a rod of iron, and was rather an importer of foreign gods and superstitions than an exporter to other nations. St. John "wondered with great admiration," when he "saw the woman drunken with the blood of the saints, and with the blood of the martyrs of Jesus;" but wherefore should he, who had seen and suffered the persecutions under Nero, wonder so much that Heathens should persecute Christians; but that Christians should delight in shedding the blood of Christians, was indeed of all wonders the greatest. The woman rideth upon the beast under *his seventh head,* or last form of government; but *the sixth head,* which was the imperial form of government, is said to be subsisting in St. John's time, and *the sixth* was not destroyed, and the *seventh* or last form did not take place, till after Rome was become Christian. The ten kings with "one mind gave their power and strength unto the beast," and afterwards "hate the whore and make her desolate, and burn her with fire;" but never did any ten kings unanimously and voluntarily submit to Heathen Rome, and afterwards burn her with fire. Rome, according to the prophecies, is to be *utterly burnt with fire,* and to be made *a desolation for ever and ever:* but Rome hath never yet undergone this fate, and consequently Heathen Rome cannot be the subject of these prophecies. In short from these and all other characters and circumstances, some whereof can never agree with Heathen Rome, and all agree perfectly with Christian Rome, it may and must be concluded, that not Heathen but Christian, not imperial but papal Rome was intended by these visions.

III. Besides the place and the persons, the *time* also is signified of this tyrannical power, when it should prevail, and how long it should prevail. Daniel mentions these things as being at a very great distance, and indeed they were at a very great distance in his time. It is said (viii. 26. x. 24.) "the vision is yet for many days;" that it comprehends (viii. 29.) "what shall be in the last end of the indignation;" that it extends (xi. 35. 40. xii. 4. 9.) "even to the time of the end;" that when God (xii. 7.) "shall have accomplished to scatter the power of the holy people, all these things shall be finished;" all which and other passages to the same purpose considered, it appears as unaccountable as strange, that ever any man should imagine, as some both ancients and moderns have imagined, that Daniel's prophecies reached not beyond the times of Antiochus Epiphanes. Daniel hath described four great empires, not contemporary, but successive one to another. The fourth and last is represented as the greatest of all, both in extent and in duration. "It devoureth the whole earth, and treadeth it down, and breaketh it in pieces." After which it is divided into ten kingdoms, and *the little horn* groweth not up till after this division. So that this tyrannical power was to arise in the latter days of the Roman empire, after it should be divided into ten kingdoms. From St. Paul too we may collect, that the great power of the Roman empire hindered the appearing of *the man of sin;* but when that power should be diminished and "taken out of the way," then should "the man of sin be revealed in his time." St. John also refers these events to the same æra. Not only the general order and the whole series of his prophecies point to this time, but there are besides particular intimations of it. He describes *the beast* as successor to *the great red dragon,* in "his power, and his seat, and great authority:" but if *the great red dragon* be, as he is generally understood to be, the persecuting power of Heathen Rome, then the persecuting power of Heathen Rome must be removed, before *the beast* can take his place. The beast hath also "ten horns, and upon his horns ten crowns;" so that ten complete kingdoms must arise out of the Roman empire before the appearance of the beast. Of his *seven heads* it is said, "Five are fallen (that is, in St. John's time five forms of government were past), one is and the other is not yet come," and the sixth which was then present being the imperial, it necessarily follows that the seventh or last must be some form of government which must arise after the imperial; and as St. John saw the one, we see the other.

It appears then that this Antichristian power was to arise in the latter times of the Roman empire, after an end should be put to the imperial power, and after the empire should be divided into ten kingdoms: and it is not only foretold *when* it should prevail, but moreover *how long* it should prevail. Here we cannot but observe, that the very same period of time is prefixed for its continuance both by Daniel and by St. John. Wonderful is the consent and harmony between these inspired writers, as in other circumstances of the prophecy, so particularly in this. In Daniel (vii. 25.) *the little horn* was to "wear out the saints of the Most High, and think to change times and laws;" and it is said expressly, that they "should be given into his hand, until a time, and times, and the dividing of time," or as the same thing is expressed in another place, (xii. 7.) "for a time, times, and a half." In the Revelation it is said of the *beast,* (xiii. 5.) to whom in like manner "it was given to make war with the saints, and to overcome them," that "power *also* was given unto him to continue forty and two months." And "the holy city (xi. 2.) the Gentiles should tread under foot forty and two months:" And "the two witnesses (ver. 3.) should prophesy a thousand two hundred and three-score days clothed in sackcloth:" And the woman, the true church of Christ, who fled into the wilderness from persecution, (xii. 6. 14.) should be fed and nourished there "a thousand two hundred and three-score days," or as it is otherwise expressed in the same chapter, "for a time, and times, and half a time." Now all these numbers you will find upon computation to be the same, and each of them to signify 1260 years. For *a time* is *a year,* and *a time, and times, and the dividing of time,* or *half a time,* are *three years and a half,* and *three years and a half* are 42 *months,* and 42 *months* are 1260 *days,* and 1260 *days* in the prophetic style are 1260 *years.* From all these dates and characters it may fairly be concluded, that the time of the church's great affliction and of the reign of Antichrist will be a period of 1260 years.

To fix the time exactly when these 1260 years begin, and consequently when they will end, is a matter of some niceness and difficulty; and perhaps we must see their conclusion, before we can precisely ascertain their beginning. However, it appears to be a very great mistake of some very learned men in dating the commencement of this period too early. This is the capital error of Mr. Mede's scheme; what hath led him, and others who have followed his example, into subsequent errors; and what the event hath plainly refuted. For if the reign of Antichrist had begun, as he reckons, about the year 456, its end would have fallen out about the year 1716. The truth is, these 1260 years are not to be reckoned from the *beginning* of these corruptions, from the *rise* of this tyranny, for "the mystery of iniquity began to work" even in the days of the apostles; but from their full growth and establishment in the world. Of *the little horn,* who was "to wear out the saints of the Most High, and to change times and laws," it is said that "they should be given into his hand," which can imply no less than the most absolute power and authority over them, "until a time, and times, and the dividing of time." In like manner *the holy city,* the true church of Christ, was to be "trodden under foot," which is the lowest state of subjection; *the two witnesses* were not only to prophesy, but to "prophesy in sackcloth," that is in mourning and affliction; *the woman,* the church, was to abide "in the wilderness," that is in a forlorn and desolate condition; and "power was given to the beast," ποιῆσαι, not merely "to continue," as it is translated, but *to practise* and *prosper,* and *to do* according to his will; and all for this same period of 1260 years. These 1260 years therefore of the reign of Antichrist are not to be computed from his birth, or infancy, or youth; but from his coming to maturity, from his coming to the throne: and in my opinion their beginning cannot be fixed consistent with the truth of history either sooner or later than in the eighth century. Several memorable events happened in that century. In the[3] year 727 the pope and people of Rome revolted from the exarch of Ravenna, and shook off their allegiance to the Greek emperor. In the year 755 the pope obtained the exarchate of Ravenna for himself, and thenceforwards acted as an absolute temporal prince. In the year 774 the pope, by the assistance of Charles the Great, became possessed of the kingdom of the Lombards. In the year 787 the worship of images was fully established, and the supremacy of the pope acknowledged by the second council of Nice. From one or other of these transactions it is probable, that the beginning of the reign of Antichrist is to be dated. What appears to be most probable is, that it is to be dated from the year 727, when (as[4] Sigonius says) ' Rome and the Roman dukedom came from the Greeks to the Roman pontiff.' Hereby he became in some measure a *horn* or temporal prince, though his power was not fully established till some years afterwards: and before he was a *horn* at all, he could not answer the character of *the little horn.* If then the beginning of the 1260 years of the reign of Antichrist is to be dated from the year 727, their end will fall near the year 2000 after Christ; and at the end of the 6000th year of the world, according to a very early tradition of Jews and Christians, and even of Heathens, great changes and revolutions are expected both in the natural and in the moral world; and " there remaineth, according to the words of the apostle, (Heb. iv. 9.) a *sabbatism* or *holy* rest to the people of God."

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[3] See Sigonius, Spanheim, Dupin, &c. &c.

IV. What Daniel hath described under the character of *the little horn*, and *the blasphemous king;* what St. Paul hath described under the character of *the man of sin, the son of perdition;* what St. John hath described under the character of *the beast,* and *the false prophet;* that same tyrannical, idolatrous, and blasphemous power, ecclesiastical writers usually denominate *Antichrist:* and having thus far traced his character and description, his rise, progress, and continuance, let us now proceed to consider his fall, when at the expiration of the prefixed period of 1260 years his kingdom shall be destroyed for evermore. The prophets are not more expressive of his elevation, than they are of his destruction. They not only predict his downfall in general terms, but also describe the manner and circumstances of it: and St. John's account being larger, and more circumstantial and particular, will be the best comment and explanation of the others. For my part I cannot pretend to prophesy, which is the common vanity of expositors of the Revelation; I can only represent events in the order wherein, according to my apprehension, the prophets have placed them. Sobriety and modesty are required in the interpretation of all prophecies, and especially in the explication of things yet future Only this much it may be proper to premise, that having seen so many of the prophecies fulfilled, you have the less reason to doubt of the completion of those which are to follow.

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[4] ' Ita Roma, Romanusque Ducatus a Græcis ad Romanum pontificem—pervenit. Sigon. Hist. de Regno Ital. l. 3. Ann. 727.

At this present time we are living under *the sixth trumpet*, and *the second woe* (Rev. xi.); the Othman empire is still subsisting, the beast is still reigning, and there are Protestant witnesses still prophesying in sackcloth: and this *sixth trumpet* and *second woe* must end, before the *seventh trumpet* can sound, or *the third woe* be poured out, which is to fall upon the kingdom of the beast. But before the end of *the second woe*, it should seem that the Papists will make a great and successful effort against the Protestant religion. When the witnesses "shall have near finished their testimony (that is, towards the conclusion of their 1260 years), the beast shall make war against them, and shall overcome them." They shall lie oppressed and *dead* as it were, to the great joy and triumph of their enemies; but they shall *rise again after three years and a half*, and the Protestant religion shall become more glorious than ever, with a considerable diminution of the papal authority. According to the method and order wherein St. John hath arranged these events, they must happen before the end of *the second woe*, or the fall of the Othman empire. Ezekiel (xxxviii. xxxix.) and Daniel (xi. 44, 45.) have given some intimations, that the Othman empire shall be overthrown in opposing the settlement of Israel in their own land in the latter days. In the conclusion of the book of Daniel there are also some intimations, that the religion of Mohammed shall prevail in the east for as long a period of time as the tyranny of the little horn in the west. Very remarkable too it is, that [5] Mohammed first contrived his imposture in the year 606, the very same year wherein the tyrant Phocas made a grant of the supremacy to the pope; and this might incline one to think that the 1260 years of the reign of Antichrist are to be dated from this time. But though they might rise together, yet they were not fully established together. The authority of Mohammed might be fully established in the seventh century, but that of the pope was not so till the eighth century; and therefore, as the one was established somewhat sooner, so it may also be subverted somewhat sooner, than the other. The pope indeed was established *supreme* in spirituals in the seventh century, but he became not a temporal *horn* or *beast* till the eighth century.

When the Othman empire is overthrown, and "the second woe is past," then, according to St. John, (xi. 14.) "the third woe cometh quickly," which comprehends all the severe and terrible judgments of God upon the kingdom of the beast.

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[5] See Prideaux's Life of Mahomet.

In like manner when Daniel hath predicted the fall of *the king of the north,* or of the Othman empire, he subjoins immediately (xii. 1.) that "there shall be a time of trouble, such as never was since there was a nation, even to that same time; and at that time thy people shall be delivered, every one that shall be found written in the book;" agreeably to which St. John also saith (xx. 15.) "that whosoever was not found written in the book of life, was cast into the lake of fire." The 1260 years of the reign of the beast, I suppose, end with the 1260 years of the witnesses prophesying in sackcloth; and now the destined time is come for the judgments of God to overtake him; for as he might exist before the 1260 years began, so he may exist likewise after they are finished, in order to be made an eminent example of divine justice. For the greater confirmation and illustration of this subject, and to make the stronger impression upon the minds of the readers, these judgments are displayed under variety of figures and representations. First they are described in a more general manner (Rev. xiv.) as *the harvest* and *reaping of the earth,* and as *the vintage* and *wine-press of the wrath of God.* Then they are represented in a more particular manner (Rev. xv. xvi.) as *the seven vials,* or *the seven last plagues,* "for in them is filled up the wrath of God;" which are so many signal judgments upon the kingdom of the beast, and so many steps and degrees of his ruin. Afterwards the fall of Rome is delineated (Rev. xvii. xviii.) as of another Babylon; and it is declared that she shall be destroyed by fire, and her destruction shall be a complete and total destruction, such as hath never yet been the fate of Rome. Some of the princes, who were once of her communion, "shall hate" her as much as they loved her, "and burn her with fire." It is farther intimated that she shall be swallowed up by a subterraneous fire, shall sink "like a great millstone in the sea," and "her smoke shall rise up for ever and ever:" and the soil and situation of Rome and the neighbouring countries greatly favour such a supposition. As St. John saith, (xi. 8.) she "spiritually is called Sodom;" and she shall resemble Sodom in her punishment as well as in her crimes. After the subversion of the capital city, (Rev. xix.) *the beast* and *the false prophet,* the powers civil and ecclesiastical, with those who still adhere to their party, shall make one effort more; but it shall prove as weak and vain, as it is impious: they "shall both be taken, and cast alive into a lake of fire burning with brimstone." The destruction of Antichrist therefore, of himself as well as of his seat, shall be in a terrible manner *by fire.* Daniel asserts the same thing, (vii. 11.) "I beheld then because of the voice of the great words which the horn spake, I beheld even till the beast was slain, and his body destroyed, and given to the burning flame." So likewise saith St. Paul, (2 Thess. i. 7, 8.) "The Lord Jesus shall be revealed from heaven with his mighty angels, in flaming fire, taking vengeance on them that know not God, and that obey not the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ:" and more particularly (ii. 8.) "The Lord shall consume *the wicked one, the man of sin,* with the spirit of his mouth, and shall destroy him with the brightness of his coming."

About the time of the fall of the Othman empire and of the Christian Antichrist, the Jews shall turn to the Lord, and be restored to their own land. Innumerable are the prophecies concerning the conversion and restoration of this people. Hear only what Hosea saith, who prophesied before the captivity of the ten tribes of Israel, (iii. 4, 5.) "The children of Israel shall abide many days without a king, and without a prince, and without a sacrifice, and without an image (or *altar),* and without an ephod, and without teraphim (or *divine manifestations):* Afterward shall the children of Israel return, and seek the Lord their God, and David their king, and shall fear the Lord and his goodness in the latter days." Hear also what Ezekiel saith, who prophesied during the captivity of the two tribes of Judah and Benjamin, (xxxvii. 21. 25.) "Thus saith the Lord God, Behold I will take the children of Israel from among the heathen, whither they be gone, and will gather them on every side, and bring them into their own land: And they shall dwell in the land that I have given unto Jacob my servant, wherein your fathers have dwelt, and they shall dwell therein, even they and their children, and their children's children for ever, and my servant David shall be their prince for ever." (xxxix. 28, 29.) "Then shall they know that I am the Lord their God, who caused them to be led into captivity among the heathen, but I have gathered them into their own land, and have left none of them any more there: Neither will I hide my face any more from them; for I have poured out my Spirit upon the house of Israel, saith the Lord God." Ye cannot but remember what St. Paul saith upon the same occasion, (Rom. xi. 25.) "I would not, brethren, that ye should be ignorant of this mystery, that blindness in part is happened to Israel, until the fulness of the Gentiles be come, and so all Israel shall be saved." Now these and the like predictions, we suppose, will take effect, and this great revolution be accomplished, about the time of the fall of the Othman empire, and of the Christian Antichrist. Ezekiel's *Gog and Magog,* (xxxviii. xxxix.) we believe to be the Turks or Othmans, and "they shall come up against the children of Israel in the latter days," to oppose their resettlement in their own land, "and they shall fall" in some extraordinary manner "upon the mountains of Israel, they and the people that is with them: so the house of Israel shall know that I am the Lord their God, from that day and forward." Daniel too (xi. 45. xii. 1.) predicts the fall of the king of the north "upon the glorious holy mountain: And at that time shall Michael stand up, the great prince who standeth for the children of Israel." The restoration of the Jews and the fall of Antichrist shall also happen about the same time. If *the sixth vial* (Rev. xvi. 12.) which "is poured out upon the great river Euphrates, whose waters are dried up to prepare a passage for the kings of the east," is to be understood, as Mr. Mede and others think, of the return of the Jews; then the return of the Jews is one of the seven last plagues of Antichrist. But this notion is expressed more clearly in Daniel, as it more immediately concerned his people. (xi. 36.) "He shall prosper till the indignation (that is God's indignation against the Jews) be accomplished:" and again afterwards (xii. 7.) "When God shall have accomplished to scatter the power of the holy people, all these things shall be finished." In consequence and conformity to this doctrine a tradition hath prevailed[6] among the Jews, that the destruction of Rome and the redemption of Israel shall fall out about the same time.

When these great events shall come to pass, of which we collect from the prophecies this to be the proper order; the Protestant witnesses shall be greatly exalted, and the 1260 years of their prophesying in sackcloth and of the tyranny of the beast shall end together; the conversion and restoration of the Jews succeed; then follows the ruin of the Othman empire, and then the total destruction of Rome and of Antichrist. When these great events, I say, shall come to pass, then shall the kingdom of Christ commence, or the reign of the saints upon earth. So Daniel expressly informs us, that the kingdom of Christ and the saints will be raised upon the ruins of the kingdom of Antichrist; (vii. 26, 27.) "But the judgment shall sit, and they shall take away his dominion, to consume, and to destroy it unto the end: and the kingdom, and dominion, and the greatness of the kingdom under the whole heaven, shall be given to the people of the saints of the Most High, whose kingdom is an everlasting kingdom, and all dominion shall serve and obey him." So likewise St. John saith, that upon the final destruction of *the beast* and *the false prophet* (Rev. xx.) "Satan is bound for a thousand years; and I saw thrones, and they sat upon them, and judgment was given unto them: and I saw the souls of them that were beheaded for the witness of Jesus and for the word of God, and which had not worshipped the beast, neither his image, neither had received his mark upon their foreheads, or in their hands; and they lived and reigned with

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[6] See 'Placita Hebræorum Doctorum de Babylonis seu Romæ excidio,' in Mede's Works, b. 5. c. 8. p. 902.

Christ a thousand years: but the rest of the dead lived not again till the thousand years were finished. This is the first resurrection." It is, I conceive, to these great events, the fall of Antichrist, the re-establishment of the Jews and the beginning of the glorious millennium, that the three different dates in Daniel of 1260 years, 1290 years, and 1335 years are to be referred: and as Daniel saith, (xii. 12.) "Blessed is he that waiteth and cometh to the 1335 years;" so St. John saith, (xx. 6.) "Blessed and holy is he that hath part in the first resurrection." Blessed and happy indeed will be this period; and it is very observable, that the martyrs and confessors of Jesus, in popish as well as in pagan times, will be raised to partake of this felicity. Then shall all those gracious promises in the Old Testament be fulfilled, of the amplitude and extent, of the peace and prosperity, of the glory and happiness of the church in the latter days. Then in the full sense of the words (Rev. xi. 15.) "shall the kingdoms of this world become the kingdoms of our Lord and of his Christ, and he shall reign for ever and ever." According to tradition[7] these thousand years of the reign of Christ and the saints will be the seventh millennary of the world; for as God created the world in six days and rested on the seventh, so the world, it is argued, will continue six thousand years, and the seventh thousand will be the great *sabbatism* or holy rest to the people of God; "one day (2 Pet. iii. 8.) being with the Lord as a thousand years, and a thousand years as one day." According to tradition[8] too these thousand years of the reign of Christ and the saints are *the great day of judgment;* in the morning or beginning whereof shall be the coming of Christ in flaming fire, and the particular judgment of Antichrist, and the first resurrection; and in the evening or conclusion whereof shall be the general resurrection of the dead, "small and great," and they shall be "judged every man according to their works."

Prudence as well as modesty requires, that we should forbear all curious inquiries into the nature and condition of this future kingdom; as how Satan should be bound for a thousand years, and afterwards loosed again; how the raised saints shall cohabit with the living, and judge and govern the world; how Christ shall manifest himself to them, and reign among them; how the new Jerusalem, the city and church of the living God, shall descend from heaven to earth; how Satan shall at last deceive the nations, and what nations they shall be. These are points which the Holy Spirit hath not thought fit to explain; and folly may easily ask more questions about them, than wisdom can answer. Wisdom, in the mysterious things of God, and especially in the mysterious things of futurity, will still adhere to the words of Scripture; and having seen the completion of so many particulars, will rest contented with believing that these also shall be, without knowing *how* they shall be. It is of the nature of most prophecies not to be fully understood till they are fully accomplished, and especially prophecies relating to a state so different from the present as the millennium. Perfectly to comprehend these and all other prophecies may constitute a part of the happiness of that period, for then they will all be fulfilled, and "the mystery of God shall be finished." This however is very evident, that wickedness would soon overrun the world, if not restrained by an overruling providence; for no sooner is Satan loosed again, than "the nations which are in the four quarters of the earth" come up against the holy city, "the number of whom is as the sand of the sea:" and therefore at the time appointed, after the general judgment, this world shall be destroyed, (2 Pet. iii. 10.) "the heavens shall pass away with a great noise, and the elements shall melt with fervent heat, the earth also, and the works that are therein shall be burnt up." Thus (Rev. xxi. 1.) "the first heaven and the first earth shall pass away," and *a new heaven* and *a new earth* shall succeed, (2 Pet. iii. 13.) "wherein dwelleth righteousness;" (Rev. xxi. 3, 4.) "God himself shall be with men, and be their God; and there shall be no more death, neither sorrow nor pain, for the former things are passed away." (1 Cor. xv. 24, &c.) "Then cometh the end, when Christ shall have delivered up the kingdom to God, even the Father; when he shall have put down all rule, and all authority, and power. For he must reign till he hath put all enemies under his feet; the last enemy that shall be destroyed is death. And when all things shall be subdued unto him, then shall the Son also himself be subject unto him that put all things under him, that God may be all in all."

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[7] See Burnet's Theory, b. 3. c. 5. b. 4. c. 6.

[8] See 'Placita Hebræorum Doctorum de Magno de Judicii,' in Mede, p. 535. b. 5. c. 3. p. 892.

Since then the corruptions of popery are so particularly foretold in Scripture, and make so considerable a part of the ancient prophecies, we have the less reason to be surprised and offended at them. While the Papists endeavour to corrupt and adulterate the doctrines of the prophets and apostles, they still accomplish their predictions; while they labour to destroy Christianity in one part, they unwittingly confirm and establish it in another. And since a time is certainly coming, wherein God will avenge himself on these idolaters, and require the blood of his servants at their hands, let us wait with "the patience and the faith of saints," till it be accomplished. We have seen the prophecies remarkably fulfilled in their success, and we shall see them as remarkably fulfilled too in their destruction. The power of the pope is nothing near so great now as it was some ages ago: It received its death wound at the Reformation, of which it may languish for a time, but will never entirely recover, though its last struggles and efforts, like those of a dying monster, may be terrible and dangerous. In the end, the gospel will prevail over all enemies and opposers, (Matt. xxi. 44.) "Whosoever shall fall on this stone, shall be broken; but on whomsoever it shall fall, it will grind him to powder." We will conclude our discourse with the words of Ezra, so very applicable to us of the reformed religion, (ix. 13, 14.) "After all that is come upon us for our evil deeds, and for our great trespass, seeing that thou our God hast punished us less than our iniquities deserve, and hast given us such deliverance as this (a deliverance from the yoke and tyranny of the church of Rome); should we again break thy commandments, and join in affinity with the people of these abominations, wouldst thou not be angry with us till thou hadst consumed us, so that there should be no remnant nor escaping?"

CONCLUSION.

FROM these instances, which have been produced, of prophecies and their completions, it is hoped, this conclusion may fairly be drawn in the words of St. Peter, (2 Pet. i. 20, 21.) that "no prophecy of the Scripture is of any private interpretation (or the suggestion of any man's own spirit or fancy); for the prophecy came not in old time by the will of man, but holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost." Other instances might have been alleged to the same purpose: but those prophecies which received their full accomplishment in ancient times, and even those which were accomplished in the person and actions of our blessed Saviour, are not here considered; such only as relate to these latter ages, and either in the whole or in part are now fulfilling in the world, are made the subjects of these dissertations. This is proving our religion in some measure by ocular demonstration, is not *walking by faith* only, but also *by sight*. For you can have no reason to doubt of the truth of prophecy, and consequently of the truth of revelation, when you see instances of things, which could no ways depend upon human conjecture, foretold with the greatest clearness, and fulfilled hundreds of years afterwards with the greatest exactness. Nay you see prophecies, the latest whereof were delivered about 1700 years ago, and some of them above 3000 years ago, fulfilling at this very time, and cities, countries, and kingdoms in the very same condition, and all brought about in the very same manner, and with the very same circumstances, as the prophets had foretold.

You see the descendants of Shem and Japheth *ruling* and *enlarged* in Asia and Europe, and perhaps in America, and *the curse of servitude* still attending the wretched descendants of Ham in Africa. You see the posterity of Ishmael *multiplied exceedingly*, and become *a great nation* in the Arabians; yet living like *wild men*, and shifting from place to place in the wilderness; *their hand against every man, and every man's hand against them;* and still *dwelling* an independent and free people, *in the presence of all their brethren*, and in the presence of all their enemies. You see the family of Esau totally extinct, and that of Jacob subsisting at this day; *the sceptre departed from Judah*, and the people living no where in authority, every where in subjection; the Jews still *dwelling alone among the nations*, while *the remembrance of Amalek* is *utterly put out from under heaven*. You see the Jews severely punished for their infidelity and disobedience to their great prophet like unto Moses; *plucked from off their own land, and removed into all the kingdoms of the earth; oppressed and spoiled evermore*, and made *a proverb and a by-word among all nations.* You see *Ephraim so broken as to be no more a people*, while the whole nation is comprehended under the name of Judah; the Jews wonderfully preserved as a distinct people, while their great conquerors are every where destroyed; their land lying desolate, and themselves cut off from being the people of God, while the Gentiles are advanced in their room. You see Nineveh so completely destroyed, that the place thereof is not, and cannot be known; Babylon made *a desolation for ever, a possession for the bittern, and pools of water;* Tyre become *like the top of a rock, a place for fishers to spread their nets upon;* and Egypt *a base kingdom, the basest of the kingdoms*, and still tributary and subject to strangers. You see of the four great empires of the world the fourth and last, which was greater and more powerful than any of the former, divided in the western part thereof into ten lesser kingdoms; and among them a power *with a triple crown diverse from the first*, with *a mouth speaking very great things*, and with *a look more stout than his fellows, speaking great words against the Most High, wearing out the saints of the Most High, and changing times and laws.* You see a power *cast down the truth to the ground, and prosper and practise, and destroy the holy people, not regarding the God of his fathers, nor the desire of wives, but honouring Mahuzzim*, Gods-protectors or saints-protectors, *and causing* the priests of Mahuzzin *to rule over many, and to divide the land for gain.* You see the Turks *stretching forth their hand over the countries*, and particularly *over the land of Egypt, the Libyans at their steps*, and the Arabians still *escaping out of their hand.* You see the Jews *led away captive into all nations, and Jerusalem trodden down of the Gentiles*, and likely to continue so *until the times of the Gentiles be fulfilled,* as the Jews are by a constant miracle preserved a distinct people for the completion of other prophecies relating to them. You see one *who opposeth and exalteth himself* above all laws divine and human, *sitting as God in the church of God, and shewing himself that he is God, whose coming is after the working of Satan, with all power, and signs, and lying wonders, and with all deceivableness of unrighteousness.* You see a great *apostasy* in the Christian church, which consists chiefly in the worship of *demons,* angels or departed saints, and is promoted *through the hypocrisy of liars, forbidding to marry, and commanding to abstain from meats.* You see the seven churches of Asia lying in the same forlorn and desolate condition that the angel had signified to St. John, their *candlestick removed out of its place,* their churches turned into mosques, their worship into superstition. In short, you see the characters of *the beast and the false prophet,* and *the whore of Babylon,* now exemplified in every particular, and in a city that is seated *upon seven mountains;* so that if the bishop of Rome had sat for his picture, a greater resemblance and likeness could not have been drawn.

As there is a near affinity between this and what Dr. Clarke[1] hath said in the conclusion of his discourse of prophecies, it may be proper to confirm and illustrate the argument with so great an authority: and indeed these things are of such importance, and so deserving to be known, that they cannot be inculcated too frequently, nor shewn in too many lights.

'I shall conclude this head with pointing at some particular extraordinary prophecies, which deserve to be carefully considered and compared with the events, whether they could possibly have proceeded from chance or from enthusiasm. Some of them are of such a nature, as that they can only be judged of by persons learned in history; and these I shall but just mention. Others are obvious to the consideration of the whole world; and with those I shall finish what I think proper at this time to offer upon this subject.

'Concerning Babylon it was particularly foretold, "that it should be shut up and besieged by the Medes, Elamites, and Arminians," that "the river should be dried up," that "the city should be taken in the time of a feast, while her mighty men were drunken;" which accordingly came to pass, when Belshazzar and all his thousand princes, who were drunk with him at the feast, were slain by Cyrus's soldiers. Also it was particularly foretold, that "God would make the country of Babylon a possession for the bittern and pools of water;" which was accordingly fulfilled by the overflowing and drowning of it, on the breaking down of the great dam in order to take the city. Could the correspondence of these events with the predictions, be the result of chance? But suppose these predictions were forged after the event, can the following ones also have been written after the event? or with any reason be ascribed to chance? "The wild beasts of the desert shall dwell there, and the owls shall dwell therein: and it shall be no more inhabited for ever, neither shall it be dwelt in from generation to generation: as God overthrew Sodom and Gomorrah, &c. They shall not take of thee a stone for a corner,—but thou shalt be desolate for ever, saith the Lord:—Babylon shall become heaps, a dwelling-place for dragons, an astonishment and an hissing without an inhabitant:—It shall sink, and shall not rise from the evil that I will bring upon her. Babylon, the glory of kingdoms,—shall be as when God overthrew Sodom and Gomorrah: it shall never be inhabited, neither shall it be dwelt in from generation to generation: neither shall the Arabian pitch tent there, neither shall the shepherds make their fold there; but wild beasts of the desert shall lie there, and their houses shall be full of doleful creatures, and owls shall dwell there."

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[1] Clarke's Works, vol. 2. The Evidences of Natural and Revealed Religion, p. 720, &c.

'Concerning Egypt, was the following prediction forged after the event? or can it, with any reason, be ascribed to chance? "Egypt shall be a base kingdom: it shall be the basest of kingdoms, neither shall it exalt itself any more above the nations: for I will diminish them, that they shall no more rule over the nations."

'Concerning Tyre, the prediction is no less remarkable: "I will make thee like the top of a rock; thou shalt be a place to spread nets upon; thou shalt be built no more.—Thou shalt be no more; the merchants among the people shall hiss at thee, thou shalt be a terror, and never shalt be any more. All they that know thee among the people, shall be astonished at thee."

'The description of the extent of the dominion of that people, who were to possess Judea in the latter days; was it forged after the event? or can it reasonably be ascribed to chance? "He shall come with horsemen, and with many ships, and shall overflow and pass over: he shall enter also into the glorious land, [and shall plant the tabernacles of his palace between the seas in the glorious holy mountain] and many countries shall be overthrown: but these shall escape out of his hand, even Edom and Moab and the chief of the children of Ammon. He shall stretch forth his hand also upon the countries, and the land of Egypt shall not escape. But he shall have power over the treasures of gold and of silver, and over all the precious things of Egypt; and the Libyans and Ethiopians shall be at his steps."

'When Daniel in the vision of Nebuchadnezzar's image, foretold four great successive monarchies; was this written after the event? or can the congruity of his description with the things themselves, reasonably be ascribed to mere chance?'

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'When the same Daniel foretels a tyrannical power, which should "wear out the saints of the Most High, and they shall be given into his hand, until a time, and times, and the dividing of time;" and again "for[3] a time, times, and a half:" which can be no way applied to the *short* persecution of Antiochus, because these prophecies are expressly declared to be *for many days;* concerning "what shall befall thy people in the latter days; for yet the vision is for many days;" concerning "the time of the end; what shall be in the last end of the indignation;" concerning those who "shall fall by the sword and by flame, by captivity and by spoil, many days; to try them, even to the time of the end, because it is yet for a time appointed;" concerning "a time of trouble, such as never was since there was a nation," the time "when God shall have accomplished to scatter the power of the holy people; the time of the end, till which the words are closed up and sealed;" to which the prophet is commanded to "shut up *his* words and seal the book, *for* many shall run to and fro, and knowledge shall be increased;" even "the end, till which Daniel was to rest, and *then* stand in his lot at the end of the days." When Daniel, I say, foretels such a tyrannical power, to continue such a determined period of time: and St. John prophesies, that the "Gentiles should tread the holy city under foot, forty and two months;" which is exactly the same period of time with that of Daniel: and again, that "two witnesses, clothed in sackcloth, should prophesy a thousand two hundred and threescore days;" which is again exactly the very same period of time: and again, that "the woman *which* fled into the wilderness" from persecution, should continue there "a thousand two hundred and threescore days:" and again that she should "fly into the wilderness, for a time, and times, and half a time;" which is still the very same period: and again, that "a wild beast," a tyrannical power, "to whom it was given to make war with the saints, and to overcome them, *was* to[4] continue forty and

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[2] 'The fame of which was so nearly spread; that Ezekiel, who was contemporary with Daniel, plainly alludes to it, when he says of the prince of Tyre, c. xxviii. 3. "Thou art wiser than Daniel; there is no secret that they can hide from thee."'

[3] 'Three years and a half, or 1260 days, is, according to the analogy of all the forementioned numbers, 1260 years.'

[4] 'There has prevailed among learned men a very important error, as if the 1260 days (or years) here spoken of, took their beginning from the *rise* of the tyranny here described. Whereas on the contrary, the words of Daniel are express, that, not from the time of his *rise*, but *after* his having made war with the saints, and from the time of their being "given into his hand, *should be* a time

two months," (still the very same period of time) and to have "power over all kindreds, and tongues, and nations," so that "all that dwell upon the earth *should* worship him:" is it credible or possible that ignorant and enthusiastical writers should by mere chance hit upon such coincidencies of [occult] numbers? especially since St. John could not possibly take the numbers from Daniel, if he understood Daniel to mean nothing more than the *short* persecution of Antiochus. And if he did understand Daniel to mean a *much longer* and *greater* and *more remote* tyranny, which John himself prophesied of as *in his time* still future; then the wonder is still infinitely greater, that in those early times, when there was not the least footstep in the world of any such power as St. John distinctly describes, (but which now is very conspicuous, as I shall presently observe more particularly) it should ever enter into the heart of man to conceive so much as the possibility of such a power, sitting not upon the pavilion of heathen persecutors, but expressly (2 Thess. ii. 4.) "in the temple" and upon the seat of God himself.

'But these prophecies, which either relate to particular places, or depend upon the computation of particular periods of time, are (as I said) of such a nature, as that they cannot be judged of, but by persons skilled in history. There are some others more general, running through the whole Scripture, and obvious to the consideration of the whole world.

'For instance: It was foretold by Moses, that when the Jews forsook the true God, they should be "removed into all the kingdoms of the earth;" should be "scattered among the Heathen, among the nations, among all people from the one end of the earth even unto the other;" should "there be left few in number among the Heathen," and "pine away in their iniquity in their enemies' lands;" and should "become an astonishment, a proverb, and a bye-word, among all nations;" and that "among these nations *they should* find no ease, neither *should* the sole of their foot have rest; but the Lord should give them a trembling heart, and failing of eyes, and sorrow of mind; *and* send a faintness into their hearts in the lands of their enemies; *so that* the sound of a shaken leaf *should* chase them." Had any thing like this, in Moses' time, ever hap-

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and times, and the dividing of time,' c. vii. 24, 25. And St. John no less expressly says, that the time, not of *the two witnesses prophesying*, (for in part of that time they had *great power*) but of *their prophesying in sackcloth* should be "a thousand two hundred and threescore days," Rev. xi. 3. And the *persecuted woman*, after her flight, was to be actually "in the wilderness a thousand two hundred and threescore days," c. xii. 6. Wherefore also "the forty and two months," (the very same period) during which time "power was given unto the wild beast to continue" (in the original it is ποιῆσαι to do what he pleased, Rev. xiii. 3.) evidently ought not to be reckoned from his *rise*, or from the time when "the ten kings (c. xvii. 12.) received power with him;" but from the time of his having totally "overcome the saints," and of his *being worshipped by all that dwell upon the earth*, c. xiii. 7, 8."

pened to any nation? Or was there in nature any probability, that any such thing should ever happen to any people? that, when they were conquered by their enemies, and led into captivity, they should neither continue in the place of their captivity, nor be swallowed up and lost among their conquerors, but be scattered among all the nations of the world, and hated by all nations for many ages, and yet *continue* a people? Or could any description of the Jews, written at this day possibly be a more exact and lively picture of the state they have *now* been in for many ages; than this prophetic description given by Moses, more than 3000 years ago?

'The very same thing is in like manner continually predicted through all the following prophets; that God would "scatter them among the Heathen;" that he would "cause them to be removed into all the kingdoms of the earth;" that he would "scatter them into all the winds, *and* disperse them through the countries of the Heathen;" that he would "sift them among all nations, like as corn is sifted in a sieve;" that "in all the kingdoms of the earth, whither *they should be* driven, *they should be* a reproach and a proverb, a taunt and a curse, *and* an astonishment and a hissing;" and that they should "abide many days without a king, and without a prince, and without a sacrifice, and without an image, and without an ephod, and without teraphim." And here concerning the predictions of Ezekiel it is remarkable in particular, that they being spoken in the very time of the Babylonian captivity, it is therefore evident from the time of his prophesying, as well as from the nature and description of the thing itself, that he must needs be understood of that latter "captivity into all places," which was to happen after the "fulfilling the time of that age," wherein God was first to "bring them again (out of the Babylonian captivity) into the land where they should build a temple, *but* not like to *that which* afterwards (after their final return) *should* be built for ever with a glorious building." The forecited prophecies (I say) must of necessity be understood of that wide and long dispersion, which in the New Testament also is expressly mentioned by our Saviour and by St. Paul.

'It is also farther, both *largely* and *distinctly* predicted, as well by Moses himself, as by all the following prophets, that notwithstanding this unexampled dispersion of God's people, "yet for all that, when they be in the land of their enemies, God will not destroy them utterly; *but* when they shall call to mind among all the nations, whither God has driven them, and shall return unto the Lord, he will turn their captivity, and gather them from all nations, from the outmost parts of heaven, even in the latter days:" That "though he makes a full end of all *other* nations, yet he will not make a full end of them; *but* a remnant of them *shall be preserved, and* return out of all countries whither God has driven them:" That "he will sift the house of Israel among all nations, like as corn is sifted in a sieve; yet shall not the least grain fall upon the earth:" That "the Lord shall set his hand again the second time, to recover the remnant of his people, and shall set up an ensign for the nations, and shall assemble the outcasts of Israel, and gather together the dispersed of Judah, from the four corners of the earth:" For "I will bring thy seed from the east (saith the Lord), and gather thee from the west; I will say to the north, Give up; and to the south, Keep not back; Bring my sons from far, and my daughters from the ends of the earth: Behold, I will lift up my hand to the Gentiles, and set up my standard to the people, and they shall bring thy sons in their arms, and thy daughters shall be carried upon their shoulders: For a small moment have I forsaken thee, but with great mercy will I gather thee: In a little wrath I hid my face from thee, for a moment; but with everlasting kindness will I have mercy on thee." And that these prophecies might not be applied to the return from the seventy years' captivity in Babylon (which moreover was not a dispersion into *all nations*) they are expressly referred to the *latter days,* not only by Moses, but by Hosea, who lived long after: "For the children of Israel shall abide MANY DAYS without a king, and without a prince, and without a sacrifice; AFTERWARD they shall return, and seek the Lord their God, and David their king, and shall fear the Lord and his goodness in the LATTER DAYS:" and by Ezekiel, who lived in the captivity itself: "After MANY DAYS (speaking of those who should oppose the return of the Israelites) thou shalt be visited, in the LATTER YEARS thou shalt come into the land;—upon the people that are gathered out of the nations;—In that day, when my people of Israel dwelleth safely,—thou shalt come up against them,—it shall be in the LATTER DAYS." These predictions therefore necessarily belong to that age, when "the times of the Gentiles *shall be* fulfilled," and "the fulness of the Gentiles be come in." And that, through all the changes which have happened in the kingdoms of the earth, from the days of Moses to the present time, which is more than 3000 years; nothing should have happened, to prevent the *possibility* of the accomplishment of these prophecies; but on the contrary, the state of the Jewish and Christian nations at this day, should be such as renders them easily *capable,* not only of a figurative, but even of a literal completion in every particular, if the will of God be so; this (I say) is a *miracle,* which hath nothing parallel to it in the phenomena of nature.

‘ Another instance, no less extraordinay, is as follows. Daniel foretels “ a kingdom upon the earth, which shall be diverse from all kingdoms, diverse from all that were before it, exceeding dreadful, and shall devour the whole earth :” That, among the powers into which this kingdom shall be divided, there shall arise one power “ diverse from the rest, who shall subdue unto himself three of the first powers, and he shall have a mouth speaking very great things, and a look more stout than his fellows. He shall make war with the saints, and prevail against them. And he shall speak great words against the Most High, and shall wear out the saints of the Most High, and think to change times and laws ; and they shall be given into his hand, for a long season ; even till the judgment shall sit, and the kingdom under the whole heaven shall be given to the people of the saints of the Most High. He shall exalt himself and magnify himself above every God, and shall speak marvellous things against the God of gods ;——Neither shall he regard[5] the God of his fathers, nor[6] the desire of women, nor regard any God ; for he shall magnify himself above all. And in his estate shall he honour[7] the God of forces, and[8] a God whom his fathers knew not, shall he honour.—Thus shall he do in the most strong holds with a strange God, whom he shall acknowledge and increase with glory ; and he shall cause them to rule over many, and shall divide the land for gain.” Suppose now all this to be spoken by Daniel, of nothing more than the short persecution under Antiochus Epiphanes ; which that it cannot be, I have shewn above. But suppose it were, and that it was all forged after the event : Yet this cannot be the case of St. Paul and St. John, who describe exactly a *like* power, and in *like words ;* speaking of things to come in the *latter days*, of things still *future* in *their* time, and of which there were *then* no footsteps, no appearance in the world. “ The day of Christ (saith St. Paul) shall not come, except there come a falling away first, and that man of sin be revealed, the son of perdition ; who opposeth and exalteth himself above all that is called God, or that is worshipped ; so that he, as God, sitteth[9] in the temple of God, shewing himself that he is God . —Whose coming is after the working of Satan, with all power, and signs, and lying wonders, and with all deceivableness of unrighteousness." Again: "The Spirit speaketh expressly, that in the latter times some shall depart from the faith, giving heed to seducing spirits, and [1] doctrines of devils;—Forbidding to marry, and commanding to abstain from meats, &c." St. John in like manner prophesies of *a wild beast*, or tyrannical power, to whom was given *great authority*, and *a mouth speaking great things and blasphemies:* "And he opened his mouth in blasphemy against God: and it was given unto him to make war with the saints, and to overcome them; and power was given him over all kindreds and tongues and nations; and all that dwell upon the earth shall worship him.—And he that exerciseth his power before him—doeth great wonders,—and deceiveth them that dwell upon the earth, by the means of those miracles which he had power to do.—And he causeth that no man might buy or sell, save he that had the mark or the name of the beast;—And the kings of the earth have one mind, and shall give their power and strength unto the beast; even peoples, and multitudes, and nations, and tongues.—For God hath put in their hearts (in the hearts of the kings) to fulfil his will, and to agree, and give their kingdom unto the beast, until the words of God shall be fulfilled." The name of the person, in whose hands the reins or principal direction of the exercise of this power is lodged, is "Mystery, Babylon the great, the mother of harlots, and abominations of the earth: with whom the kings of the earth [2] have committed fornication, and the inhabitants of the earth have been made drunk with the wine of her fornication." And she herself "is drunken with the blood of the saints, and with the blood of the martyrs of Jesus: And by her [3] sorceries are all nations deceived: And in her is found the blood of prophets, and of saints, and of all that are slain upon the earth." And this person, [the political person] to whom these titles and characters belong, "is that great city (standing upon seven mountains) which reigneth over the kings of the earth."

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[5] ‘ *The God of gods*, as in the foregoing verse.’

[6] “ Forbidding to marry,” 1 Tim. iv. 3.

[7] ‘ *Gods-protectors*, as it is in the margin of the Bible, or *saints-protectors*.’

[8] ‘ “ Changing times and laws,” c. vii. 25 ; setting up new religions.’

[9] ‘ ’Tis therefore a *Christian* (not an *Infidel*) power, that he here speaks of.’

[1] ‘ Doctrines concerning *Demons*, that is, ghosts or souls of (good or bad) men departed. Epiphanius, citing this text, alleges the following words, as part of the text itself : ἔσονται γαρ, φησὶ νεκροῖς λατρεύοντες, ὡς καὶ ἐν τῷ Ἰσραὴλ ἐσεβάσθησαν, *For they shall be, says the apostle, worshippers of the dead, even as the dead were anciently worshipped in Israel.* And he applies the whole to the worshippers of the blessed Virgin. Adv. Hæres. hær. 78. c. 23.’

'If in the days of St. Paul and St. John, there was any footstep of such a sort of power as this in the world; or, if there ever had been any such power in the world; or, if there was then any appearance of probability, that could make it enter into the heart of man to imagine, that there ever could be any such kind of power in the world, much less in *the temple* or church *of God;* and, if there be not now such a power actually and conspicuously exercised in the world; and, if any picture of this power, drawn after the event can now describe it more plainly and exactly than it was originally described in the words of the prophecy:—then may it with some degree of plausibleness be suggested, that the prophecies are nothing more than enthusiastic imaginations.'

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[2] 'Have been led into idolatrous practices.'

[3] 'φαρμακεία [σοφοῖς φαρμάκοις] methods of making men religious without virtue.'

For these things you have the attestation of past, and the experience of present times; and you cannot well be deceived, if you will only believe your own eyes and observation. You actually see the completion of many of the prophecies in the state of men and things around you, and you have the prophecies themselves recorded in books, which books have been read in public assemblies these 1700 or 2000 years, have been dispersed into several countries, have been translated into several languages, and quoted and commented upon by different authors of different ages and nations, so that there is no room to suspect so much as a possibility of forgery or illusion.

The prophecies too, though written by different men in different ages, have yet a visible connexion and dependency, an entire harmony and agreement one with another. At the same time that there is such perfect harmony, there is also great variety; and the same things are foretold by different prophets in a different manner and with different circumstances; and the latter usually improve upon the former. They are all excellent in their different kinds; and you may observe the beauty and sublimity of the style and diction of the prophets even from those quotations which have been made from their writings. Indeed they are very well worthy of your serious perusal and meditation, not only considered as prophets, but considered even as authors, for their noble images and descriptions, their bold tropes and figures, their instructive precepts, their pathetical exhortations, and other excellencies, which would have been admired in any ancient writers whatever.

Obscurities there are indeed in the prophetic writings, for which many good reasons may be assigned, and this particularly, because prophecies are the only species of writing, which is designed more for the instruction of future ages than of the times wherein they are written. If the prophecies had been delivered in plainer terms, some persons might be for hastening their accomplishment, as others might attempt to defeat it; men's actings would not appear so free, nor God's providence so conspicuous in their completion. But though some parts are obscure enough to exercise the church, yet others are sufficiently clear to illuminate it; and the obscure parts, the more they are fulfilled, the better they are understood. In this respect as the world groweth older, it groweth wiser. Time that detracts something from the evidence of other writers, is still adding something to the credit and authority of the prophets. Future ages will comprehend more than the present, as the present understands more than the past: and the perfect accomplishment will produce a perfect knowledge of all the prophecies.

In any explication of the prophecies you cannot but observe the subserviency of human learning to the study of divinity. One thing is particularly requisite, a competent knowledge of history sacred and profane, ancient and modern. Prophecy is, as I may say, history anticipated and contracted; history is prophecy accomplished and dilated: and the prophecies of Scripture contain, as you see, the fate of the most considerable nations, and the substance of the most memorable transactions in the world from the earliest to the latest times. Daniel and St. John, with regard to these latter times, are more copious and particular than the other prophets. They exhibit a series and succession of the most important events from the first of the four great empires to the consummation of all things. Their prophecies may really be said to be a summary of the history of the world, and the history of the world is the best comment upon their prophecies. I must confess it was my application to history, that first struck me, without thinking of it, with the amazing justness of the Scripture-prophecies. I observed the predictions all along to be verified in the course of events: and the more you know of ancient and modern times, and the farther you search into the truth of history, the more you will be satisfied of the truth of prophecy. They are only pretenders to learning and knowledge who are patrons of infidelity. You have heard in these discourses, of the two greatest men, whom this country or perhaps the whole world hath produced, the Lord Bacon and Sir Isaac Newton, the one wishing for a history of the several prophecies of Scripture compared with the events, the other writing Observations upon the Prophecies of Daniel and the Apocalypse of St. John: and the testimony of two such (not to mention others) is enough to weigh down the authority of all the infidels who ever lived.

You see what standing monuments the Jews are every where of divine vengeance for their infidelity; and beware therefore of the like crime, lest the like punishment should follow; "for (Rom. xi. 21.), if God spared not the natural branches, take heed lest he also spare not thee." Our infidelity would be worse even than that of the Jews, for they receive and own the prophecies, but do not see and acknowledge their completion in Jesus, whereas our modern infidels reject both the prophecy and the completion together. But what strange disingenuity must it be, when there is all the evidence that history can afford for the prophecy, and in many cases even ocular demonstration for the completion, to be still obstinate and unbelieving? May we not very properly bestow upon such persons that just reproach of our Saviour, (Luke xxiv. 25.) "O fools, and slow of heart to believe all that the prophets have spoken?" But I have good hope and confidence in God, that (Heb. x. 39.)

" we are not of them who draw back unto perdition, but of them who believe to the saving of the soul."

Indeed if it was once or twice only that the thing had succeeded, and the event had fallen out agreeably to the prediction, we should not so much wonder, we should not lay such a stress upon it; it might be ascribed to a lucky contingency, or owing to rational conjecture: but that so many things, so very unlikely ever to happen, should be so particularly foretold, and so many ages afterwards so punctually fulfilled, transcends without doubt all the skill and power of man, and must be resolved into the omniscience and omnipotence of God. Nothing certainly can be a stronger proof of a person's acting by divine commission, and speaking by divine inspiration; and it is assigned in Scripture as the test and criterion between a true and false prophet; (Deut. xviii. 22.) "When a prophet speaketh in the name of the Lord, if the thing follow not nor come to pass, that is the thing which the Lord hath not spoken, but the prophet hath spoken it presumptuously;" and in another place, (Jer. xxviii. 9.) "The prophet who prophesieth of peace, when the word of the prophet shall come to pass, then shall the prophet be known that the Lord hath truly sent him." It is so much the peculiar prerogative of God, or of those who are commissioned by him, certainly to foretel future events, that it is made a challenge to all the false gods, (Isa. xli. 21. 28.) "Produce your cause, saith the Lord; bring forth your strong reasons, saith the king of Jacob; shew the things that are to come hereafter, that we may know that ye are gods." Lying oracles have been in the world; but all the wit and malice of men and devils cannot produce any such prophecies as are recorded in Scripture: and what stronger attestations can you require to the truth and divinity of the doctrine? No man can bring with him more authentic credentials of his coming from God: and the more you shall consider and understand them, the more you will be convinced that (Rev. xix. 10.) " the testimony of Jesus is the spirit of prophecy."

If to the prophecies you add the miracles, so salutary and beneficial, so publicly wrought and so credibly attested, above any other matters of fact whatever, by those who were eyewitnesses of them, and sealed the truth of their testimony with their blood; if to these external confirmations you add likewise the internal excellence of Christianity, the goodness of the doctrine itself, so moral, so perfect, so divine, and the purity and perfection of its motives and sanctions, above any other system of morality or religion in the world; if you seriously consider and compare all these things together, it is almost impossible not to feel conviction, and to cry out, as Thomas did after handling our Saviour, (John xx. 28.) " My Lord and my God!" This is only one argument out of many, that there must be a divine revelation, if there is any truth in prophecy; and there must be truth in prophecy, as we have shewn in several instances, and might shew in several more, if there is any dependance upon the testimony of others, or upon our own senses, upon what we read in books, or upon what we see in the world.

Men are sometimes apt to think, that if they could but see a miracle wrought in favour of religion, they would readily resign all their scruples, believe without doubt, and obey without reserve. The very thing that you desire, you have. You have the greatest and most striking of miracles in the series of Scripture-prophecies accomplished; accomplished, as we see, in the present state of almost all nations, the Africans, the Egyptians, the Arabians, the Turks, the Jews, the Papists, the Protestants, Nineveh, Babylon, Tyre, the seven churches of Asia, Jerusalem, and Rome. And this is not a transient miracle, ceasing almost as soon as performed; but is permanent, and protracted through the course of many generations. It is not a miracle delivered only upon the report of others, but is subject to your own inspection and examination. It is not a miracle exhibited only before a certain number of witnesses, but is open to the observation and contemplation of all mankind; and after so many ages is still growing, still improving to future ages. What stronger miracle therefore can you require for your conviction? or what will avail, if this be found ineffectual? Alas, if you reject the evidence of prophecy, neither would you be persuaded though one should rise from the dead. What can be plainer? You see or may see with your own eyes the Scripture-prophecies accomplished: and if the Scripture-prophecies are accomplished, the Scripture must be the word of God; and if the Scripture is the word of God, the Christian religion must be true.

It is hoped, therefore, that the same address may be applied to you, which St. Paul made to king Agrippa, (Acts xxvi. 27, 28.) "Believest thou the prophets? I know that thou believest:" and God dispose your heart to answer again, Not only "almost," *but altogether* "thou persuadest me to be a Christian!" For your encouragement remember, that (Matt. x. 41.) "He who receiveth a prophet in the name of a prophet, shall receive a prophet's reward." Wherefore (1 Thess. v. 19, &c.) "quench not the Spirit; despise not prophesying; prove all things, hold fast that which is good. The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you. Amen."

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THE END.

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